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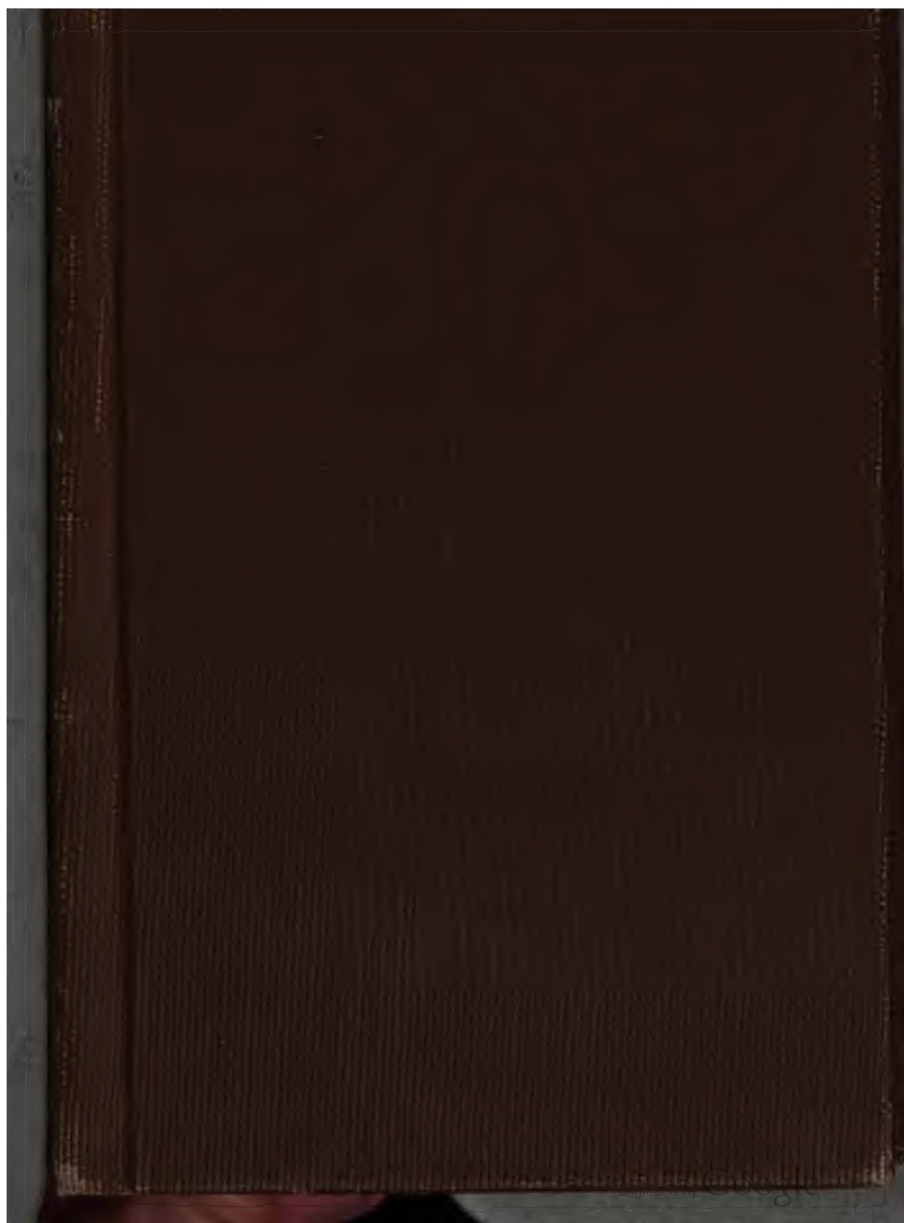
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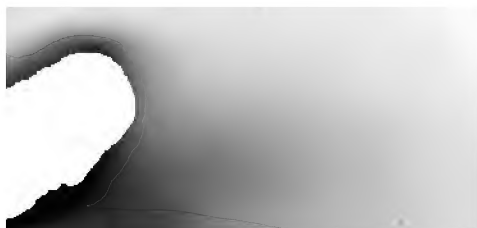
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CONTENTS  
PAGES  
THE ANTHROPOLOGY OF THE  
FUTURE  
BY  
H. H. HALL  
1  
THE ANTHROPOLOGY OF THE  
PAST  
BY  
H. H. HALL  
1

THE ANTHROPOLOGY OF THE  
PRESENT  
BY  
H. H. HALL  
1  
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**PAUSANIAS**

**I**



# PAUSANIAS

## DESCRIPTION OF GREECE

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY

W. H. S. JONES, M.A.

ST. CATHARINE'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE

IN SIX VOLUMES

I

BOOKS I AND II



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## PREFACE

THE present work was originally intended to be a plain translation of the text of Spiro. After a time I was requested by the Editors of the Loeb series to add a few notes, dates, maps, etc., so that the *Tour* might be more intelligible to English readers. Fully aware of the difficulties and dangers of the plan, I have nevertheless tried my best to choose from a vast quantity of material just those scraps of information which an English reader would need most. A few of the notes are printed at the side and foot of the page; most of them, together with the maps and plans, are reserved for the Index, which it is hoped to make a "companion" to Pausanias. 11

The transliteration of Greek names has been a matter of difficulty. The only way to avoid inconsistencies is to transliterate letter for letter without attempting either to Latinize or to Anglicize. To follow the rules adopted in the Loeb series without occasional inconsistencies is impossible, especially as the number of names given by Pausanias is so vast;



## PREFACE

here again I can only say that I have tried my best.

The text of Spiro has rarely been altered. A few of the most plausible conjectures, generally though not always adopted by Spiro, have been assigned to their authors in footnotes.

In my translation I have not distinguished between "Medes" and "Persians," or "Ilium" and "Troy." It is rather deceptive to an English reader to do so, and the Greek scholar can easily tell from the original which word in each case was used by Pausanias.

I have to acknowledge much kind help. Especially am I indebted to my friend Mr. A. W. Spratt, Fellow of St. Catharine's College, for his careful reading of the proofs. Professor Ridgeway and my colleague, Mr. R. B. Appleton, have given invaluable criticism and advice.

W. H. S. J.

# CONTENTS

	PAGE
PREFACE . . . . .	v
INTRODUCTION . . . . .	ix
A FEW SYNONYMS . . . . .	xxvi
THE MANUSCRIPTS OF PAUSANIAS . . . . .	xxvii
EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS . . . . .	xxviii
BOOK I.—ATTICA . . . . .	1
BOOK II.—CORINTH . . . . .	245



## INTRODUCTION

### LIFE OF PAUSANIAS

ABOUT Pausanias we know nothing except what we can gather from a few scattered hints in his own *Tour of Greece*. In book v. xiii. § 7 he mentions "the dwelling among us of Pelops and Tantalus," and "the throne of Pelops on Mount Sipylus." It is a fair inference that Pausanias was a native of Lydia. His date we can fix with tolerable certainty. In v. i. § 2 he says that two hundred and seventeen years had passed since Corinth was repeopled. Now Corinth was restored in 44 B.C., so that Pausanias was writing his fifth book in 174 A.D. Again, in vii. xx. § 6, he tells us that in his account of Attica he did not mention the Odeum of Herodes because it was not yet built at the time of writing; but we happen to know that it was built during the time of the Antonines. These emperors Pausanias knows as "the first Antonine" and "the second Antonine," and he mentions a war of the latter against the Germans and Sauromatae. This war began in 166 A.D., and the emperor triumphed in 176 A.D.

## INTRODUCTION

He does not mention the death of "the second Antonine," which took place in 180 A.D.

Of the character of Pausanias we know very little. His work is that of a commonplace mind, which accepts the conditions of the period in which it finds itself as the best possible outcome of an unhappy past. Without being a scientific critic, Pausanias can reject the improbable or relate it with a *caveat lector*. He is transparently honest, with no axe to grind and no object to be gained by intentional inaccuracy. His book exhibits no enthusiasms, either of love or of hate, but throughout it there is manifest a quiet admiration for the beauties and glories of Greece.

## THE STYLE OF PAUSANIAS

The style of Pausanias is simple and unpretentious. The matter of the work does not lend itself to literary embellishment, and, with two exceptions, the narrative unfolds itself plain and unadorned. The first exception is that Pausanias, like other Hellenistic writers, often indulges in curiously verbose and tortuous expressions to represent very simple ideas; the second is his fondness for transpositions of words, which are sometimes so violent as to throw doubt upon the sense.

The translator is sometimes troubled by what appears to be carelessness in the use of prepositions.



## INTRODUCTION

It is impossible, for example, to decide positively in many cases whether ὑπέρ means "above" or "beyond." Another source of ambiguity is the use of ἐπί with the dative case, of which Pausanias is very fond. But ἐπί with the dative may have, among others, the following meanings:—

- (1) In addition to;
- (2) Next to, close to, at, near;
- (3) On the top of;
- (4) In the case of.

Now in topographical descriptions the use of prepositions with local meanings should be very strict and precise, and it is rather unfortunate that Pausanias employs this construction of ἐπί so frequently, as the translator is often uncertain which meaning to choose, and an error may make a serious change in the sense of a passage.

Another ambiguity, occurring several times in Pausanias, is of less account, as it does not seriously affect the sense, but it may be of some interest to grammarians. Pausanias is fond of using a past tense when in many cases the natural tense in English is the present. The reason is sometimes because the writer is thinking of the time when he visited a locality, or investigated a problem, sometimes because he places himself in the position of his readers. Occasionally the past tense appears to be of the "momentary" type. In each case the

## INTRODUCTION

translator has to decide which course is the best—to use a past tense in English,<sup>1</sup> to use the present, or to paraphrase.

### THE TOUR

The work of Pausanias is far from being a complete description of ancient Greece. Many points which a modern reader would be interested in are either passed over altogether or else dismissed in the fewest possible words. Geological features, scenery, the general appearance of cities and villages, the state of agriculture and of trade, the power and efficiency of the country—all these things, which nowadays are objects of concern to an author, occupy a very small part of the narrative of Pausanias. To some extent these omissions are due to the differences between ancient taste and modern taste. The Greeks, for example, and indeed ancient peoples generally, appreciated scenery less than we do. But the chief reason for the peculiar character of the *Tour* is that Pausanias wrote for a limited public, which took little interest in such matters as industrial and economic questions. The reader he

<sup>1</sup> I have retained the past tense in i. vi. § 1, i. xii. § 2, i. xxix. § 10 (ἐπῆλθεν), and in i. xxxiii. § 3 (εἶχον, ἀπεδεχόμεν), as referring to the time when Pausanias was making his inquiries, but it would perhaps be more natural to use the English present in all cases. The tense of ἐπῆλθεν reminds one of the colloquial English, "I am sending the photograph, because I *thought* you would like to see it."

## INTRODUCTION

has in mind is the tourist, who visited Greece for pleasure. It is interesting to observe that even in the second century A.D. there were not a few who travelled for the sake of sight-seeing. We have as evidence not only the work of Pausanias, but also the many references in it (some nineteen<sup>1</sup> in all) to the *ciceroni* (ἰξήγηται) who conducted visitors over the various districts and showed them the sights, adding a running commentary of legend and gossip. Pausanias himself was one of these tourists, and he appears to have explored the country with some thoroughness.

A modern reader of Pausanias is disappointed because the information given is often so scanty, and of such a nature, that he cannot successfully visualize the place or object that is being described. This dryness of the narrative, this enumeration of sights without adequate description, indicates that Pausanias meant his work to be a guide-book to accompany the tourist on his travels and to show him what to look for; he had no intention of giving information which could be obtained by a glance on the spot.

I have spoken of the omissions of Pausanias; what kind of information is he careful to include? Towns, villages, roads, rivers, mountains and bays are given with some completeness. Fountains, and water

<sup>1</sup> See I. xlii. § 8, xxxiv. § 4, xxxv. § 8, xli. § 2, xlii. § 4; II. ix. § 7, xxiii. § 6, xxxi. § 4; IV. xxxiii. § 6; V. vi. § 6, x. § 7, xv. § 10, xviii. § 6, xx. § 4, xxi. §§ 8 and 9, xxiii. § 6; VII. vi. § 5; IX. iii. § 3.

## INTRODUCTION

supply<sup>1</sup> generally, theatres and race-courses are often mentioned. But his main interest lies in sanctuaries, statues, tombs, and the legends connected therewith. We notice moreover that, like the tourist of modern days, he devotes his attention to superficial details rather than to truly artistic qualities. When describing a statue Pausanias will tell us that it is "worth seeing" for its size or grace, but he rarely gives a critical appreciation of it. Interspersed among the descriptions of places and buildings are myths and legends, scraps of folklore and history, oracles and prophecies—in fact, odds and ends of all sorts. Sometimes, particularly when Pausanias turns aside to history, these digressions are of great length,<sup>2</sup> and seriously interrupt the main thread of the narrative. Peculiarities of ritual are regularly given when they might strike the visitor as odd. Pausanias has a voracious appetite for names. It may safely be said that he never omits to mention one if he can give it. Artists, builders, those who have dedicated votive offerings, figures in history and legend, catalogues and genealogies, appear in great

<sup>1</sup> It was natural for a Greek writer to lay stress upon water, that precious necessity in southern lands. But other creature comforts for the traveller Pausanias ignores; he does not even inform his readers where a night's lodging could be obtained.

<sup>2</sup> In a modern work they would either not appear at all, the reader being referred to other books, or they would be inserted as notes or appendices. The form of an ancient book and the difficulties of reference in ancient times account for many artistic defects in the old writers.



## INTRODUCTION

profusion. To us these names are dull enough, but to Greek ears they came fraught with pleasing and romantic associations derived from the stories of childhood, from the national poetry and sagas, and from the hymns sung at religious festivals.

Pausanias appears to have gathered most of his topographical knowledge from his own travels, but he doubtless used in places the works of his predecessors, while his historical information is fairly reliable, being generally derived from good sources.

## SUMMARY OF BOOKS I AND II

The regions described in the first two books of Pausanias are, roughly, Attica, Megaris, Corinth and Argolis. The chief places to which the reader is conducted are Sunium, Laurium, the Peiræus, Athens and its neighbourhood, Marathon, Oropus, the islands Patroclus, Helena and Salamis, Eleusis, Megara, Nisæa and Megaris, Corinth, the Isthmus, Lechaëum, Cenchreæ, Acrocorinthus, Sicyon, Titane, Phlius, Cleonæ, Argos, Mycenæ, Orneæ, Tiryns, Epidaurus, Aegina, Troezen, Hermione and its neighbourhood. The way in which Pausanias describes a place can be seen from an analysis of the first five chapters of the second book. The origin of the name Corinth; the Isthmus and what is on it; the harbours of Corinth; the tombs on the way to Corinth from Cenchreæ; the sights in Corinth itself—the



## INTRODUCTION

sanctuary of Artemis Ephesia and the images of Dionysus, the temple of Fortune, the sanctuary of all the gods, the fountain and the statues by it, the market-place with its bronze Athena and the temple of Octavia above it—the road from the market-place to Lechaëum and the sights on it, the chariots of Phaëthon and the Sun, the bronze Heracles, Peirene, the enclosure of Apollo, the statues of Hermes, Poseidon, Leucothea and Palaemon; the baths and wells of Corinth; the road from Corinth to Sicyon with the temple of Apollo, the well of Glauce, the Odeum, and the tomb of Medea's children; the legend of Medea; the temple of Athena the Bridler and the legend of Bellerophon; the other early kings of Corinth; the theatre and the Heracles of Daedalus; the sanctuary of Zeus Capitolinus; the old gymnasium and the temples of Zeus and of Asclepius; the Acrocorinthus, with enclosures of Isis and Serapis, altars to the Sun, Necessity and Force, temples of the Mother of the gods, the Fates, Demeter, Hera Bunaea and Aphrodite, the spring behind the last and the legend about it; the Teneatic gate and the sanctuary of Eileithyia; the burnt temple on the way to Sicyon. Pausanias then passes on to the Sicyonians and their city.

The general method of description seems to be to describe the road to some central spot, such as the market-place, and to make this a starting point. Pausanias first gives the chief objects of interest at his centre, and then, taking in turn the chief roads

## INTRODUCTION

leading from it, describes the sights to be seen along each, returning after a while to the starting point to begin again with a fresh road.

He does not profess to give an exhaustive account. "From the beginning my narrative has picked out of much material the things that deserve to be recorded."<sup>1</sup> Such is the rule governing his work; he commends himself for adopting it, and promises never to break it.<sup>2</sup>

## GREEK RELIGION

It will be seen that most of the sights noted by Pausanias had religious associations. Indeed, in the eyes of a Greek, everything that he could not explain, everything that puzzled or awed him, was of divine origin, and in those early and pre-scientific days the realm of the unexplained was a large one. A Greek instinctively personified the forces, powers and processes of nature, both of the animate and of the inanimate world, and this personification nearly always resulted in assigning to these aspects of nature human forms endowed with divine and miraculous characteristics, that is, in the creation of anthropomorphic gods and goddesses.

Greek religion is of disputed origin, or origins, but it is certainly a complex. It consists of several different kinds of belief, with some of which the

<sup>1</sup> I. xxxix. § 3.

<sup>2</sup> III. xi. § 1.

## INTRODUCTION

reader of Pausanias ought to be familiar. Three of them, at least, must be briefly noticed.

First there is ancestor worship, the payment of divine honours to "heroes." These divinities were on a lower level than the "gods,"<sup>1</sup> and some modern scholars plausibly conjecture that the worship of them was the native religion<sup>2</sup> of the primitive inhabitants of the country, who were conquered just before the dawn of Greek history by a race from the North, who introduced the "gods." Be this as it may, the hero depended on his descendants for sustenance to enable him to enjoy such existence as fell to his lot, and it was therefore their bounden duty to pay him the traditional honours if they wished to keep his friendship. The ritual of this service is expressed in Greek by a special verb, *ἀναιζέω*.<sup>3</sup> The offerings to a hero were not burnt; the sweet savour ascending to heaven was for the "upper gods." The dead hero in the ground was nourished by drink and food, especially by the blood

<sup>1</sup> Sometimes a "hero" became a "god" in course of time. Instances of such a change are (probably) Asclepius and Heracles. See, e.g. Pausanias II. x.

<sup>2</sup> One of the strongest pieces of evidence in support of this theory is derived from the methods of disposing of the dead. Archaeology tells us that the primitive inhabitants buried their dead, and were therefore likely to conceive of them as living a ghostly existence underground near their family; the Achæans of Homer, supposed to be the later conquerors, burned their dead, and therefore were likely to believe that the spirits of the departed left the scene of their earthly activities to take up their abode in a distant Hades.

<sup>3</sup> To sacrifice to a "god" was *θεύειν*.

## INTRODUCTION

of victims, sent down to him through his grave. Usually the sacrifice was not shared in by the worshippers, but was all sacred to the hero. The shrine of the hero was called an ἥρῳον.

Early in Greek history, probably during the eighth and seventh centuries B.C., there spread through Greece a religious movement to which the name Orphism, a name derived from the Orpheus of legend, has been given. Orphism taught that man was a creature of sin and defilement, that the body was the prison of the soul, and that by ceremonial purification the soul could win a more blessed existence in the world to come. This movement found concrete expression in the "mysteries," initiation in which was sought by those who were depressed by a consciousness of sin or by the awful facts of life and death. Mysteries were associated with the worship of the dead and with various deities,<sup>1</sup> but especially with Demeter and her worship at Eleusis. The ritual, if we may judge from the little we know about it,<sup>2</sup> was trivial and absurd, but there can be no doubt that it did much to satisfy the emotional side of the religious instincts of the Greeks. Its modern analogue is perhaps the Salvation Army.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Pausanias mentions, *e.g.*, mysteries of Demeter, of the Great Gods, and of a hero Dryops.

<sup>2</sup> The Greeks were careful not to divulge the holy secrets. We know however that they were acts, ritual and perhaps pantomime, rather than a liturgy of words.

<sup>3</sup> Any parallel is bound to be unfair and misleading, as the evangelicalism of religious bodies like the Salvation Army is



## INTRODUCTION

Thirdly, we have as a component of Greek religion nature-worship, the deification of physical forces and physical impulses. The instinct which created the fairies, brownies, elves and mermaids of our own legends gave to the Greeks that wonderful hierarchy,<sup>1</sup> with the nymphs and muses at one end and Zeus, the king of the gods, at the other. Round their names there gradually grew a matchless mythology, which was at once the inspiration and the theme of the best Greek art. Maintained by the state, although often helped by private gifts and benefactions, the more honourable of these cults, in spite of their obvious drawbacks, not only afforded an outlet for religious devotion, but also presented to the Greek mind idealised conceptions of man's activities and aspirations. Anthropomorphism, with all its defects,<sup>2</sup> provides the worshipper with a deity that he can understand, to whom he

pure and spiritual, and, unlike any form of Greek religion, is closely connected with a strict moral code. But there are certain close resemblances, only to be explained by the fact that religious emotion does not differ much from age to age and seeks to express itself by the same or similar channels.

<sup>1</sup> It is not implied that all *theoi* originated in nature-worship, but only that such worship is an important factor in this part of Greek religion. Although Greek religion has many aspects, it must not be thought that these are altogether separate and unconnected. The exact relations, however, that they bear to one another are largely a matter of conjecture.

<sup>2</sup> These defects are largely due to the conservatism of religious traditions, which preserve and pass on to the future the ideals of a less developed, less moral, past.

## INTRODUCTION

can attribute, sometimes indeed his vices, but more often his noblest virtues, raised to a height they never attain in the actual, workaday world. A conception like that of Athena, once thoroughly established, grew; poets and sculptors purified and enriched it, and the religious consciousness of the worshipper, deepening ever from age to age, gave to it a fuller and nobler significance. It was to art that religion owed most; indeed, art exerted that purifying influence which is exerted on modern religions by the development of the moral sense. The grandeur of the Parthenon and the majesty of the Athena of Pheidias could not fail to awake in Athenian hearts loftier notions both of divinity and of womanhood.

The ritual that formed part of the worship of a "god" differed from the ritual of "hero" worship. The offering, or rather a part<sup>1</sup> of it, was burnt, so as to send a sweet smell to the deity above; after the sacrifice, the rest of the victim formed part of a feast shared in by both worshippers and priest.

Even this brief summary of Greek religion must not entirely omit the ceremonies of riddance, ritual by which the Greeks tried to ward off evil influences which they did not attempt to personify. These rituals often had affinities to magic, and are perhaps the most primitive and degraded element in Greek

<sup>1</sup> The thigh-bones wrapped in fat.

## INTRODUCTION

belief. Probably the Thesmophoria and the Lithobolia (Stoning) were ceremonies of this type.

Finally, we have the cults that were imported late, those for example of Isis and Serapis, signs of the close connexion between Greece and Egypt, and also those of the Roman emperors, to whom every subject of the Roman empire was expected to pay his respects.

There were no sermons and few prayers in Greek worship. Its object was, not to edify the worshipper, but to persuade the god or goddess to grant a favour. The chief means employed of persuading the deity were burnt sacrifice, processions, dances and hymns.

It should be noticed that there was no priestly caste. Many of the priesthoods were held by girls or women, and, with very few exceptions, no ministers of the gods laid any claim to peculiar sanctity. There were indeed diviners, who were more skilled than ordinary men in interpreting omens or in discovering the intentions of heaven, but, on the whole, Greek religion was singularly free from priestcraft<sup>1</sup> of any kind.

## SURNAMES OF GODS

Any reader of Pausanias will be struck by the number of epithets or surnames attached to the names of certain gods. The following is a list of

<sup>1</sup> Possibly there was most priestcraft in the oracles, especially that at Delphi, and in the mysteries.

## INTRODUCTION

the chief divinities he mentions with the number of surnames given to each :—

Aphrodite . . . . .	27	Fortune . . . . .	3
Apollo . . . . .	58	Hera . . . . .	18
Ares . . . . .	4	Heracles . . . . .	11
Artemis . . . . .	64	Hermes . . . . .	15
Asclepius . . . . .	10	Muses . . . . .	2
Athena . . . . .	59	Nymphs . . . . .	10
Core . . . . .	6	Pan . . . . .	4
Demeter . . . . .	26	Poseidon . . . . .	18
Dionysus . . . . .	27	Sleep . . . . .	1
Dioscuri . . . . .	2	Zeus . . . . .	67

Pausanias gives no surnames of Cronus, Hephaestus, Leto, Pluto, or of the Graces. #

The mere number of epithets attached to a deity is a fair test of the power of his cult to appeal to the religious instinct. But a closer examination of them will enable a reader to appreciate passages in Pausanias which otherwise may be almost meaningless.

Many of the epithets merely refer to the city or place in which the cult was established. Thus Artemis was called Brauronian, Ephesian, Munychian and Tauric; Poseidon was Heliconian, Isthmian, Onchestian, Taenarian.

Other surnames are derived from the names of animals. In many cases, without a doubt, the deity was originally an animal, or at any rate manifested himself in the form of an animal; while in other

xxiii



## INTRODUCTION

cases the epithet merely refers to some locality about the deity. Examples are :—

Apollo.	. . .	Wolf-god.
Apollo.	. . .	Locust-god.
Athena	. . .	Horse-goddess.
Zeus	. . .	Cuckoo-god.
Artemis	. . .	Goat-goddess.

Not a few surnames are taken from the names of plants sacred to the deity, for instance, Demeter Grass and Dionysus Ivy.

A great number of epithets refer to some mode in which the divine power manifests itself, or to some aspect or characteristic of the deity, either (*a*) general or (*b*) peculiar to a particular time or place.

Zeus was :—

Lord of Thunderbolts.  
Lord of Dust.  
Cleanser.  
Gracious.  
Saviour.

Apollo was :—

Lord of Embarking.  
Lord of Streets.  
Healer.

Again, the surname may mark the supplanting of one deity by another, as Artemis supplanted Phegea, the Goddess of Nets, Apollo Carneüs, Hermes (apparently) a hero Aepytus. In  
*xxiv*

## INTRODUCTION

cases the epithet perpetuates some detail of a legend (Athena Trumpet), of a temple (Athena of the Bronze House), or even of a type of image (Athena Sharp-sighted). In a great number of cases the meaning can only be guessed at, or has been entirely lost.

## A FEW SYNONYMS

There are a few synonyms, mostly with religious associations, a short discussion of which will not be out of place here.

- (1) ἡρώων: hero-shrine or "chapel," the temple of a hero or demi-god.

ιερόν: sanctuary, the holy ground belonging to a god or (sometimes) a hero,<sup>1</sup> and generally containing a temple.

ναός: temple, the actual building. It is sometimes used of a hero-shrine.<sup>2</sup>

περίβολος, τέμενος: precinct, sacred enclosure. It is hard to distinguish between these two words. Perhaps the former looks more to the boundaries of the precinct, the latter to the space enclosed. Usually the words are used of *ιερά* without a *ναός*.<sup>3</sup>

- (2) ξύλον: wooden image of a god. Statues of wood are older than those of metal or stone.

ἄγαλμα: image, statue, generally of a god. It might be translated "idol" were it not for the superstitious associations of this word.

ἀνδριάς: statue of a man. This word has no religious associations, and in this way can be distinguished from ἄγαλμα.

εἰκὼν: portrait, likeness, often identical in meaning with ἀνδριάς.<sup>4</sup>

ἕδος: used only once in Pausanias, of a statue of Aphrodite.<sup>5</sup>

- (3) τάφος: grave, burying-place.

μνῆμα: tomb, memorial, monument. The word therefore suggests more than τάφος, though the two are sometimes identical.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> III. xv. § 3.

<sup>2</sup> III. xv. § 7.

<sup>3</sup> But sometimes a τέμενος has a ναός, II. xxiii. § 7.

<sup>4</sup> See, e.g., III. xvii. § 7 and III. xviii. § 1.

<sup>5</sup> II. xx. § 8.

<sup>6</sup> III. xv. §§ 2 and 3.

## THE MANUSCRIPTS OF PAUSANIAS

There are many MSS. of Pausanias, but all are late. They have been divided into three classes, of which the best representatives are:—

- (1) P, a manuscript written in the year 1491 A. D. It is now in Paris, and is known as Parisinus 1410.

Pd, known as Parisinus 1411.

Fa, now at Florence, and known as Laurentianus 56. 10.

Fb, also at Florence, and known as Laurentianus 56. 11.

- (2) L, now at Leyden, known as Lugdunensis 16. K.

- (3) V, now at Vienna, known as Vindobonensis 23.

M, now at Moscow, known as Mosquensis 194.

Vn, now at Venice, known as Venetus 413.

Lb, now at Leyden, known as Lugdunensis 16. L.

The first two groups are closely connected, while the third has given us the "vulgate" or common text. It does not seem likely that a further study of the MSS. will, of itself, do much to clear away the blemishes that still disfigure the text of Pausanias. The chief blemishes are gaps in the text, where the manuscript tradition fails us entirely. Conjectures may sometimes fill these gaps plausibly, but obviously no great trust can be reposed in them.

## EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS

The following are the chief editions of *Pausanias* :—

1516 (Venice), M. Musurus.

1550 (Basle), A. Loescher.

1613 (Hanover), G. Xylander.

This is one of the best early editions.

1794-6 (Leipzig), Jo. F. Facius.

1822-8 (Leipzig), C. G. Siebelis.

1826-7 (Berlin), I. Bekker.

1838 (Leipzig), J. H. C. Schubart et Chr. Walz.

1845 (Paris), L. Dindorf.

1853 (Leipzig), J. H. C. Schubart.

1896-1910 (Leipzig), H. Hitzig, H. Bluemner.

1903 (Leipzig), F. Spiro.

The English Translations are :—

1794 (London), T. Taylor.

1886 (London), A. R. Shilleto.

1898 (London), J. G. Frazer.

The last has a monumental commentary, and is the standard work of reference in English.

**PAUSANIAS**  
**DESCRIPTION OF GREECE**  
**BOOK I—ATTICA**

**VOL. I.**

**B**

ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΟΥ  
ΕΛΛΑΔΟΣ ΠΕΡΙΗΓΗΣΕΩΣ

Α'

ΑΤΤΙΚΑ

Ι. Τῆς ἡπείρου τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς κατὰ νῆσους τὰς Κυκλάδας καὶ πέλαγος τὸ Αἰγαῖον ἄκρα Σούνιον πρόκειται γῆς τῆς Ἀττικῆς· καὶ λιμὴν τε παραπλεύσαντι τὴν ἄκραν ἐστὶ καὶ ναὸς Ἀθηνᾶς Σουνιάδος ἐπὶ κορυφῇ τῆς ἄκρας. πλέοντι δὲ ἐς τὸ πρόσω Λαυρίου τέ ἐστιν, ἐνθα ποτὲ Ἀθηναίοις ἦν ἀργύρου μέταλλα, καὶ νῆσος ἔρημος οὐ μεγάλη Πατρόκλου καλουμένη· τείχος γὰρ ὠκοδομήσατο ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ χάρακα ἐβάλετο Πάτροκλος, ὃς τριήρεσιν ὑπέπλει ναύαρχος Αἰγυπτίαις, ἃς Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Λάγου τιμωρεῖν ἔστειλεν Ἀθηναίοις, ὅτε σφίσιν Ἀντίγονος ὁ Δημητρίου στρατιᾷ τε αὐτὸς ἐσβεβληκῶς ἐφθειρε τὴν χώραν καὶ ναυσὶν ἅμα ἐκ θαλάσσης κατεΐργεν.

- 2 Ὁ δὲ Πειραιεὺς δῆμος μὲν ἦν ἐκ παλαιοῦ, πρότερον δὲ πρὶν ἢ Θεμιστοκλῆς Ἀθηναίοις ἤρξεν ἐπίνειον οὐκ ἦν· Φαληρὸν δέ—ταύτῃ γὰρ ἐλάχιστον ἀπέχει τῆς πόλεως ἢ θάλασσα—,

PAUSANIAS  
DESCRIPTION OF GREECE

BOOK I

ATTICA

I. ON the Greek mainland facing the Cyclades Islands and the Aegean Sea the Sunium promontory stands out from the Attic land. When you have rounded the promontory you see a harbour and a temple to Athena of Sunium on the peak of the promontory. Farther on is Laurium, where once the Athenians had silver mines, and a small uninhabited island called the Island of Patroclus. For a fortification was built on it and a palisade constructed by Patroclus, who was admiral in command of the Egyptian men-of-war sent by Ptolemy, son of Ptolemy, son of Lagus, to help the Athenians, when Antigonos, son of Demetrius, was ravaging their country, which he had invaded with an army, and at the same time was blockading them by sea with a fleet.

c. 267-  
263 B.C.

The Peiraeus was a parish from early times, though it was not a port before Themistocles became an archon of the Athenians. Their port was Phalerum, for at this place the sea comes nearest to

493 B.C.



τοῦτό σφισιν ἐπίκειον ἦν, καὶ Μενεσθέα φασὶν  
 αὐτόθεν ταῖς ναυσὶν εἰς Τροίαν ἀναχθῆναι καὶ  
 τούτου πρότερόν ᾿Θησέα δώσοντα Μίνω δίκας τῆς  
 ᾿Ανδρόγεω τελευτῆς. Θεμιστοκλῆς δὲ ὡς ἤρξε—  
 τοῖς τε γὰρ πλέουσιν ἐπιτηδεύότερος ὁ Πειραιεὺς  
 ἐφαίνεται ὁ προκείσθαι καὶ λιμένας τρεῖς ἀνθ'  
 ἑνὸς ἔχειν τοῦ Φαληροῦ—τοῦτό σφισιν ἐπίνειον  
 εἶναι κατεσκευάσατο· καὶ νεῶς καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἦσαν  
 ἑῖκοι καὶ πρὸς τῷ μεγίστῳ λιμένι τάφος Θεμι-  
 στοκλέους. φασὶ γὰρ μεταμελῆσαι τῶν ἐς  
 Θεμιστοκλέα ᾿Αθηναίους καὶ ὡς οἱ προσήκοντες  
 τὰ ὅσα κομίσαιεν ἐκ Μαγνησίας ἀνελόντες·  
 φαίνονται δὲ οἱ παῖδες οἱ Θεμιστοκλέους καὶ  
 κατελθόντες καὶ γραφὴν ἐς τὸν Παρθενῶνα  
 ἀναθέντες, ἐν ᾗ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐστὶ γεγραμμένος.  
 3 θῆας δὲ ἄξιον τῶν ἐν Πειραιεὶ μάλιστα ᾿Αθηνᾶς  
 ἐστὶ καὶ Διὸς τέμενος· χαλκοῦ μὲν ἀμφότερα τὰ  
 ἀγάλματα, ἔχει δὲ ὁ μὲν σκῆπτρον καὶ Νίκην, ἡ  
 δὲ ᾿Αθηνᾶ δόρυ. ἐνταῦθα Λεωσθένην, ὃς ᾿Αθη-  
 ναίοις καὶ τοῖς πᾶσιν Ἕλλησιν ἡγούμενος Μακε-  
 δόνας ἐν τε Βοιωτοῖς ἐκράτησε μάχῃ καὶ αὐθις  
 ἔξω Θερμοπυλῶν καὶ βιασάμενος ἐς Λάμιαν  
 κατέκλεισε τὴν ἀπαντικρὺ τῆς Οἴτης, τοῦτον  
 τὸν Λεωσθένην καὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἔγραψεν ᾿Αρκε-  
 σίλαος· ἐστὶ δὲ τῆς στοᾶς τῆς μακρᾶς, ἐνθα  
 καθέστηκεν ἀγορὰ τοῖς ἐπὶ θαλάσσης—καὶ γὰρ  
 τοῖς ἀπωτέρω τοῦ λιμένος ἐστὶν ἑτέρα—, τῆς δὲ  
 ἐπὶ θαλάσσης στοᾶς ὀπισθεν ἐστᾶσι Ζεὺς καὶ  
 Δῆμος, Λεωχάρους ἔργον. πρὸς δὲ τῇ θαλάσῃ  
 Κόνων ᾠκοδόμησεν ᾿Αφροδίτης ἱερόν, τριῆρεις  
 Λακεδαιμονίων κατεργασάμενος περὶ Κνίδον τὴν  
 ἐν τῇ Καρικῇ χερρονήσῳ. Κνίδιοι γὰρ τιμῶσιν

Athens, and from here men say that Menestheus set sail with his fleet for Troy, and before him Theseus, when he went to give satisfaction to Minos for the death of Androgeos. But when Themistocles became archon, since he thought that the Peiraeus was more conveniently situated for mariners, and had three harbours as against one at Phalerum, he made it the Athenian port. Even up to my time there were docks there, and near the largest harbour is the grave of Themistocles. For it is said that the Athenians repented of their treatment of Themistocles, and that his relations took up his bones and brought them from Magnesia. And the children of Themistocles certainly returned and set up in the Parthenon a painting, on which is a portrait of Themistocles. The most noteworthy sight in the Peiraeus is a precinct of Athena and Zeus. Both their images are of bronze; Zeus holds a staff and a Victory, Athena a spear. Here is a portrait of Leosthenes and of his sons, painted by Arcesilaus. This Leosthenes at the head of the Athenians and the united Greeks defeated the Macedonians in Boeotia and again outside Thermopylae, forced them into Lamia over against Oeta, and shut them up there. The portrait is in the long portico, where stands a market-place for those living near the sea—those farther away from the harbour have another—but behind the portico near the sea stand a Zeus and a Demos, the work of Leochares. And by the sea Conon built a sanctuary of Aphrodite, after he had crushed the Lacedaemonian warships off Cnidus in the Carian peninsula. For the Cnidians

323 n.

fl. c.  
350 n.

904 n.

Ἀφροδίτην μάλιστα, καὶ σφισιν ἔστιν ἱερὰ τῆς θεοῦ· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀρχαιότατον Δωρίτιδος, μετὰ δὲ τὸ Ἀκράϊας, νεώτατον δὲ ἦν Κνιδίαν οἱ πολλοί, Κνίδιοι δὲ αὐτοὶ καλοῦσιν Εὐπλοίαν.

— 4 Ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλος Ἀθηναῖος ὁ μὲν ἐπὶ Μουνυχίᾳ λιμὴν καὶ Μουνυχίας ναὸς Ἀρτέμιδος, ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ Φαληρῷ, καθὰ καὶ πρότερον εἴρηται μοι, καὶ πρὸς αὐτῷ Διμήτρος ἱερόν. ἐνταῦθα καὶ Σκιράδος Ἀθηνᾶς ναὸς ἔστι καὶ Διὸς ἄπω-  
τέρω, βωμοὶ δὲ θεῶν τε ὀνομαζομένων Ἀγνώστων καὶ ἡρώων καὶ παίδων τῶν Θησέως καὶ Φαληροῦ·  
τοῦτον γὰρ τὸν Φαληρὸν Ἀθηναῖοι πλεῦσαι μετὰ Ἰάσονός φασιν εἰς Κόλχους. ἔστι δὲ καὶ Ἀνδρόγεω βωμὸς τοῦ Μίνω, καλεῖται δὲ Ἥρωος· Ἀνδρόγεω δὲ ὄντα ἴσασιν οἷς ἔστιν ἐπιμελὲς τὰ  
5 ἐγγχώρια σαφέστερον ἄλλων ἐπίστασθαι. ἀπέχει δὲ σταδίου εἴκοσιν ἄκρα Κωλιάς· εἰς ταύτην φθαρέντος τοῦ ναυτικοῦ τοῦ Μήδων κατήνεγκεν ὁ κλύδων τὰ ναύαγια. Κωλιάδος δὲ ἔστιν ἐν-  
ταῦθα Ἀφροδίτης ἄγαλμα καὶ Γενετυλλίδες ὀνομαζόμεναι θεαί· δοκῶ δὲ καὶ Φωκαεῦσι τοῖς ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ θεάς, ἃς καλοῦσι Γενναΐδας, εἶναι ταῖς ἐπὶ Κωλιάδι τὰς αὐτάς.— ἔστι δὲ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν εἰς Ἀθήνας ἐκ Φαληροῦ ναὸς Ἥρας οὔτε θύρας ἔχων οὔτε ὄροφον· Μαρδόνιον φασιν αὐτὸν ἐμπρῆσαι τὸν Γωβρύου. τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα τὸ νῦν δὴ, καθὰ λέγουσιν, Ἀλκαμένους ἔστιν ἔργον· οὐκ ἂν τοῦτό γε ὁ Μῆδος εἶη λελωβημένος.

II. Ἑσελθόντων δὲ εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἔστιν Ἀν-

hold Aphrodite in very great honour, and they have sanctuaries of the goddess; the oldest is to her as Doritis (*Bountiful*), the next in age as Acraea (*Of the Height*), while the newest is to the Aphrodite called Cnidian by men generally, but Euploia (*Fair Voyage*) by the Cnidians themselves.

The Athenians have also another harbour, at Munychia, with a temple of Artemis of Munychia, and yet another at Phalerum, as I have already stated, and near it is a sanctuary of Demeter. Here there is also a temple of Athena Sciras, and one of Zeus some distance away, and altars of the gods named Unknown, and of heroes, and of the children of Theseus and Phalerus; for this Phalerus is said by the Athenians to have sailed with Jason to Colchis. There is also an altar of Androgeos, son of Minos, though it is called that of Heros; those, however, who pay special attention to the study of their country's antiquities know that it belongs to Androgeos. Twenty stades away is the Coliad promontory; on to it, when the Persian fleet was destroyed, the wrecks were carried down by the waves. There is here an image of the Coliad Aphrodite, with the goddesses Genetyllides (*Goddesses of Birth*), as they are called. And I am of opinion that the goddesses of the Phocaeans in Ionia, whom they call Gennaides, are the same as those at Colias. On the way from Phalerum to Athens there is a temple of Hera with neither doors nor roof. Men say that Mardonius, son of Gobryas, burnt it. But the image there to-day is, as report goes, the work of Alcamenes. So that this, at any rate, cannot have been damaged by the Persians.

A. 440-  
400 B.C.

II. On entering the city there is a monument to



PAUSANIAS: DESCRIPTION OF GREECE

τιόπης μνήμα Ἀμαζόνος. ταύτην τὴν Ἀντιόπην Πίνδαρος μὲν φησιν ὑπὸ Πειρίθου καὶ Θησέως ἀρπασθῆναι, Τροίξηνίῳ δὲ Ἠγία τοιάδε ἐς αὐτὴν πεποιῆται· Ἡρακλέα Θεμίσκυραν πολιορκούντα τὴν ἐπὶ Θερμώδοντι εἰλεῖν μὴ δύνασθαι, Θησέως δὲ ἐρασθεῖσαν Ἀντιόπην—στρατεῦσαι γὰρ ἅμα Ἡρακλεῖ καὶ Θησέα—παραδοῦναι τὸ χωρίον. τάδε μὲν Ἠγίας πεποίηκεν· Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ φασιν, ἐπεὶ τε ἦλθον Ἀμαζόνες, Ἀντιόπην μὲν ὑπὸ Μολπαδίας τοξευθῆναι, Μολπαδίαν δὲ ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὸ Θησέως. καὶ μνήμά ἐστι καὶ Μολπαδίας Ἀθηναίοις.

- 2 Ἀνιόντων δὲ ἐκ Πειραιῶς ἐρείπια τῶν τειχῶν ἐστίν, ἃ Κόνων ὕστερον τῆς πρὸς Κνίδος ναυμαχίας ἀνέστησε· τὰ γὰρ Θεμιστοκλέους μετὰ τὴν ἀναχώρησιν οἰκοδομηθέντα τὴν Μήδων ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς καθηρέθη τῶν τριάκοντα ὀνομαζομένων. εἰσὶ δὲ τάφοι κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν γνωριμώτατοι Μεγάνδρου τοῦ Διοπίθους καὶ μνήμα Εὐριπίδου κενόν· τέθραπται δὲ Εὐριπίδης ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ παρὰ τὸν βασιλέα ἐλθὼν Ἀρχέλαον, ὃ δὲ οἱ τοῦ θανάτου τρόπος—πολλοῖς γὰρ ἐστὶν εἰρημένος—ἐχέτω
- 3 καθὰ λέγουσιν. συνῆσαν δὲ ἄρα καὶ τότε τοῖς βασιλεῦσι ποιηταὶ καὶ πρότερον ἔτι καὶ Πολυκράτει Σάμου τυραννοῦντι Ἀνακρέων παρὴν καὶ ἐς Συρακούσας πρὸς Τέρωνα Αἰσχύλος καὶ Σιμωνίδης ἐστάλησαν· Διονυσίῳ δὲ, ὃς ὕστερον ἐτυράννησεν ἐν Σικελίᾳ, Φιλόξενος παρὴν καὶ Ἀντιγόνη Μακεδόνων ἄρχοντι Ἀνταγόρας Ῥόδιος καὶ Σολεὺς Ἀρατος. Ἡσίοδος δὲ καὶ Ὅμηρος ἢ συγγενέσθαι βασιλεῦσιν ἠτύχησαν ἢ καὶ ἐκόντες ὠλιγόρησαν, ὃ μὲν ἀγροικία καὶ ὄκνη

Antiope the Amazon. This Antiope, Pindar says, was carried off by Peirithous and Theseus, but Hegias of Troezen gives the following account of her. Heracles was besieging Themiscyra on the Thermodon, but could not take it, but Antiope, falling in love with Theseus, who was aiding Heracles in his campaign, surrendered the stronghold. Such is the account of Hegias. But the Athenians assert that when the Amazons came, Antiope was shot by Molpadia, while Molpadia was killed by Theseus. To Molpadia also there is a monument among the Athenians.

As you go up from the Peiraeus you see the ruins of the walls which Conon restored after the naval battle off Cnidus. For those built by Themistocles after the retreat of the Persians were destroyed during the rule of those named the Thirty. Along the road are very famous graves, that of Menander, son of Diopetthes, and a cenotaph of Euripides. He himself went to King Archelaus and lies buried in Macedonia; as to the manner of his death (many have described it), let it be as they say. So even in his time poets lived at the courts of kings, as earlier still Anacreon consorted with Polycrates, despot of Samos, and Aeschylus and Simonides journeyed to Hiero at Syracuse. Dionysius, afterwards despot in Sicily, had Philoxenus at his court, and Antigonus,<sup>1</sup> ruler of Macedonia, had Antagoras of Rhodes and Aratus of Soli. But Hesiod and Homer either failed to win the society of kings or else purposely despised it, Hesiod through boorishness and reluctance to

<sup>1</sup> Antigonus surnamed Gonatas became king of Macedonia in 283 B.C.

πλάνης, "Ὀμηρος δὲ ἀποδημήσας ἐπὶ μακρότατον καὶ τὴν ὠφέλειαν τὴν ἐς χρήματα παρὰ τῶν δυνατῶν ὑστέραν θέμενος τῆς παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς δόξης, ἐπεὶ καὶ Ὀμήρῳ πεποιημένα ἐστὶν Ἀλκίνοῦ παρεῖναι Δημόδοκον καὶ ὡς Ἀγαμέμνων καταλείποι τινὰ παρὰ τῇ γυναικὶ ποιητήν.—ἔστι δὲ τάφος οὐ πόρρω τῶν πυλῶν, ἐπίθημα ἔχων στρατιωτὴν ἵππῳ παρεστηκότα· ὄντινα μὲν, οὐκ οἶδα, Πραξιτέλης δὲ καὶ τὸν ἵππον καὶ τὸν στρατιώτην ἐποίησεν.

- 4 Ἐσελθόντων δὲ ἐς τὴν πόλιν οἰκοδόμημα ἐς παρασκευὴν ἐστὶ τῶν πομπῶν, ἃς πέμπουσι τὰς μὲν ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος, τὰς δὲ καὶ χρόνον διαλείποντες. καὶ πλησίον ναός ἐστι Δήμητρος, ἀγάλματα δὲ αὐτῇ τε καὶ ἡ παῖς καὶ δᾶδα ἔχων Ἰακχος· γέγραπται δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ τοίχῳ γράμμασιν Ἀττικοῖς ἔργα εἶναι Πραξιτέλους. τοῦ ναοῦ δὲ οὐ πόρρω Ποσειδῶν ἐστὶν ἐφ' ἵππου, δόρυ ἀφιεῖς ἐπὶ γίγαντα Πολυβώτην, ἐς ὃν Κῳοῖς ὁ μῦθος ὁ περὶ τῆς ἄκρας ἔχει τῆς Χελώνης· τὸ δὲ ἐπίγραμμα τὸ ἐφ' ἡμῶν τὴν εἰκόνα ἄλλῃ δίδωσι καὶ οὐ Ποσειδῶνι. στοαὶ δὲ εἰσὶν ἀπὸ τῶν πυλῶν ἐς τὸν Κεραμεικὸν καὶ εἰκόνες πρὸ αὐτῶν χαλκαὶ καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ ἀνδρῶν, ὅσοις τι ὑπῆρχεν
- 5 ἐς δόξαν. ἡ δὲ ἑτέρα τῶν στοῶν ἔχει μὲν ἱερὰ θεῶν, ἔχει δὲ γυμνάσιον Ἑρμοῦ καλούμενον· ἐστὶ δὲ ἐν αὐτῇ Πουλυτίωνος οἰκία, καθ' ἣν παρὰ τὴν ἐν Ἐλευσίνι δρᾶσαι τελετὴν Ἀθηναῖον φασὶν οὐ τοὺς ἀφανεστάτους· ἐπ' ἐμοῦ δὲ ἀνεῖτο Διονύσω. Διόνυσον δὲ τοῦτον καλοῦσι Μελπόμενον ἐπὶ λογῷ τοιῷδε ἐφ' ὁποῖον περ Ἀπόλλωνα Μουσηγέτην. ἐνταυθὰ ἐστὶν Ἀθηναῖς

travel, while Homer, having gone very far abroad, depreciated the help afforded by despots in the acquisition of wealth in comparison with his reputation among ordinary men. And yet Homer, too, in his poem makes Demodocus live at the court of Alcinous, and Agamemnon leave a poet with his wife. Not far from the gates is a grave, on which is mounted a soldier standing by a horse. Who it is I do not know, but both horse and soldier were carved by Praxiteles.

On entering the city there is a building for the preparation of the processions, which are held in some cases every year, in others at longer intervals. Hard by is a temple of Demeter, with images of the goddess herself and of her daughter, and of Iacchus holding a torch. On the wall, in Attic characters, is written that they are works of Praxiteles. Not far from the temple is Poseidon on horseback, hurling a spear against the giant Polybotes, concerning whom is prevalent among the Coans the story about the promontory of Chelone. But the inscription of our time assigns the statue to another, and not to Poseidon. From the gate to the Cerameicus there are porticoes, and in front of them brazen statues of such as had some title to fame, both men and women. One of the porticoes contains shrines of gods, and a gymnasium called that of Hermes. In it is the house of Pulytion, at which it is said that a mystic rite was performed by the most notable Athenians, parodying the Eleusinian mysteries. But in my time it was devoted to the worship of Dionysus. This Dionysus they call Melpomenus (*Minstrel*), on the same principle as they call Apollo Musegetes (*Leader of the Muses*). Here there are images of



ἄγαλμα Παιωνίας καὶ Διὸς καὶ Μνημοσύνης καὶ  
 Μουσῶν, Ἀπόλλων τε ἀνάθημα καὶ ἔργον Εὐ-  
 βουλίδου, καὶ δαίμων τῶν ἀμφὶ Διόνυσον Ἀκρα-  
 τος· πρόσωπόν ἐστὶν οἱ μόνον ἐνφοδομημένον  
 τοίχῳ. μετὰ δὲ τὸ τοῦ Διονύσου τέμενός ἐστιν  
 οἶκημα ἀγάλματα ἔχον ἐκ πηλοῦ, βασιλεὺς  
 Ἀθηναίων Ἀμφικτύων ἄλλους τε θεοὺς ἐστῶν  
 καὶ Διόνυσον. ἐνταῦθα καὶ Πήγασός ἐστιν  
 Ἐλευθερεὺς, ὃς Ἀθηναίοις τὸν θεὸν ἐσήγαγε·  
 συνεπελάβετο δὲ οἱ τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς μαντεῖον ἀνα-  
 μνησαν τὴν ἐπὶ Ἰκαρίου ποτὲ ἐπιδημίαν τοῦ θεοῦ.  
 6 τὴν δὲ βασιλείαν Ἀμφικτύων ἔσχευ οὕτως.  
 Ἀκταῖον λέγουσιν ἐν τῇ νῦν Ἀττικῇ βασιλεῦσαι  
 πρῶτον· ἀποθανόντος δὲ Ἀκταίου Κέκροψ ἐκ-  
 δέχεται τὴν ἀρχὴν θυγατρὶ συνοικῶν Ἀκταίου,  
 καὶ οἱ γίνονται θυγατέρες μὲν Ἔρση καὶ Ἀγλαυ-  
 ρος καὶ Πάνδροσος, υἱὸς δὲ Ἐρυσίχθων· οὗτος  
 οὐκ ἐβασίλευσεν Ἀθηναίων, ἀλλὰ οἱ τοῦ πατρὸς  
 ζῶντος τελευτῆσαι συνέβη, καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν  
 Κέκροπος Κραναὸς ἐξεδέξατο, Ἀθηναίων δυνάμει  
 προύχων. Κραναῷ δὲ θυγατέρας καὶ ἄλλας καὶ  
 Ἀτθίδα γενέσθαι λέγουσιν· ἀπὸ ταύτης ὀνομά-  
 ζουσιν Ἀττικὴν τὴν χώραν, πρότερον καλουμένην  
 Ἀκταίαν. Κραναῷ δὲ Ἀμφικτύων ἐπαναστάς,  
 θυγατέρα ὅμως ἔχων αὐτοῦ, παύει τῆς ἀρχῆς· καὶ  
 αὐτὸς ὕστερον ὑπὸ Ἐριχθονίου καὶ τῶν συνεπ-  
 αναστάντων ἐκπίπτει· πατέρα δὲ Ἐριχθονίῳ  
 λέγουσιν ἀνθρώπων μὲν οὐδένα εἶναι, γονεάς δὲ  
 Ἥφαιστον καὶ Γῆν.

III. Τὸ δὲ χωρίον ὃ Κεραμεικὸς τὸ μὲν ὄνομα  
 ἔχει ἀπὸ ἥρωος Κεράμου, Διονύσου τε εἶναι καὶ  
 Ἀριάδνης καὶ τούτου λεγομένου· πρώτη δὲ ἐστὶν

Athena Paeonia (*Healer*), of Zeus, of Mnemosyne (*Memory*) and of the Muses, an Apollo, the votive offering and work of Eubulides, and Acratus, a daemon attendant upon Apollo; it is only a face of him worked into the wall. After the precinct of Apollo is a building that contains earthenware images, Amphictyon, king of Athens, feasting Dionysus and other gods. Here also is Pegasus of Eleutheræ, who introduced the god to the Athenians. Herein he was helped by the oracle at Delphi, which called to mind that the god once dwelt in Athens in the days of Icarius. Amphictyon won the kingdom thus. It is said that Actæus was the first king of what is now Attica. When he died, Cecrops, the son-in-law of Actæus, received the kingdom, and there were born to him daughters, Herse, Aglaurus and Pandrosus, and a son Erysichthon. This son did not become king of the Athenians, but happened to die while his father lived, and the kingdom of Cecrops fell to Cranaus, the most powerful of the Athenians. They say that Cranaus had daughters, and among them Atthis; and from her they call the country Attica, which before was named Actæa. And Amphictyon, rising up against Cranaus, although he had his daughter to wife, deposed him from power. Afterwards he himself was banished by Erichthonius and his fellow rebels. Men say that Erichthonius had no human father, but that his parents were Hephaestus and Earth.

III. The district of the Cerameicus has its name from the hero Ceramus, he too being the reputed son of Dionysus and Ariadne. First on the right is

- ἐν δεξιᾷ καλουμένη στοὰ βασιλείος, ἔνθα καθίζει βασιλεὺς ἐνιαυσίαν ἄρχων ἀρχὴν καλουμένην βασιλείαν. ταύτης ἔπεστι τῷ κεράμῳ τῆς στοᾶς ἀγάλματα ὅπτης γῆς, ἀφιεῖς Θησεὺς ἐς θάλασσαν Σκίρωνα καὶ φέρουσα Ἡμέρα Κέφαλον, ὃν κάλλιστον γενόμενόν φασιν ὑπὸ Ἡμέρας ἐρασθείσης ἀρπασθῆναι· καὶ οἱ παῖδα γενέσθαι Φαέθοντα, <ὃν ὕστερον ἢ Ἀφροδίτῃ ἤρπασε> . . . καὶ φύλακα ἐποίησε τοῦ ναοῦ. ταῦτα ἄλλοι τε καὶ Ἡσίοδος εἴρηκεν ἐν ἔπεσι τοῖς ἐς τὰς γυναῖκας.
- 2 πλησίον δὲ τῆς στοᾶς Κόνων ἔστηκε καὶ Τιμόθεος υἱὸς Κόνωνος καὶ βασιλεὺς Κυπρίων Εὐαγόρας, ὃς καὶ τὰς τριήρεις τὰς Φοινίσσας ἔπραξε παρὰ βασιλέως Ἀρταξέρξου δοθῆναι Κόνωνι· ἔπραξε δὲ ὡς Ἀθηναῖος καὶ τὸ ἀνέκαθεν ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος, ἐπεὶ καὶ γενεαλογῶν ἐς προγόνους ἀνέβαινε Τεῦκρον καὶ Κινύρου θυγατέρα. ἐνταῦθα ἔστηκε Ζεὺς ὀνομαζόμενος Ἐλευθέριος καὶ βασιλεὺς Ἀδριανός, ἐς ἄλλους τε ὧν ἤρχεν εὐεργεσίας καὶ ἐς τὴν πόλιν μάλιστα ἀποδειξάμενος τὴν
- 3 Ἀθηναίων. στοὰ δὲ ὅπισθεν ᾠκοδόμηται γραφὰς ἔχουσα θεοὺς τοὺς δώδεκα καλουμένους· ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ τοίχῳ τῷ πέραν Θησεὺς ἐστὶ γεγραμμένος καὶ Δημοκρατία τε καὶ Δῆμος. δηλοῖ δὲ ἡ γραφὴ Θησέα εἶναι τὸν καταστήσαντα Ἀθηναίους ἐξ ἴσου πολιτεύεσθαι· κεχώρηκε δὲ φήμη καὶ ἄλλως ἐς τοὺς πολλούς, ὡς Θησεὺς παραδοίῃ τὰ πράγματα τῷ δήμῳ καὶ ὡς ἐξ ἐκείνου δημοκρατούμενοι διαμείναιεν, πρὶν ἢ Πεισίστρατος ἐτυράννησεν ἐπαναστάς. λέγεται μὲν δὴ καὶ ἄλλα οὐκ ἀληθῆ παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς οἷα ἱστορίας ἀνηκόοις οὔσι καὶ ὅποσα ἤκουον εὐθύς ἐκ παίδων ἐν τε

what is called the Royal Portico, where sits the king when holding the yearly office called the kingship. On the tiling of this portico are images of baked earthenware, Theseus throwing Sciron into the sea and Day carrying away Cephalus, who they say was very beautiful and was ravished by Day, who was in love with him. His son was Phaëthon, <afterwards ravished by Aphrodite> . . . and made a guardian of her temple. Such is the tale told by Hesiod, among others, in his poem on women. Near the Portico stand Conon, Timotheus his son and Evagoras<sup>1</sup> King of Cyprus, who caused the Phoenician men-of-war to be given to Conon by King Artaxerxes. This he did as an Athenian whose ancestry connected him with Salamis, for he traced his pedigree back to Teucer and the daughter of Cinyras. Here stands Zeus, called Zeus of Freedom, and the Emperor Hadrian, a benefactor to all his subjects and especially to the city of the Athenians. A portico is built behind with pictures of the gods called the Twelve. On the wall opposite are painted Theseus, Democracy and Demos. The picture represents Theseus as the one who gave the Athenians political equality. By other means also has the report spread among men that Theseus bestowed sovereignty upon the people, and that from his time they continued under a democratical government, until Peisistratus rose up and became despot. But there are many false beliefs current among the mass of mankind, since they are ignorant of historical science and consider trustworthy whatever

560-52  
B.C.

<sup>1</sup> Evagoras was a king of Salamis in Cyprus, who reigned from about 410 to 374 B.C. He favoured the Athenians, and helped Conon to defeat the Spartan fleet off Cnidus in 394 B.C.



χοροῖς καὶ τραγωδίαις πιστὰ ἡγουμένοις, λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἐς τὸν Θησέα, ὃς αὐτὸς τε ἐβασίλευσε καὶ ὕστερον Μενεσθέως τελευτήσαντος καὶ ἐς τετάρτην οἱ Θησεῖδαι γενεὰν διέμειναν ἄρχοντες. εἰ δέ μοι γενεαλογεῖν ἤρεσκε, καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ Μελάνθου βασιλεύσαντας ἐς Κλείδικον τὸν Αἰσιμίδου καὶ τούτους ἂν ἀπηριθμησάμην.

- 4 Ἐνταῦθά ἐστι γεγραμμένον καὶ τὸ περὶ Μαντινείαν Ἀθηναίων ἔργον, οἱ βοηθήσαντες Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐπέμφθησαν. συνέγραψαν δὲ ἄλλοι τε καὶ Ξενοφῶν τὸν πάντα πόλεμον, κατάληψιν τε τῆς Καδμείας καὶ τὸ πταῖσμα Λακεδαιμονίων τὸ ἐν Δεύκτροις καὶ ὡς ἐς Πελοπόννησον ἐσέβαλον Βοιωτοὶ καὶ τὴν συμμαχίαν Λακεδαιμονίοις τὴν παρ' Ἀθηναίων ἐλθοῦσαν· ἐν δὲ τῇ γραφῇ τῶν ἱππέων ἐστὶ μάχη, ἐν ᾗ γνωριμώτατοι Γρύλος τε ὁ Ξενοφώντος ἐν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἵππον τὴν Βοιωτίαν Ἐπαμινώνδας ὁ Θηβαῖος. ταύτας τὰς γραφὰς Εὐφράνωρ ἔγραψεν Ἀθηναίοις καὶ πλησίον ἐποίησεν ἐν τῷ ναῷ τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα Πατῶν ἐπὶ κλησιν· πρὸ δὲ τοῦ νεῷ τὸν μὲν Λεωχάρης, ὃν δὲ καλοῦσιν Ἀλεξίκακον Κάλαμις ἐποίησε. τὸ δὲ ὄνομα τῷ θεῷ γενέσθαι λέγουσιν, ὅτι τὴν λοιμώδη σφίσιν νόσον ὁμοῦ τῷ Πελοποννησίων πολέμῳ πιέζουσιν κατὰ μάντευμα ἔπαυσεν ἐκ Δελφῶν.

- 5 Ὀκοδόμηται δὲ καὶ Μητρόδ θεῶν ἱερόν, ἣν Φειδίας εἰργάσατο, καὶ πλησίον τῶν πεντακοσίων καλουμένων βουλευτήριον, οἱ βουλευούσιν ἐν αὐτὸν Ἀθηναίοις· Βουλαίου δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ κεῖται ξόανον Διὸς καὶ Ἀπόλλων τέχνη Πεισίου καὶ Δήμος ἔργον Λύσωνος. τοὺς δὲ θεσμοθέτας

they have heard from childhood in choruses and tragedies; one of these is about Theseus, who in fact himself became king, and afterwards, when Menestheus was dead, the descendants of Theseus remained rulers even to the fourth generation. But if I cared about tracing the pedigree I should have included in the list, besides these, the kings from Melanthus to Cleidicus the son of Aesimides.

— Here is a picture of the exploit, near Mantinea, of the Athenians who were sent to help the Lacedaemonians. Xenophon among others has written a history of the whole war—the taking of the Cadmea, the defeat of the Lacedaemonians at Leuctra, how the Boeotians invaded the Peloponnesus, and the contingent sent to the Lacedaemonians from the Athenians. In the picture is a cavalry battle, in which the most famous men are, among the Athenians, Grylus the son of Xenophon, and in the Boeotian cavalry, Epaminondas the Theban. These pictures were painted for the Athenians by Euphranor, and he also wrought the Apollo surnamed Patroüs (*Paternal*) in the temple hard by. And in front of the temple is one Apollo made by Leochares; the other Apollo, called Averter of evil, was made by Calamis. They say that the god received this name because by an oracle from Delphi he stayed the pestilence which afflicted the Athenians at the time of the Peloponnesian War.

Here is built also a sanctuary of the Mother of the gods; the image is by Pheidias. Hard by is the council chamber of those called the Five Hundred, who are the Athenian councillors for a year. In it are a wooden figure of Zeus Counsellor and an Apollo, the work of Peisias,<sup>1</sup> and a Demos by Lyson.<sup>1</sup> The

<sup>1</sup> The dates of these artists are unknown.

302 B.C.

430 B.C.

490-482  
B.C.

37

ἔγραψε Πρωτογένης Καύνιος, Ὀλβιάδης δὲ Κάλλιππον, δς Ἀθηναίους ἐς Θερμοπύλας ἤγαγε φυλάζοντας τὴν ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα Γαλατῶν ἐσβολὴν.

IV. Οἱ δὲ Γαλάται οὗτοι νέμονται τῆς Εὐρώπης τὰ ἔσχατα ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ πολλῇ καὶ ἐς τὰ πέρατα οὐ πλωίμῳ, παρέχεται δὲ ἄμπωτιν καὶ ῥαχίαν καὶ θηρία οὐδὲν εὐκότα τοῖς ἐν θαλάσσῃ τῇ λοιπῇ· καὶ σφισι διὰ τῆς χώρας ῥεῖ ποταμὸς Ἡριδανός, ἐφ' ᾧ τὰς θυγατέρας τὰς Ἥλιου ὀδύρεσθαι νομίζουσι τὸ περὶ τὸν Φαέθοντα τὸν ἀδελφὸν πάθος. ὃψὲ δὲ ποτε αὐτοὺς καλεῖσθαι Γαλάτας ἐξενίκησεν· Κελτοὶ γὰρ κατὰ τε σφᾶς τὸ ἀρχαῖον καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὠνομάζοντο. συλλεγείσα δὲ σφισι στρατιὰ τρέπεται τὴν ἐπὶ Ἰονίου, καὶ τό τε Ἰλλυριῶν ἔθνος καὶ πᾶν ὅσον ἄχρι Μακεδόνων ὥκει καὶ Μακεδόνας αὐτοὺς ἀναστάτους ἐποίησε Θεσσαλίαν τε ἐπέδραμε. καὶ ὥς ἐγγὺς Θερμοπυλῶν ἐγένοντο, ἐνταῦθα οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐς τὴν ἔφοδον ἡσύχαζον τῶν βαρβάρων, ἅτε ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου μεγάλως καὶ Φιλίππου κακωθέντες πρότερον· καθεῖλε δὲ καὶ Ἀντίπατρος καὶ Κόσσανδρος ὕστερον τὸ Ἑλληνικόν, ὥστε ἕκαστοι δι' ἀσθένειαν οὐδὲν αἰσχρὸν ἐνόμιζον ἀπείναι

2 τὸ κατὰ σφᾶς τῆς βοηθείας. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ μάλιστα μὲν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀπειρήκεσαν μήκει τοῦ Μακεδονικοῦ πολέμου καὶ προσπταίνοντες τὰ πολλὰ ἐν ταῖς μάχαις, ἐξιέναι δὲ ὁμῶς ὥρμητο ἐς τὰς Θερμοπύλας σὺν τοῖς ἐλθούσι τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἐλόμενοι σφίσι τὸν Κάλλιππον τοῦτον ἡγεῖσθαι. καταλαβόντες δὲ ἧ στενωτάτον ἦν, τῆς ἐσόδου

themsothetæ (*langivers*) were painted by Protogenes<sup>1</sup> the Cawnian, and Olbiades<sup>2</sup> portrayed Callippus, who led the Athenians to Thermopylæ to stop the incursion of the Gauls into Greece.

IV. These Gauls inhabit the most remote portion of Europe, near a great sea that is not navigable to its extremities, and possesses ebb and flow and creatures quite unlike those of other seas. Through their country flows the river Eridanus, on the bank of which the daughters of Helius (*Sun*) are supposed to lament the fate that befell their brother Phæthon. It was late before the name "Gauls" came into vogue; for anciently they were called Celts both amongst themselves and by others. An army of them mustered and turned towards the Ionian Sea, dispossessed the Illyrian people, all who dwelt as far as Macedonia with the Macedonians themselves, and overran Thessaly. And when they drew near to Thermopylæ, the Greeks in general made no move to prevent the inroad of the barbarians, since previously they had been severely defeated by Alexander and Philip. Further, Antipater and Cassander<sup>3</sup> afterwards crushed the Greeks, so that through weakness each state thought no shame of itself taking no part in the defence of the country. But the Athenians, although they were more exhausted than any of the Greeks by the long Macedonian war, and had been generally unsuccessful in their battles, nevertheless set forth to Thermopylæ with such Greeks as joined them, having made the Callippus I mentioned their general. Occupying the pass where it was narrowest,

<sup>1</sup> A contemporary of Alexander the Great.

<sup>2</sup> An unknown painter.

<sup>3</sup> Antipater and Cassander were successors of Alexander the Great.



τῆς ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα εἶργον τοὺς βαρβάρους·  
 ἀνευρόντες δὲ οἱ Κελτοὶ τὴν ἀτραπὸν, ἣν καὶ  
 Μήδοις ποτὲ Ἐφιάλτης ἡγήσατο ὁ Τραχίνιος,  
 καὶ βιασάμενοι Φωκέων τοὺς τεταγμένους ἐπ'  
 αὐτῇ λανθάνουσι τοὺς Ἕλληνας ὑπερβαλόντες  
 3 τὴν Οἶτην. ἔνθα δὴ πλείστου παρέσχοντο αὐτοὺς  
 Ἀθηναῖοι τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἀξίους, ἀμφοτέρωθεν  
 ὥς ἐκυκλώθησαν ἀμυνόμενοι τοὺς βαρβάρους· οἱ  
 δὲ σφισιν ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν μάλιστα ἐταλαιπώρουν  
 ἅτε τοῦ κόλπου τοῦ Λαμιακοῦ τέλματος πρὸς ταῖς  
 Θερμοπύλαις ὄντος· αἷτιον δὲ ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν τὸ ὕδωρ  
 ταύτῃ τὸ θερμὸν ἐκρέον ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν. μείζονα  
 οὖν εἶχον οὗτοι πόνον· ἀναλαβόντες γὰρ ἐπὶ τὰ  
 καταστρώματα τοὺς Ἕλληνας ναυσὶν ὑπὸ τε  
 4 ὀπλῶν βαρεῖαις καὶ ἀνδρῶν ἐβιάζοντο κατὰ τοῦ  
 πηλοῦ πλεῖν. οὗτοι μὲν δὴ τοὺς Ἕλληνας τρόπον  
 τὸν εἰρημένον ἔσωζον, οἱ δὲ Γαλάται Πυλῶν τε  
 ἐντὸς ἦσαν καὶ τὰ πολίσματα ἐλεῖν ἐν οὐδενὶ τὰ  
 λοιπὰ ποιησάμενοι Δελφούς καὶ τὰ χρήματα τοῦ  
 θεοῦ διαρπάσαι μάλιστα εἶχον σπουδὴν. καὶ  
 σφισιν αὐτοὶ τε Δελφοὶ καὶ Φωκέων ἀντετάχθησαν  
 οἱ τὰς πόλεις περὶ τὸν Παρνασσὸν οἰκοῦντες,  
 ἀφίκετο δὲ καὶ δύναμις Αἰτωλῶν· τὸ γὰρ Αἰτω-  
 λικὸν προεῖχεν ἀκμῇ νεότητος τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον.  
 ὥς δὲ ἐς χεῖρας συνήεσαν, ἐνταῦθα κεραυνοὶ τε  
 ἐφέροντο ἐς τοὺς Γαλάτας καὶ ἀπορραγεῖσαι  
 πέτραι τοῦ Παρνασσοῦ, δείματά τε ἄνδρες ἐφί-  
 σταντο ὀπλίται τοῖς βαρβάροις· τούτων τοὺς μὲν  
 ἐξ Ὑπερβορέων λέγουσιν ἐλθεῖν, Ὑπέρροχον καὶ  
 Ἀμάδοκον, τὸν δὲ τρίτον Πύρρον εἶναι τὸν Ἀχιλ-  
 λέως· ἐναγίζουσι δὲ ἀπὸ ταύτης Δελφοὶ τῆς  
 συμμαχίας Πύρρῳ, πρότερον ἔχοντες ἅτε ἀνδρὸς

they tried to keep the foreigners from entering Greece ; but the Celts, having discovered the path by which Ephialtes of Trachis once led the Persians, overwhelmed the Phocians stationed there and crossed Oeta unperceived by the Greeks. Then it was that the Athenians put the Greeks under the greatest obligation, and although outflanked offered resistance to the foreigners on two sides. But the Athenians on the fleet suffered most, for the Lamian gulf is a swamp near Thermopylae—the reason being, I think, the hot water that here runs into the sea. These then were more distressed ; for taking the Greeks on board they were forced to sail through the mud weighted as they were by arms and men. So they tried to save Greece in the way described, but the Gauls, now south of the Gates, cared not at all to capture the other towns, but were very eager to sack Delphi and the treasures of the god. They were opposed by the Delphians themselves and the Phocians of the cities around Parnassus ; a force of Aetolians also joined the defenders, for the Aetolians at this time were pre-eminent for their vigorous activity. When the forces engaged, not only were thunderbolts and rocks broken off from Parnassus hurled against the Gauls, but terrible shapes as armed warriors haunted the foreigners. They say that two of them, Hyperochus and Amadocus, came from the Hyperboreans, and that the third was Pyrrhus son of Achilles. Because of this help in battle the Delphians sacrifice to Pyrrhus as to a hero, although formerly they held even his tomb in dishonour, as

480 B.C.

τῆς ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα εἶργον τοὺς Γαλατῶν δὲ  
 ἀνευρόντες δὲ οἱ Κελτοὶ τὴν ἄν διαβάτες τὰ  
 Μήδοις ποτὲ Ἐφιάλτης ἡγήσατον χρόνῳ δὲ  
 καὶ βιασάμενοι Φωκέων πάλαι δὲ Τευθρα-  
 αὐτῇ λανθάνουσι τοὺς Γαλάτας ἐλαύνουσιν  
 3 τὴν Οὔτην. ἐνθα δὴ πάλαι μὲν δὴ τὴν ἐκτὸς Σαγγα-  
 Ἀθηναῖοι τοῖς Ἐλκεύραν πόλιν ἐλόντες Φρυ-  
 γίως ἐκυκλώθησαν Ἰορδίου πρότερον ὤκισεν—  
 δὲ σφισιν ἐπὶ Μίδας ἀνεῦρεν, ἦν ἔτι καὶ ἐς  
 αἶτε τοῦ κόλπου Μίδου καὶ κρήνη Μίδου καλουμένη  
 Θερμοπίδακτος Μίδας φασὶν ἐπὶ τὴν θήραν  
 ταύτην ἐλθόντα, ταύτην τε δὴ τὴν Ἀγκυραν εἶλον  
 οὖν καὶ τὴν Ἰορδίαν ἀπὸ τῆς ἑσπέρης τὴν ὑπὸ τὸ ὄρος τὴν Ἀγ-  
 κυραν καὶ τὸν Ἀττην τεθάφθαι λέγουσι.  
 4 Ἰορδίου δὲ ἔστι μὲν σκύλα ἀπὸ Γαλατῶν,  
 ἡ δὲ γραφὴ τὸ ἔργον τὸ πρὸς Γαλάτας  
 ἔχουσα. ἦν δὲ νέμονται οἱ Περγαμηνοί, Καβε-  
 ραῖοι ἱερὰν φασιν εἶναι τὸ ἀρχαῖον· αὐτοὶ δὲ  
 Ἀρκάδες ἐθέλουσιν εἶναι τῶν ὁμοῦ Τηλέφῳ δια-  
 βάντων ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν. πολέμων δὲ τῶν μὲν  
 ἄλλων, εἰ δὴ τινες ἐπολέμησαν, οὐκ ἐς ἅπαντας  
 κεχώρηκεν ἡ φήμη· τρία δὲ γνωριμώτατα ἐξείρ-  
 γασταὶ σφισι, τῆς τε Ἀσίας ἀρχὴ τῆς κάτω καὶ  
 ἡ Γαλατῶν ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἀναχώρησις καὶ τὸ ἐς τοὺς  
 σὺν Ἀγαμέμνονι Τηλέφῳ τόλμημα, ὅτε Ἕλληνες  
 ἀμαρτύντες Ἰλίου τὸ πεδίον ἐλεηλάτουν τὸ Μήϊον  
 ὡς γῆν Τρωάδα. ἐπάνειμι δὲ ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν ὅθεν  
 ἐξέβην τοῦ λόγου.

V. Τοῦ βουλευτηρίου τῶν πεντακοσίων πλησίον  
 Θόλος ἔστί καλουμένη, καὶ θύουσί τε ἐνταῦθα οἱ  
 πρυτάνεις καὶ τινα καὶ ἀργύρου πεποιημένα ἔστιν

g that of an enemy. The greater number of the crossed over to Asia by ship and plundered its Some time after, the inhabitants of Pergamus, s called of old Teuthrania, drove the Gauls om the sea. Now this people occupied the n the farther side of the river Sangarius, Ancyra, a city of the Phrygians, which Midas of Gordius had founded in former time. And the anchor, which Midas found,<sup>1</sup> was even as late as my time in the sanctuary of Zeus, as well as a spring called the Spring of Midas, water from which they say Midas mixed with wine to capture Silenus. Well then, the Pergameni took Ancyra and Pessinus which lies under Mount Agdistis, where they say that Attis lies buried. They have spoils from the Gauls, and a painting which portrays their deed against them. The land they dwell in was, they say, in ancient times sacred to the Cabeiri, and they claim that they are themselves Arcadians, being of those who crossed into Asia with Telephus. Of the wars that they have waged no account has been published to the world, except that they have accomplished three most notable achievements; the subjection of the coast region of Asia, the expulsion of the Gauls therefrom, and the exploit of Telephus against the followers of Agamemnon, at a time when the Greeks, after missing Troy, were plundering the Meian plain thinking it Trojan territory. Now I will return from my digression.

V. Near to the Council Chamber of the Five Hundred is what is called Tholos (*Round House*); here the Presidents sacrifice, and there are a few

<sup>1</sup> A legend invented to explain the name Ancyra, which means *anchor*.



- ἀγάλματα οὐ μεγάλα. ἀνωτέρω δὲ ἀνδριάντες  
 ἐστήκασιν ἡρώων, ἀφ' ὧν Ἀθηναίοις ὕστερον τὰ  
 ὀνόματα ἔσχον αἱ φυλαί· ὅστις δὲ κατεστήσατο  
 δέκα ἀντὶ τεσσάρων φυλάς εἶναι καὶ μετέθετό  
 σφισι τὰ ὀνόματα ἀντὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων, Ἡροδότῳ  
 2 καὶ ταυτὰ ἐστὶν εἰρημένα. τῶν δὲ ἐπωνύμων—  
 καλοῦσι γὰρ οὕτω σφᾶς—ἔστι μὲν Ἴπποθόων  
 Ποσειδῶνος, καὶ Ἀλόπης θυγατρὸς Κερκύνος,  
 ἔστι δὲ Ἀντίοχος τῶν παίδων τῶν Ἡρακλέους,  
 γενόμενος ἐκ Μήδας Ἡρακλεῖ τῆς Φύλαντος, καὶ  
 τρίτος Αἴας ὁ Τελαμῶνος, ἐκ δὲ Ἀθηναίων Λεῶς·  
 δοῦναι δὲ ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ λέγεται κοινῇ τὰς θυγα-  
 τέρας τοῦ θεοῦ χρήσαντος. Ἐρεχθεὺς τέ ἐστιν  
 ἐν τοῖς ἐπωνύμοις, ὃς ἐνίκησεν Ἐλευσινίους μάχῃ  
 καὶ τὸν ἡγούμενον ἀπέκτεινεν Ἰμμάραδον τὸν  
 Εὐμόλπου· Αἰγεὺς τέ ἐστι καὶ Οἰνεὺς Πανδίωνος  
 υἱὸς νόθος καὶ τῶν Θησέως παίδων Ἀκάμας.  
 3 Κέκροπα δὲ καὶ Πανδίονα—εἶδον γὰρ καὶ τού-  
 των ἐν τοῖς ἐπωνύμοις εἰκόνας—οὐκ οἶδα οὐδ'  
 ἄγουσιν ἐν τιμῇ· πρότερός τε γὰρ ἦρξε Κέκροψ,  
 ὃς τὴν Ἀκταίου θυγατέρα ἔσχε, καὶ ὕστερος, ὃς  
 δὴ καὶ μετόκησεν ἐς Εὐβοίαν, Ἐρεχθέως υἱὸς  
 τοῦ Πανδίωνος τοῦ Ἐριχθονίου. καὶ δὴ καὶ  
 Πανδίων ἐβασίλευσεν ὃ τε Ἐριχθονίου καὶ ὁ  
 Κέκροπος τοῦ δευτέρου· τοῦτον Μητιονίδαι τῆς  
 ἀρχῆς ἐξελαύνουσι, καὶ οἱ φυγόντι ἐς Μέγαρα—  
 θυγατέρα γὰρ εἶχε Πύλα τοῦ βασιλεύσαντος ἐν  
 Μεγάροις—συνεκπίπτουσιν οἱ παῖδες. καὶ Παν-  
 δίονα μὲν αὐτοῦ λέγεται νοσήσαντα ἀποθανεῖν,  
 καὶ οἱ πρὸς θαλάσῃ μνημά ἐστιν ἐν τῇ Με-  
 γαρίδι ἐν Ἀθηναῖς Αἰθυίας καλουμένῳ σκοπέλῳ·  
 4 οἱ δὲ παῖδες κατίασί τε ἐκ τῶν Μεγάρων ἐκβαλ-

small statues made of silver. Farther up stand statues of heroes, from whom afterwards the Athenian tribes received their names. Who the man was who established ten tribes instead of four, and changed their old names to new ones—all this is told by Herodotus.<sup>1</sup> The *eponymoi*<sup>2</sup>—this is the name given to them—are Hippothoön son of Poseidon and Alope daughter of Cereyon, Antiochus, one of the children of Heracles borne to him by Meda daughter of Phylas, thirdly, Ajax son of Telamon, and to the Athenians belongs Leos, who is said to have given up his daughters, at the command of the oracle, for the safety of the commonwealth. Among the *eponymoi* is Erechtheus, who conquered the Eleusinians in battle, and killed their general, Immaradus the son of Eumolpus. There is Aegeus also and Oeneus the bastard son of Pandion, and Acamas, one of the children of Theseus. I saw also among the *eponymoi* statues of Cecrops and Pandion, but I do not know who of those names are thus honoured. For there was an earlier ruler Cecrops who took to wife the daughter of Actaeus, and a later—he it was who migrated to Euboea—son of Erechtheus, son of Pandion, son of Erichthonius. And there was a king Pandion who was son of Erichthonius, and another who was son of Cecrops the second. This man was deposed from his kingdom by the Metionidae, and when he fled to Megara—for he had to wife the daughter of Pylas king of Megara—his children were banished with him. And Pandion is said to have fallen ill there and died, and on the coast of the Megarid is his tomb, on the rock called the rock of Athena the Gannet. But his children expelled the

<sup>1</sup> See v. 66 and 69. The reform took place in 508 B.C.

<sup>2</sup> That is, those after whom others are named.

όντες Μητιουίδας, καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν τῶν Ἀθη-  
ναίων Αἰγεὺς πρεσβύτατος ὧν ἔσχευ. θυγατέρας  
δὲ οὐ σὺν ἀγαθῷ δαίμονι ἔθρεψεν ὁ Πανδιων,  
οὐδέ οἱ τιμωροὶ παῖδες ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἐλείφθησαν·  
καίτοι δυνάμεώς γε ἔνεκα πρὸς τὸν Θρᾶκα τὸ  
κῆδος ἐποιήσατο. ἀλλ' οὐδεὶς πόρος ἐστὶν ἀν-  
θρώπῳ παραβῆναι τὸ καθήκον ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ·  
λέγουσιν ὡς Τηρεὺς συνοικῶν Πρόκνη Φιλομήλαν  
ἤσχυνεν, οὐ κατὰ νόμον δράσας τὸν Ἑλλήνων,  
καὶ τὸ σῶμα ἔτι λωβησάμενος τῇ παιδί ἤγαγεν  
ἐς ἀνάγκην δίκης τὰς γυναῖκας. Πανδίωνι δὲ καὶ  
ἄλλος ἀνδριῆς ἐστὶν ἐν ἀκροπόλει θεᾶς ἄξιος.

- 5 Οἶδε μὲν εἰσιν Ἀθηναίοις ἐπώνυμοι τῶν ἀρ-  
χαίων· ὕστερον δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶνδε φυλὰς ἔχουσιν,  
Ἀττάλου τοῦ Μυσοῦ καὶ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Αἰγυ-  
πτίου καὶ κατ' ἐμὲ ἤδη βασιλέως Ἀδριανοῦ τῆς  
τε ἐς τὸ θεῖον τιμῆς ἐπὶ πλείστον ἐλθόντος καὶ τῶν  
ἀρχομένων ἐς εὐδαιμονίαν τὰ μέγιστα ἐκάστοις  
παρασχομένον. καὶ ἐς μὲν πόλεμον οὐδένα ἐκού-  
σιος κατέστη, Ἑβραίους δὲ τοὺς ὑπὲρ Σύρων  
ἐχειρώσατο ἀποστάντας· ὅποσα δὲ θεῶν ἱερὰ τὰ  
μὲν ᾠκοδόμησεν ἐξ ἀρχῆς, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἐπεκόσμησεν  
ἀναθήμασι καὶ κατασκευαῖς ἢ δωρεὰς πόλεσιν  
ἔδωκεν Ἑλληνίσι, τὰς δὲ καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων τοῖς  
δεηθείσιν, ἐστὶν οἱ πάντα γεγραμμένα Ἀθηνησιν  
ἐν τῷ κοινῷ τῶν θεῶν ἱερῷ. VI. τὰ δὲ ἐς Ἀτ-  
ταλον καὶ Πτολεμαῖον ἡλικία τε ἦν ἀρχαιότερα,  
ὡς μὴ μένειν ἔτι τὴν φήμην αὐτῶν, καὶ οἱ συγ-  
γεγόμενοι τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ἐπὶ συγγραφῇ τῶν

<sup>1</sup> This king of Pergamus visited Athens in 200 B.C. in the company of the Roman ambassadors, and was treated with every mark of respect by the Athenians.

Metionidae, and returned from banishment at Megara, and Aegeus, as the eldest, became king of the Athenians. But in rearing daughters Pandion was unlucky, nor did they leave any sons to avenge him. And yet it was for the sake of power that he made the marriage alliance with the king of Thrace. But there is no way for a mortal to overstep what the deity thinks fit to send. They say that Tereus, though wedded to Procne, dishonoured Philomela, thereby transgressing Greek custom, and further, having mangled the body of the damsel, constrained the women to avenge her. There is another statue, well worth seeing, of Pandion on the Acropolis.

These are the Athenian *eponymoi* who belong to the ancients. And of later date than these they have tribes named after the following. Attalus<sup>1</sup> the Mysian and Ptolemy the Egyptian,<sup>2</sup> and within my own time the emperor Hadrian, who was extremely religious in the respect he paid to the deity, and contributed very much to the happiness of his various subjects. He never voluntarily entered upon a war, but he reduced the Hebrews beyond Syria, who had rebelled. As for the sanctuaries of the gods that in some cases he built from the beginning, in others adorned with offerings and furniture, and the bounties he gave to Greek cities, and sometimes even to foreigners who asked him, all these acts are inscribed in his honour in the sanctuary at Athens common to all the gods. } VI. But as to the history of Attalus and Ptolemy, it is more ancient in point of time, so that tradition no longer remains, and those who lived with these kings for the purpose of chronicling their deeds

117-138  
A.D.

132 A.D.

<sup>2</sup> It is uncertain to which of the many kings of Egypt called by this name Pausanias refers.



ἔργων καὶ πρότερον ἔτι ἡμελήθησαν· τούτων  
 ἕνεκά μοι καὶ τὰ τῶνδε ἐπῆλθε δηλῶσαι ἔργα τε  
 ὅποια ἔπραξαν καὶ ὡς ἐς τοὺς πατέρας αὐτῶν  
 περιεχώρησεν Αἰγύπτου καὶ ἡ Μυσῶν καὶ τῶν  
 προσοίκων ἀρχή.

- 2 Πτολεμαῖον Μακεδόνες Φιλίππου παῖδα εἶναι  
 τοῦ Ἀμύντου, λόγῳ δὲ Λάγου νομίζουσι· τὴν γάρ  
 οἱ μητέρα ἔχουσιν ἐν γαστρὶ δοθῆναι γυναῖκα  
 ὑπὸ Φιλίππου Λάγῳ. Πτολεμαῖον δὲ λέγουσιν  
 ἄλλα τε ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ λαμπρὰ ἀποδείξασθαι καὶ  
 Ἀλεξάνδρῳ κινδύνου ξυμβάντος ἐν Ὀξυδράκαις  
 μάλιστα οἱ τῶν ἐταίρων ἀμύναι. τελευτήσαντος  
 δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῖς ἐς Ἀριδαῖον τὸν Φιλίππου  
 τὴν πᾶσαν ἄγουσιν ἀρχὴν ἀντιστὰς αὐτὸς μά-  
 λιστα ἐγένετο ἐς τὰς βασιλείας αἴτιος τὰ ἔθνη  
 3 νεμηθῆναι. αὐτὸς δὲ ἐς Αἴγυπτον διαβὰς Κλεο-  
 μένην τε ἀπέκτεινεν, ὃν σατραπεύειν Αἰγύπτου  
 κατέστησεν Ἀλέξανδρος, Περδίκκᾳ νομίζων εὖ-  
 ρουν καὶ δι' αὐτὸ οὐ πιστὸν αὐτῷ, καὶ Μακεδόνων  
 τοὺς ταχθέντας τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου νεκρὸν ἐς Αἰγὰς  
 κομίζειν ἀνέπεισεν αὐτῷ παραδοῦναι· καὶ τὸν μὲν  
 τῷ νόμῳ τῷ Μακεδόνων ἔθαπτεν ἐν Μέμφει, οἷα  
 δὲ ἐπιστάμενος πολεμήσοντα Περδίκκᾳ Αἴγυ-  
 πτον εἶχεν ἐν φυλακῇ. Περδίκκας δὲ ἐς μὲν τὸ  
 εὐπρεπὲς τῆς στρατείας ἐπήγετο Ἀριδαῖον τὸν  
 Φιλίππου καὶ παῖδα Ἀλέξανδρον ἐκ Ῥωξάνης  
 τῆς Ὀξυάρτου γεγονότα καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου, τῷ δὲ  
 ἔργῳ Πτολεμαῖον ἐπεβούλευεν ἀφελέσθαι τὴν ἐν  
 28

fell into neglect even before tradition failed. Wherefore it occurred to me to narrate their deeds also, and how the sovereignty of Egypt, of the Mysians and of the neighbouring peoples fell into the hands of their fathers.

<sup>1</sup>The Macedonians consider Ptolemy to be the son of Philip, the son of Amyntas, though putatively the son of Lagus, asserting that his mother was with child when she was married to Lagus by Philip. And among the distinguished acts of Ptolemy in Asia they mention that it was he who, of Alexander's companions, was foremost in succouring him when in danger among the Oxydracae. After the death of Alexander, by withstanding those who would have conferred all his empire upon Aridaeus, the son of Philip, he became chiefly responsible for the division of the various nations into the kingdoms. He crossed over to Egypt in person, and killed Cleomenes, whom Alexander had appointed satrap of that country, considering him a friend of Perdiccas, and therefore not faithful to himself; and the Macedonians who had been entrusted with the task of carrying the corpse of Alexander to Aegae, he persuaded to hand it over to him. And he proceeded to bury it with Macedonian rites in Memphis, but, knowing that Perdiccas would make war, he kept Egypt garrisoned. And Perdiccas took Aridaeus, son of Philip, and the boy Alexander, whom Roxana, daughter of Oxyartes, had borne to Alexander, to lend colour to the campaign, but really he was plotting to take from

323 B.C.

<sup>1</sup> The account which follows deals with the troubled period which came after the death of Alexander the Great in 323 B.C. The generals Antigonus, Ptolemy, Seleucus, Lysimachus and Cassander quarrelled over the division of the empire.

- Αἰγύπτῳ βασιλείαν ἐξωσθεὶς δὲ Αἰγύπτου καὶ  
 τὰ ἐς πόλεμον ἔτι οὐχ ὁμοίως θαυμαζόμενος,  
 διαβεβλημένος δὲ καὶ ἄλλως ἐς τοὺς Μακεδόνας,  
 4 ἀπέθανεν ὑπὸ τῶν σωματοφυλάκων. Πτολε-  
 μαῖον δὲ αὐτίκα ἐς τὰ πράγματα ὁ Περδίκκου  
 θάνατος ἐπέστησε· καὶ τοῦτο μὲν Σύρους καὶ  
 Φοινίκην εἶλε, τοῦτο δὲ ἐκπεσόντα ὑπὸ Ἀντι-  
 γόνου καὶ φεύγοντα ὑπεδέξατο Σέλευκον τὸν  
 Ἀντίοχου, καὶ αὐτὸς παρεσκευάζετο ὡς ἀμυνού-  
 μενος Ἀντίγονον. καὶ Κάσσανδρον τὸν Ἀντι-  
 πάτρου καὶ Λυσίμαχον βασιλεύοντα ἐν Θράκῃ  
 μετασχεῖν ἔπεισε τοῦ πολέμου, τὴν φυγὴν λέγων  
 τὴν Σελεύκου καὶ τὸν Ἀντίγονον φοβερόν σφισιν  
 5 εἶναι πᾶσιν αὐξηθέντα. Ἀντίγονος δὲ τέως μὲν  
 ἦν ἐν παρασκευῇ πολέμου καὶ τὸν κίνδυνον οὐ  
 παντάπασιν ἐθάρρει· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐς Λιβύην ἐπύθετο  
 στρατεύειν Πτολεμαῖον ἀφεστηκότων Κυρηναίων,  
 αὐτίκα Σύρους καὶ Φοινίκας εἶλεν ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς,  
 παραδοὺς δὲ Δημητρίῳ τῷ παιδί, ἡλικίαν μὲν  
 νέφ φρονεῖν δὲ ἤδη δοκοῦντι, καταβαίνει ἐπὶ τὸν  
 Ἑλλήσποντον. πρὶν δὲ ἢ διαβῆναι<sup>1</sup> πάλιν ἤγεν  
 ὀπίσω τὴν στρατιάν, Δημήτριον ἀκούων ὑπὸ  
 Πτολεμαίου μάχῃ κεκρατῆσθαι· Δημήτριος δὲ  
 οὔτε παντάπασιν ἐξειστήκει Πτολεμαίῳ τῆς χώ-  
 ρας καὶ τινας τῶν Αἰγυπτίων λοχίστας διέφθειρεν  
 οὐ πολλούς. τότε δὲ ἤκοντα Ἀντίγονον οὐχ  
 ὑπομείνας Πτολεμαῖος ἀνεχώρησεν ἐς Αἴγυπτον.  
 6 διελθόντος δὲ τοῦ χειμῶνος Δημήτριος πλεύσας  
 ἐς Κύπρον Μενέλαον σατράπην Πτολεμαίου  
 ναυμαχίᾳ καὶ αὖθις αὐτὸν Πτολεμαῖον ἐπιδια-  
 βάντα ἐνίκησε· φυγόντα δὲ αὐτὸν ἐς Αἴγυπτον

<sup>1</sup> ἢ καταβῆναι, emended by Hitzig.

Ptolemy his kingdom in Egypt. But being expelled from Egypt, and having lost his reputation as a soldier, and being in other respects unpopular with the Macedonians, he was put to death by his body-guard. The death of Perdiccas immediately raised Ptolemy to power, who both reduced the Syrians and Phoenicia, and also welcomed Seleucus, son of Antiochus, who was in exile, having been expelled by Antigonus; he further himself prepared to attack Antigonus. He prevailed on Cassander, son of Antipater, and Lysimachus, who was king in Thrace, to join in the war, urging that Seleucus was in exile and that the growth of the power of Antigonus was dangerous to them all. For a time Antigonus prepared for war, and was by no means confident of the issue; but on learning that the revolt of Cyrene had called Ptolemy to Libya, he immediately reduced the Syrians and Phoenicians by a sudden inroad, handed them over to Demetrius, his son, a man who for all his youth had already a reputation for good sense, and went down to the Hellespont. But he led his army back without crossing, on hearing that Demetrius had been overcome by Ptolemy in battle. But Demetrius had not altogether evacuated the country before Ptolemy, and having surprised a body of Egyptians, killed a few of them. Then on the arrival of Antigonus Ptolemy did not wait for him but returned to Egypt. When the winter was over, Demetrius sailed to Cyprus and overcame in a naval action Menelaus, the satrap of Ptolemy, and afterwards Ptolemy himself, who had crossed to bring help. Ptolemy fled to



Ἀντίγονός τε κατὰ γῆν καὶ ναυσὶν ἅμα ἐπολιόρκει Δημήτριος. Πτολεμαῖος δὲ ἐς πᾶν ἀφικόμενος κινδύνου διέσωσεν ὁμῶς τὴν ἀρχὴν στρατιᾷ τε ἀντικαθήμενος ἐπὶ Πηλουσίῳ καὶ τριήρεσιν ἀμυνόμενος ἅμα ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ. Ἀντίγονος δὲ Αἴγυπτον μὲν αἰρήσειν ἐκ τῶν παρόντων οὐδεμίαν ἐτι εἶχεν ἐλπίδα, Δημήτριον δὲ ἐπὶ Ῥοδίου στρατιᾷ πολλῇ καὶ ναυσὶν ἔστειλεν, ὥς εἴ οἱ προσγένεοιτο ἡ νῆσος ὀρμητηρίῳ χρῆσθαι πρὸς τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους ἐλπίζων· ἀλλὰ αὐτοὶ τε οἱ Ῥόδιοι τολμήματα καὶ ἐπιτεχνήσεις παρέσχοντο ἐς τοὺς πολιορκούντας καὶ Πτολεμαῖός σφισιν ἐς ὅσον δυνάμειος ἦκε συνήρατο

7 ἐς τὸν πόλεμον. Ἀντίγονος δὲ Ῥόδου τε ἀμαρτῶν καὶ Αἰγύπτου πρότερον, οὐ πολλῷ τούτων ὕστερον ἀντιτάξασθαι Λυσιμάχῳ τολμήσας καὶ Κασσάνδρῳ τε καὶ τῇ Σελεύκου στρατιᾷ, τῆς δυνάμειος ἀπώλεσε τὸ πολὺ καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπέθανε ταλαιπωρήσας μάλιστα τῷ μήκει τοῦ πρὸς Εὐμένη πολέμου. τῶν δὲ βασιλέων τῶν καθελόντων Ἀντίγονον ἀνοσιώτατον κρίνω γενέσθαι Κάσσανδρον, ὃς δι' Ἀντιγόνου τὴν Μακεδόνων ἀρχὴν ἀνασωσάμενος πολεμήσων ἦλθεν ἐπ' ἄνδρα

8 εὐεργέτην. ἀποθανόντος δὲ Ἀντιγόνου Πτολεμαῖος Σύρου τε αὖθις καὶ Κύπρον εἶλε, κατήγαγε δὲ καὶ Πύρρον ἐς τὴν Θεσπρωτίδα ἡπειρον· Κυρήνης δὲ ἀποστάσης Μάγας Βερενίκης υἱὸς Πτολεμαίῳ τότε συναικούσης ἔτει πέμπτῳ μετὰ τὴν ἀπόστασιν εἶλε Κυρήνην.—εἰ δὲ ὁ Πτολεμαῖος οὗτος ἀληθεῖ λόγῳ Φιλίππου τοῦ Ἀμύντου παῖς ἦν, ἴστω τὸ ἐπιμανὲς ἐς τὰς γυναῖκας κατὰ τὸν πατέρα κεκτημένος, ὃς Εὐρυδίκη τῇ Ἀντι-

Egypt, where he was besieged by Antigonus on land and by Demetrius with a fleet. In spite of his extreme peril Ptolemy saved his empire by making a stand with an army at Pelusium while offering resistance with warships from the river. Antigonus now abandoned all hope of reducing Egypt in the circumstances, and dispatched Demetrius against the Rhodians with a fleet and a large army, hoping, if the island were won, to use it as a base against the Egyptians. But the Rhodians displayed daring and ingenuity in the face of the besiegers, while Ptolemy helped them with all the forces he could muster. Antigonus thus failed to reduce Egypt or, later, Rhodes, and shortly afterwards he offered battle to Lysimachus, and to Cassander and the army of Seleucus, lost most of his forces, and was himself killed, having suffered most by reason of the length of the war with Eumenes. Of the kings who put down Antigonus I hold that the most wicked was Cassander, who although he had recovered the throne of Macedonia with the aid of Antigonus, nevertheless came to fight against a benefactor. After the death of Antigonus, Ptolemy again reduced the Syrians and Cyprus, and also restored Pyrrhus to Thesprotia on the mainland. Cyrene rebelled; but Magas, the son of Berenice (who was at this time married to Ptolemy) captured Cyrene in the fifth year of the rebellion. If this Ptolemy really was the son of Philip, son of Amyntas, he must have inherited from his father his passion for women, for, while wedded to Eurydice, the daughter of Antipater, although he

πατρὸς συνοικῶν ὄντων οἱ παῖδων Βερενίκης ἐς  
 ἔρωτα ἦλθεν, ἣν Ἀντίπατρος Εὐρυδίκη συνέ-  
 πεμφεν ἐς Αἴγυπτον. ταύτης τῆς γυναικὸς  
 ἐρασθεὶς παῖδας ἐξ αὐτῆς ἐποίησατο, καὶ ὡς ἦν  
 οἱ πλησίον ἢ τελευτῇ, Πτολεμαῖον ἀπέλιπεν  
 Αἰγύπτου βασιλεύειν, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ Ἀθηναῖοις  
 ἐστὶν ἡ φυλὴ, γεγονότα ἐκ Βερενίκης ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκ  
 τῆς Ἀντιπάτρου θυγατρὸς.

VII. Οὗτος ὁ Πτολεμαῖος Ἀρσινόης ἀδελφῆς  
 ἀμφοτέρωθεν ἐρασθεὶς ἔγημεν αὐτήν, Μακεδόσιν  
 οὐδαμῶς ποιῶν νομιζόμενα, Αἰγυπτίοις μέντοι ὧν  
 ἦρχε. δεύτερα δὲ ἀδελφὸν ἀπέκτεινεν Ἀργαίου  
 ἐπιβουλεύοντα, ὡς λέγεται, καὶ τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου  
 νεκρὸν οὗτος ὁ καταγαγὼν ἦν ἐκ Μένφιδος· ἀπέ-  
 κτεινε δὲ καὶ ἄλλον ἀδελφὸν γεγονότα ἐξ Εὐρυ-  
 δίκης, Κυπρίους ἀφιστάντα αἰσθόμενος. Μάγας  
 δὲ ἀδελφὸς ὁμομήτριος Πτολεμαίου παρὰ Βερε-  
 νίκης τῆς μητρὸς ἀξιοθεὶς ἐπιτροπεύειν Κυρήνην  
 —ἐγεγόνει δὲ ἐκ Φιλίππου τῇ Βερενίκῃ Μακεδόνης  
 μὲν, ἄλλως δὲ ἀγνώστου καὶ ἐνὸς τοῦ δήμου—,  
 τότε δὴ οὗτος ὁ Μάγας ἀποστήσας Πτολεμαίου  
 2 Κυρηναίους ἤλαυνεν ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον. καὶ Πτολε-  
 μαῖος μὲν τὴν ἐσβολὴν φραξάμενος ὑπέμενεν ἐπι-  
 όντας Κυρηναίους, Μάγα δὲ ὑπαγγέλλεται καθ'  
 ὁδὸν ἀφεσθηκέναι Μαρμαρίδας· εἰσὶ δὲ Λιβύων  
 οἱ Μαρμαρίδαι τῶν νομάδων. καὶ τότε μὲν ἐς  
 Κυρήνην ἀπηλλάσσετο· Πτολεμαῖον δὲ ὥρμη-  
 μένον διώκειν αἰτία τοιάδε ἐπέσχε· ἥνικα παρ-  
 εσκευάζετο ἐπίοντα ἀμύνεσθαι Μάγαν, ξένους  
 ἐπηγάγετο καὶ ἄλλους καὶ Γαλάτας ἐς τετρακισ-  
 χίλους· τούτους λαβὼν ἐπιβουλεύοντας κατα-  
 σχεῖν Αἴγυπτον, ἀνήγαγε σφᾶς ἐς νῆσον ἔρημον·



had children he took a fancy to Berenice, whom Antipater had sent to Egypt with Eurydice. He fell in love with this woman and had children by her, and when his end drew near he left the kingdom of Egypt to Ptolemy (from whom the Athenians name their tribe) being the son of Berenice and not of the daughter of Antipater. *L*

VII. This Ptolemy fell in love with Arsinoë, his full sister, and married her, violating herein Macedonian custom, but following that of his Egyptian subjects. Secondly he put to death his brother Argæus, who was, it is said, plotting against him; and he it was who brought down from Memphis the corpse of Alexander. He put to death another brother also, son of Eurydice, on discovering that he was creating disaffection among the Cyprians. Then Magas, the half-brother of Ptolemy, who had been entrusted with the governorship of Cyrene by his mother Berenice—she had borne him to Philip, a Macedonian, but of no note and of lowly origin—induced the people of Cyrene to revolt from Ptolemy and marched against Egypt. Ptolemy fortified the entrance into Egypt and awaited the attack of the Cyrenians. But while on the march Magas was informed that the Marmaridæ, a tribe of Libyan nomads, had revolted, and thereupon fell back upon Cyrene. Ptolemy resolved to pursue, but was checked owing to the following circumstance. When he was preparing to meet the attack of Magas, he engaged mercenaries, including some four thousand Gauls. Discovering that they were plotting to seize Egypt, he led

διὰ τοῦ ποταμοῦ. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐνταῦθα ἀπώλοντο  
 3 ὑπὸ τε ἀλλήλων καὶ τοῦ λιμοῦ· Μάγας δὲ ἤδη  
 γυναῖκα ἔχων Ἀπάμην Ἀντιόχου τοῦ Σελεύκου  
 θυγατέρα, ἔπεισεν Ἀντίοχον παραβάντα ἄς ὁ  
 πατήρ οἱ Σέλευκος ἐποίησατο συνθήκας πρὸς  
 Πτολεμαῖον, ἐλαύνειν ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον. ὠρμημένου  
 δὲ Ἀντιόχου στρατεύειν, Πτολεμαῖος διέπεμψεν  
 ἐς ἅπαντας ὧν ἦρχεν Ἀντίοχος, τοῖς μὲν ἀσθενε-  
 στέροις ληστὰς κατατρέχειν τὴν γῆν, οἱ δὲ ἦσαν  
 δυνατώτεροι στρατιᾷ κατεῖργεν, ὥστε Ἀντιόχῳ  
 μήποτε ἐγγενέσθαι στρατεύειν ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον. οὐ-  
 τος ὁ Πτολεμαῖος καὶ πρότερον εἰρηταί μοι ὡς  
 ναυτικὸν ἔστειλεν ἐς τὴν Ἀθηναίων συμμαχίαν  
 ἐπ' Ἀντιγόνον καὶ Μακεδόνας· ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἀπ'  
 αὐτοῦ οὐδὲν μέγα ἐγένετο ἐς σωτηρίαν Ἀθηναίους.  
 οἱ δὲ οἱ παῖδες ἐγένοντο ἐξ Ἀρσινοῆς, οὐ τῆς  
 ἀδελφῆς, Λυσιμάχου δὲ θυγατρὸς· τὴν δὲ οἱ  
 συνοικήσασαν ἀδελφὴν κατέλαβεν ἔτι πρότερον  
 ἀποθανεῖν ἀπαιδα, καὶ νομός ἐστιν ἀπ' αὐτῆς  
 Ἀρσινοῦτης Αἰγυπτίους.

VIII. Ἀπαιτεῖ δὲ ὁ λόγος δηλῶσαι καὶ τὰ ἐς  
 Ἀτταλον ἔχοντα, ὅτι καὶ οὗτος τῶν ἐπωνύμων  
 ἐστὶν Ἀθηναίους. ἀνὴρ Μακεδῶν Δόκιμος ὄνομα,  
 στρατηγὸς Ἀντιγόνου, Λυσιμάχῳ παραδοὺς ὑσ-  
 τερον αὐτὸν καὶ τὰ χρήματα, Φιλέταιρον Πασφλα-  
 γόνα εἶχεν εὐνοῦχον. ὅσα μὲν δὴ Φιλεταίρῳ  
 πεπραγμένα ἐς τὴν ἀπόστασιν ἐστὶ τὴν ἀπὸ  
 Λυσιμάχου καὶ ὡς Σέλευκον ἐπηγάγετο, ἔσται  
 μοι τῶν ἐς Λυσιμάχον παρενθήκη· ὁ δὲ Ἀτταλος  
 Ἀττάλου μὲν παῖς ὢν, ἀδελφιδοῦς δὲ<sup>1</sup> Φιλεταίρου,  
 τὴν ἀρχὴν Εὐμένους παραδόντος ἔσχεν ἀνεψιοῦ.

<sup>1</sup> παῖς ἦν ἀδελφοῦ φιλεταίρῳ δὲ, emended by Clavier.

them through the river to a deserted island. There they perished at one another's hands or by famine. Magas, who was married to Apame, daughter of Antiochus, son of Seleucus, persuaded Antiochus to break the treaty which his father Seleucus had made with Ptolemy and to attack Egypt. When Antiochus resolved to attack, Ptolemy dispatched forces against all the subjects of Antiochus, freebooters to overrun the lands of the weaker, and an army to hold back the stronger, so that Antiochus never had an opportunity of attacking Egypt. I have already stated how this Ptolemy sent a fleet to help the Athenians against Antigonus and the Macedonians, but it did very little to save Athens. His children were by Arsinoë, not his sister, but the daughter of Lysimachus. His sister who had wedded him happened to die before this, leaving no issue, and there is in Egypt a district called Arsinoites after her.

VIII. It is pertinent to add here an account of Attalus, because he too is one of the Athenian *eponymoi*. A Macedonian of the name of Docimus, a general of Antigonus, who afterwards surrendered both himself and his property to Lysimachus, had a Paphlagonian eunuch called Philetaerus. All that Philetaerus did to further the revolt from Lysimachus, and how he won over Seleucus, will form an episode in my account of Lysimachus. Attalus, however, son of Attalus and nephew of Philetaerus, received the kingdom from his cousin Eumenes, who handed it

- μέγιστον δὲ ἐστὶν οἱ τῶν ἔργων· Γαλάτας γὰρ ἐς τὴν γῆν, ἣν ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἔχουσιν, ἀναφυγεῖν ἠνάγκασεν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης.
- 2 Μετὰ δὲ τὰς εἰκόνας τῶν ἐπονύμων ἐστὶν ἀγάλματα θεῶν, Ἀμφιάραος καὶ Εἰρήνη φέρουσα Πλούτον παῖδα. ἐνταῦθα Λυκούργος τε κεῖται χαλκοῦς ὁ Λυκόφρονος καὶ Καλλίας, ὃς πρὸς Ἀρταξέρξην τὸν Ξέρξου τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, ὡς Ἀθηναίων οἱ πολλοὶ λέγουσιν, ἔπραξε τὴν εἰρήνην· ἔστι δὲ καὶ Δημοσθένης, ὃν ἐς Καλαυρείαν Ἀθηναῖοι τὴν πρὸ Τροιζῆνος νῆσον ἠνάγκασαν ἀποχωρῆσαι, δεξάμενοι δὲ ὕστερον διώκουσιν αὐτῆς.
- 3 μετὰ τὴν ἐν Λαμία πληγὴν. Δημοσθένης δὲ ὡς τὸ δεύτερον ἐφύγε, περαιεῖται καὶ τότε ἐς τὴν Καλαυρείαν, ἔνθα δὴ πιὼν φάρμακον ἐτελεύτησεν· φυγάδα τε Ἕλληνα μόνον τοῦτον Ἀντιπάτρῳ καὶ Μακεδόσιν οὐκ ἀνήγαγεν Ἀρχίας, ὁ δὲ Ἀρχίας οὗτος Θούριος ὢν ἔργον ἤρατο ἀνόσιον· ὅσοι Μακεδόσιν ἔπραξαν ἐναντία πρὶν ἢ τοῖς Ἕλλησι τὸ πταῖσμα τὸ ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ γενέσθαι, τούτους ἤγεεν Ἀρχίας Ἀντιπάτρῳ δώσοντας δίκην. Δημοσθένει μὲν ἢ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους ἄγαν εὐνοία ἐς τοῦτο ἔχωρησεν· εὖ δέ μοι λελέχθαι δοκεῖ ἄνδρα ἀφειδῶς ἐκπεσόντα ἐς πολιτείαν καὶ πιστὰ ἡγησάμενον τὰ τοῦ δήμου μήποτε καλῶς τελευτῆσαι.
- 4 Τῆς δὲ τοῦ Δημοσθένους εἰκόνης πλησίον Ἀρεῶς ἐστὶν ἱερόν, ἔνθα ἀγάλματα δύο μὲν Ἀφροδίτης κεῖται, τὸ δὲ τοῦ Ἀρεως ἐποίησεν Ἀλκαμένης, τὴν δὲ Ἀθηναῶν ἀνὴρ Πάριος, ὄνομα δὲ αὐτῷ Λόκρος. ἐνταῦθα καὶ Ἐννοῦς ἀγαλμά ἐστιν, ἐποίησαν δὲ οἱ παῖδες οἱ Πραξιτέλους·



The greatest of his achievements was his driving the Gauls to retire from the sea into the country which they still hold.

After the statues of the *eponymoi* come statues of gods, Amphiaraus, and Eirene (*Peace*) carrying the boy Plutus (*Wealth*). Here stands a bronze statue of Lycurgus,<sup>1</sup> son of Lycophron, and of Callias,

as most of the Athenians say, brought about peace between the Greeks and Artaxerxes, son of Darius. Here also is Demosthenes, whom the Athenians

forced to retire to Calauria, the island off Troezen, and then, after receiving him back, banished again after the disaster at Lamia. Exiled for the second

time Demosthenes crossed once more to Calauria, and committed suicide there by taking poison, being the only Greek exile whom Archias failed to bring back to

Antipater and the Macedonians. This Archias was a Parian who undertook the abominable task of punishing to Antipater for punishment those who had

deserted the Macedonians before the Greeks met with their defeat in Thessaly. Such was Demosthenes' reward for his great devotion to Athens. I heartily

agree with the remark that no man who has unflinchingly thrown himself into politics trusting in the stability of the democracy has ever met with a happy

end.

Near the statue of Demosthenes is a sanctuary of Aphrodite, where are placed two images of Aphrodite, one of Ares made by Alcámenes, and one of Athena made by a Parian of the name of Locrus. There is also an image of Enyo, made by the sons of Praxiteles.

An Athenian orator who did great service to Athens and Demosthenes was trying to stir up his countrymen against Philip of Macedon.

περὶ δὲ τὸν ναὸν ἐστᾶσιν Ἡρακλῆς καὶ Θησεὺς  
καὶ Ἀπόλλων ἀναδύμενος ταινία τὴν κόμην,  
ἀνδριάντες δὲ Καλάδης Ἀθηναίοις ὡς λέγεται  
νόμους γράψας καὶ Πίνδαρος ἄλλα τε εὐρόμενος  
παρὰ Ἀθηναίων καὶ τὴν εἰκόνα, ὅτι σφᾶς ἐπὶ  
5 σεν ἄσμα ποιήσας. οὐ πόρρω δὲ ἐστᾶσιν Ἀρμό-  
διος καὶ Ἀριστογείτων οἱ κτείναντες Ἱππαρχον  
αἰτία δὲ ἥτις ἐγένετο καὶ τὸ ἔργον ὄντινα τρόπον  
ἔπραξαν, ἐτέροις ἐστὶν εἰρημένα. τῶν δὲ ἀνδρι-  
άντων οἱ μὲν εἰσι Κριτίου τέχνη, τοὺς δὲ ἀρχαίους  
ἐποίησεν Ἀντήνωρ. Ξέρξου δέ, ὡς εἶπεν Ἀθήνας  
ἐκλιπόντων τὸ ἄστυ Ἀθηναίων, ἀπαγαγομένου  
καὶ τούτους ἅτε λάφυρα, κατέπεμψεν ὕστερον  
Ἀθηναίοις Ἀντίοχος.

6 Τοῦ θεάτρου δὲ ὃ καλοῦσιν Ὀιδεῖον ἀνδριάντες  
πρὸ τῆς ἐσόδου βασιλέων εἰσὶν Αἰγυπτίων. ὀνό-  
ματα μὲν δὴ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ Πτολεμαῖοί σφισιν,  
ἄλλη δὲ ἐπὶ κλησὶς ἄλλω· καὶ γὰρ Φιλομήτορα  
καλοῦσι καὶ Φιλάδελφον ἕτερον, τὸν δὲ τοῦ Λάγου  
Σωτήρα παραδόντων Ῥοδίων τὸ ὄνομα. τῶν δὲ  
ἄλλων ὃ μὲν Φιλάδελφός ἐστιν οὐ καὶ πρότερον  
μνήμην ἐν τοῖς ἐπωνύμοις ἐποίησάμην, πλησίον  
δὲ οἱ καὶ Ἀρσινόης τῆς ἀδελφῆς ἐστὶν εἰκόν.  
IX. ὃ δὲ Φιλομήτωρ καλούμενος ὄγδοος μὲν ἐστὶν  
ἀπόγονος Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Λάγου, τὴν δὲ ἐπί-  
κλησιν ἔσχεν ἐπὶ χλευασμῷ. οὐ γὰρ τινα τῶν  
βασιλέων μισηθέντα ἴσμεν ἐς τοσόνδε ὑπὸ μη-  
τρός, ὃν πρεσβύτατον ὄντα τῶν παίδων ἢ μήτηρ  
οὐκ εἶα καλεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχήν, πρότερον δὲ ἐς  
Κύπρον ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς πεμφθῆναι πράξασα·  
τῆς δὲ ἐς τὸν παῖδα τῇ Κλεοπάτρᾳ δυσνοίας  
λέγουσιν ἄλλας τε αἰτίας καὶ ὅτι Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν

About the temple stand images of Heracles, Theseus, Apollo binding his hair with a fillet, and statues of Calades,<sup>1</sup> who it is said framed laws<sup>2</sup> for the Athenians, and of Pindar, the statue being one of the rewards the Athenians gave him for praising them in an ode. Hard by stand statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton, who killed Hipparchus. The reason of this act and the method of its execution have been related by others; of the figures some were made by Critius, the old ones being the work of Antenor. When Xerxes took Athens after the Athenians had abandoned the city he took away these statues also among the spoils, but they were afterwards restored to the Athenians by Antiochus.

514 B.C.

A. C.  
445 B.C.

Before the entrance of the theatre which they call the Odeum (*Music Hall*) are statues of Egyptian kings. They are all alike called Ptolemy, but each has his own surname. For they call one Philometor, and another Philadelphus, while the son of Lagus is called Soter, a name given him by the Rhodians. Of these, Philadelphus is he whom I have mentioned before among the *eponymoi*, and near him is a statue of his sister Arsinoë. XIX. The one called Philometor is eighth in descent from Ptolemy son of Lagus, and his surname was given him in sarcastic mockery, for we know of none of the kings who was so hated by his mother. Although he was the eldest of her children she would not allow him to be called to the throne, but prevailed on his father before the call came to send him to Cyprus. Among the reasons assigned for Cleopatra's enmity towards her son is her expectation

<sup>1</sup> Nothing more is known of this person.

<sup>2</sup> Or "tunes."



- νεώτερον τῶν παίδων κατήκοον ἔσεσθαι μᾶλλον ἤλπιζε. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐλέσθαι βασιλέα Ἀλέξ-  
 2 ανδρον ἔπειθεν Αἰγυπτίους· ἐναντιουμένου δέ οἱ τοῦ πλήθους, δεύτερα ἐς τὴν Κύπρον ἔστειλεν Ἀλέξανδρον, στρατηγὸν μὲν τῷ λόγῳ, τῷ δὲ ἔργῳ δι' αὐτοῦ Πτολεμαίῳ θέλουσα εἶναι φοβερωτέρα, τέλος δὲ κατατρώσασα οὓς μάλιστα τῶν εὐνούχων ἐνόμιζεν εὔνους, ἐπήγετο σφᾶς ἐς τὸ πλήθος ὡς αὐτὴ τε ἐπιβουλευθεῖσα ὑπὸ Πτολεμαίου καὶ τοὺς εὐνούχους τοιαῦτα ὑπ' ἐκείνου παθόντας. οἱ δὲ Ἀλεξανδρεῖς ὥρμησαν μὲν ὡς ἀποκτενοῦντες τὸν Πτολεμαῖον, ὡς δὲ σφᾶς ἔφθασεν ἐπιβὰς νεῶς, Ἀλέξανδρον ἦκοντα ἐκ Κύπρου ποιοῦνται  
 3 βασιλέα. Κλεοπάτραν δὲ περιῆλθεν ἡ δίκη τῆς Πτολεμαίου φυγῆς ἀποθανοῦσαν ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου, ὃν αὐτὴ βασιλεύειν ἔπραξεν Αἰγυπτίῳ. τοῦ δὲ ἔργου φωραθέντος καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου φόβῳ τῶν πολιτῶν φεύγοντος, οὕτω Πτολεμαῖος κατήλθε καὶ τὸ δεύτερον ἔσχεν Αἴγυπτον· καὶ Θηβαίοις ἐπολέμησεν ἀποστᾶσι, παραστησάμενος δὲ ἔτει τρίτῳ μετὰ τὴν ἀπόστασιν ἐκάκωσεν, ὡς μὴδὲ ὑπόμνημα λειφθῆναι Θηβαίοις τῆς ποτε εὐδαιμονίας προελθούσης ἐς τοσοῦτον ὡς ὑπερβαλέσθαι πλούτῳ τοὺς Ἑλλήνων πολυχρημάτων, τό τε ἱερὸν τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς καὶ Ὀρχομενίους. Πτολεμαῖον μὲν οὖν ὀλίγῳ τούτων ὕστερον ἐπέλαβε μοῖρα ἢ καθήκουσα· Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ παθόντες εὖ πολλὰ τε καὶ οὐκ ἄξια ἐξηγήσεως χαλκοῦν καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ Βερενίκην ἀνέθηκαν, ἢ μὴν γνησίᾳ οἱ τῶν παίδων ἦν.  
 4 Μετὰ δὲ τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους Φίλιππος τε καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Φιλίππου κεύνται· τούτοις μείζονα

that Alexander the younger of her sons would prove more subservient, and this consideration induced her to urge the Egyptians to choose Alexander as king. When the people offered opposition, she dispatched Alexander for the second time to Cyprus, ostensibly as general, but really because she wished by his means to make Ptolemy more afraid of her. Finally she covered with wounds those eunuchs she thought best disposed, and presented them to the people, making out that she was the victim of Ptolemy's machinations, and that he had treated the eunuchs in such a fashion. The people of Alexandria rushed to kill Ptolemy, and when he escaped on board a ship, made Alexander, who returned from Cyprus, their king. Retribution for the exile of Ptolemy came upon Cleopatra, for she was put to death by Alexander, whom she herself had made to be king of the Egyptians. When the deed was discovered, and Alexander fled in fear of the citizens, Ptolemy returned and for the second time assumed control of Egypt. He made war against the Thebans, who had revolted, reduced them two years after the revolt, and treated them so cruelly that they were left not even a memorial of their former prosperity, which had so grown that they surpassed in wealth the richest of the Greeks, the sanctuary of Delphi and the Orchomenians. Shortly after this Ptolemy met with his appointed fate, and the Athenians, who had been benefited by him in many ways which I need not stop to relate, set up a bronze likeness of him and of Berenice, his only legitimate child.

After the Egyptians come statues of Philip and of his son Alexander. The events of their lives were too

ὑπῆρχέ πως ἢ ἄλλου πάρεργα εἶναι λόγου. τοῖς μὲν οὖν ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου τιμῇ τε ἀληθεῖ καὶ εὐεργέταις οὗσι γεγόνασιν αἱ δωρεαί, Φιλίππῳ δὲ καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ κολακεία μᾶλλον ἐς αὐτοὺς τοῦ πλήθους, ἐπεὶ καὶ Λυσίμαχον οὐκ εὐνοία τοσοῦτον ὥς ἐς τὰ παρόντα χρήσιμον νομίζοντες ἀνέθηκαν.

- 5 Ὁ δὲ Λυσίμαχος οὗτος γένος τε ἦν Μακεδῶν καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου δορυφόρος, ὃν Ἀλέξανδρός ποτε ὑπ' ὀργῆς λέοντι ὁμοῦ καθεύξας ἐς οἶκημα κεκρατηκότα εὔρε τοῦ θηρίου· τὰ τε οὖν ἄλλα ἤδη διετέλει θαυμάζων καὶ Μακεδόνων ὁμοίως τοῖς ἀρίστοις ἦγεν ἐν τιμῇ. τελευτήσαντος δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου Θρακῶν ἐβασίλευεν ὁ Λυσίμαχος τῶν προσοίκων Μακεδόσιν, ὅσων ἦρχεν Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ ἔτι πρότερον Φίλιππος· εἶεν δ' ἂν οὗτοι τοῦ Θρακίου μοῖρα οὐ μεγάλη. Θρακῶν δὲ τῶν πάντων οὐδένες πλείους εἰσὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὅτι μὴ Κελτοὶ πρὸς ἄλλο ἔθνος ἐν ἀντεξετάζοντι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐδεὶς πῶ πρότερος Θράκας Ῥωμαίων κατεστρέψατο ἀθρόους· Ῥωμαίοις δὲ Θράκη τε πᾶσά ἐστιν ὑποχείριος, καὶ Κελτῶν ὅσον μὲν ἀχρεῖον νομίζουσι διὰ τε ὑπερβάλλον ψυχῆς καὶ γῆς φαυλότητα, ἐκονσίως παρῶπταί σφισι, τὰ δὲ
- 6 ἀξιόκτητα ἔχουσι καὶ τούτων. τότε δὲ ὁ Λυσίμαχος πρῶτοις τῶν περιοίκων ἐπολέμησεν Ὀδρυσῆσιν, δεύτερα δὲ ἐπὶ Δρομιχαίτην καὶ Γέτας ἐστράτευσεν· οἷα δὲ ἀνδράσι συμβαλὼν οὐκ ἀπείροις πολέμων, ἀριθμῷ δὲ καὶ πολὺ ὑπερβεβληκόσιν, αὐτὸς μὲν ἐς τὸ ἔσχατον ἐλθὼν κινδύνου διέφυγεν, ὁ δὲ οἱ παῖς Ἀγαθοκλῆς συστρατενόμενος τότε πρῶτον ὑπὸ τῶν Γετῶν ἐάλω. Λυσί-

important to form a mere digression in another story. Now the Egyptians had their honours bestowed upon them out of genuine respect and because they were benefactors, but it was rather the sycophancy of the people that gave them to Philip and Alexander, since they set up a statue to Lysimachus also not so much out of goodwill as because they thought to serve their immediate ends.

This Lysimachus was a Macedonian by birth and one of Alexander's body-guards, whom Alexander once in anger shut up in a chamber with a lion, and afterwards found that he had overpowered the brute. Henceforth he always treated him with respect, and honoured him as much as the noblest Macedonians. After the death of Alexander, Lysimachus ruled such of the Thracians, who are neighbours of the Macedonians, as had been under the sway of Alexander and before him of Philip. These would comprise but a small part of Thrace. If race be compared with race no nation of men except the Celts are more numerous than the Thracians taken all together, and for this reason no one before the Romans reduced the whole Thracian population. But the Romans have subdued all Thrace, and they also hold such Celtic territory as is worth possessing, but they have intentionally overlooked the parts that they consider useless through excessive cold or barrenness. Then Lysimachus made war against his neighbours, first the Odrysae, secondly the Getae and Dromichaetes. Engaging with men not unversed in warfare and far his superiors in number, he himself escaped from a position of extreme danger, but his son Agathocles, who was serving with him then for the first time, was taken prisoner by the Getae.



μαχος δὲ καὶ ὕστερον προσπταίσας μάχαις καὶ  
 τὴν ἄλωσιν τοῦ παιδὸς οὐκ ἐν παρέργῳ ποιού-  
 μενος συνέθετο πρὸς Δρομιχαίτην εἰρήνην, τῆς τε  
 ἀρχῆς τῆς αὐτοῦ τὰ πέραν Ἴστρου παρείς τῷ  
 Γέτῃ καὶ θυγατέρα συνοικίσας ἀνάγκη τὸ πλέον  
 οἱ δὲ οὐκ Ἀγαθοκλέα, Λυσίμαχον δὲ αὐτὸν ἀλώ-  
 ναι λέγουσιν, ἀνασωθῆναι δὲ Ἀγαθοκλέους τὰ  
 πρὸς τὸν Γέτην ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ πράξαντος. ὥς δὲ  
 ἐπανήλθεν, Ἀγαθοκλεῖ Λυσάνδραν γυναῖκα ἡγά-  
 γετο, Πτολεμαίου τε τοῦ Λάγου καὶ Εὐρυδίκης  
 7 οὖσαν. διέβη δὲ καὶ ναυσὶν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ  
 τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν Ἀντιγόνου συγκαθεῖλε. συνώ-  
 κισε δὲ καὶ Ἐφεσίων ἄχρι θαλάσσης τὴν νῦν  
 πόλιν, ἐπαγαγόμενος ἐς αὐτὴν Λεβεδίους τε οἰκή-  
 τορας καὶ Κολοφωνίους, τὰς δὲ ἐκείνων ἀνελὼν  
 πόλεις, ὥς Φοίνικα ἰάμβων ποιητὴν Κολοφωνίων  
 θρηνῆσαι τὴν ἄλωσιν. Ἑρμησιάναξ δὲ ὁ τὰ ἐλε-  
 γεῖα γράψας οὐκέτι ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν περιῆν· πάντως  
 γάρ πον καὶ αὐτὸς ἂν ἐπὶ ἀλούσῃ Κολοφῶνι  
 ὠδύρατο. Λυσίμαχος δὲ καὶ ἐς πόλεμον πρὸς  
 Πύρρον κατέστη τὸν Αἰακίδου· φυλάξας δὲ ἐξ  
 Ἡπείρου ἀπιόντα, οἷα δὴ τὰ πολλὰ ἐκείνος ἐπλα-  
 νᾶτο, τὴν τε ἄλλην ἐλεηλάτησεν Ἡπειρον καὶ ἐπὶ  
 8 τὰς θήκας ἦλθε τῶν βασιλέων. τὰ δὲ ἐντεῦθεν  
 ἐμοὶ ἐστὶν οὐ πιστά, Ἱερώνυμος δὲ ἔγραψε Καρ-  
 διανὸς Λυσίμαχον τὰς θήκας τῶν νεκρῶν ἀνελόντα  
 τὰ ὅσα ἐκρίναι. ὁ δὲ Ἱερώνυμος οὗτος ἔχει μὲν  
 καὶ ἄλλως δόξαν πρὸς ἀπέχθειαν γράφαι τῶν  
 βασιλέων πλὴν Ἀντιγόνου, τούτῳ δὲ οὐ δικαίως  
 χαρίζεσθαι· τὰ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς τάφοις τῶν Ἡπειρω-  
 τῶν παντάπασιν ἐστὶ φανερὸς ἐπηρεῖα συνθεῖς,  
 ἄνδρα Μακεδόνα θήκας νεκρῶν ἀνελεῖν. χωρὶς δὲ

Lysimachus met with other reverses afterwards, and attaching great importance to the capture of his son made peace with Dromichaetes, yielding to the Getic king the parts of his empire beyond the Ister, and, chiefly under compulsion, giving him his daughter in marriage. Others say that not Agathocles but Lysimachus himself was taken prisoner, regaining his liberty when Agathocles treated with the Getic king on his behalf. On his return he married to Agathocles Lysandra, the daughter of Ptolemy, son of Lagus, and of Eurydice. He also crossed with a fleet to Asia and helped to overthrow the empire of Antigonus. He founded also the modern city of Ephesus as far as the coast, bringing to it as settlers people of Lebedos and Colophon, after destroying their cities, so that the iambic poet Phoenix composed a lament for the capture of Colophon. Hermesianax, the elegiac writer, was, I think, no longer living, otherwise he too would certainly have been moved by the taking of Colophon to write a dirge. Lysimachus also went to war with Pyrrhus, son of Acacides. Waiting for his departure from Epeirus (Pyrrhus was of a very roving disposition) he ravaged Epeirus until he reached the royal tombs. The next part of the story is incredible to me, but Hieronymus the Cardian relates that he destroyed the tombs and cast out the bones of the dead. But this Hieronymus has a reputation generally of being biassed against all the kings except Antigonus, and of being unfairly partial towards him. As to the treatment of the Epeiriot graves, it is perfectly plain that it was malice that made him record that a Macedonian desecrated the tombs of the dead. Besides, Lysimachus was

302 B.C.

A. 320-  
300 B.C.



ἡπίστατο δὴ πον καὶ Λυσίμαχος οὐ Πύρρον σφᾶς  
προγόνους μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρον τοὺς αὐ-  
τοὺς τούτους ὄντας· καὶ γὰρ Ἀλέξανδρος Ἡπει-  
ρώτης τε ἦν καὶ τῶν Αἰακιδῶν τὰ πρὸς μητρός, ἣ  
τε ὕστερον Πύρρου πρὸς Λυσίμαχον συμμαχία  
δηλοῖ καὶ πολεμήσασιν ἀδιάλλακτόν γε οὐδὲν  
πρὸς ἀλλήλους γενέσθαι σφίσι. τῷ δὲ Ἱερωνύμῳ  
τάχα μὲν πον καὶ ἄλλα ἦν ἐς Λυσίμαχον ἐγκλή-  
ματα, μέγιστον δὲ ὅτι τὴν Καρδιανῶν πόλιν  
ἀνελὼν Λυσιμάχειαν ἀντ' αὐτῆς ὤκισεν ἐπὶ τῷ  
ἰσθμῷ τῆς Θρακίας χερρονήσου.

X. Λυσιμάχῳ δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν Ἀριδαίου βασιλεύον-  
τος καὶ ὕστερον Κασσάνδρου καὶ τῶν παιδῶν  
φιλία διέμενε πρὸς Μακεδόνας· περιελθούσης δὲ  
ἐς Δημήτριον τὸν Ἀντιγόνου τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἐνταῦθα  
ἤδη Λυσίμαχος πολεμήσεσθαι ἤλπιζεν ὑπὸ Δη-  
μητρίου καὶ αὐτὸς ἄρχειν ἡξίου πολέμου, πα-  
τρώον ἐπιστάμενος ὃν Δημητρίῳ προσπεριβάλ-  
λεσθαι τι ἐθέλειν καὶ ἅμα ὁρῶν αὐτὸν παρελθόντα  
ἐς Μακεδοῖαν μετάπεμπτον ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ  
Κασσάνδρου, ὥς δὲ ἀφίκετο, αὐτὸν τε Ἀλέξαν-  
δρον φονεύσαντα καὶ ἔχοντα ἀντ' ἐκείνου τὴν  
2 Μακεδόνων ἀρχήν. τούτων ἕνεκα Δημητρίῳ συμ-  
βαλὼν πρὸς Ἀμφιπόλει παρ' ὀλίγον μὲν ἦλθεν  
ἐκπεσεῖν Θράκης, ἀμύναντος δὲ οἱ Πύρρου τὴν τε  
Θράκην κατέσχε καὶ ὕστερον ἐπῆρξε Νεστίων καὶ  
Μακεδόνων· τὸ δὲ πολὺ Μακεδονίας αὐτὸς Πύρ-  
ρος κατείχε, δυνάμει τε ἥκων ἐξ Ἡπείρου καὶ  
πρὸς Λυσίμαχον ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἔχων ἐπιτηδείως.  
Δημητρίου δὲ διαβάντος ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ Σε-  
λεύκῳ πολεμοῦντος, ὅσον μὲν χρόνον ἀντείχε τὰ  
Δημητρίου, διέμενε ἡ Πύρρου καὶ Λυσιμάχου

surely aware that they were the ancestors not of Pyrrhus only but also of Alexander. In fact Alexander was an Epeirot and an Aeacid on his mother's side, and the subsequent alliance between Pyrrhus and Lysimachus proves that even as enemies they were not irreconcilable. Possibly Hieronymus had grievances against Lysimachus, especially his destroying the city of the Cardians and founding Lysimachea in its stead on the isthmus of the Thracian Chersonesus.

X. As long as Aridaeus reigned, and after him Cassander and his sons, friendly relations continued between Lysimachus and Macedon. But when the kingdom devolved upon Demetrius, son of Antigonus, Lysimachus, henceforth expecting that war would be declared upon him by Demetrius, resolved to take aggressive action. He was aware that Demetrius inherited a tendency to aggrandise, and he also knew that he visited Macedonia at the summons of Alexander and Cassander, and on his arrival murdered Alexander himself and ruled the Macedonians in his stead. Therefore encountering Demetrius at Amphipolis he came near to being expelled from Thrace, but on Pyrrhus' coming to his aid he mastered Thrace and afterwards extended his empire at the expense of the Nestians and Macedonians. The greater part of Macedonia was under the control of Pyrrhus himself, who came from Epeirus with an army and was at that time on friendly terms with Lysimachus. When however Demetrius crossed over into Asia and made war on Seleucus, the alliance between Pyrrhus and Lysimachus lasted only as long as

294 B.C.

288 B.C.

συμμαχία· γενομένου δὲ ἐπὶ Σελεύκῳ Δημητρίου  
 Λυσιμάχῳ καὶ Πύρρῳ διελύθη ἡ φιλία, καὶ κατα-  
 στάντων ἐς πόλεμον Λυσιμάχος Ἀντιγόνῳ τε  
 τῷ Δημητρίου καὶ αὐτῷ Πύρρῳ πολεμήσας ἐκρά-  
 τησε παρὰ πολὺ καὶ Μακεδονίαν ἔσχευ, ἀνα-  
 χωρῆσαι Πύρρον βιασάμενος ἐς τὴν Ἡπειρον.  
 3 εἴδοσσι δὲ ἀνθρώποις φύεσθαι δι' ἔρωτα πολλαὶ  
 συμφοραί. Λυσιμάχος γὰρ ἡλικία τε ἤδη προ-  
 ῆκων καὶ ἐς τοὺς παῖδας αὐτός τε νομιζόμενος  
 εὐδαίμων καὶ Ἀγαθοκλεῖ παίδων ὄντων ἐκ Λυσάν-  
 δρας Ἀρσινόῃ ἔγημεν ἀδελφὴν Λυσάνδρας. ταύ-  
 την τὴν Ἀρσινόην φοβουμένην ἐπὶ τοῖς παισὶ, μὴ  
 Λυσιμάχου τελευτήσαντος ἐπ' Ἀγαθοκλεῖ γένων-  
 ται, τούτων ἕνεκα Ἀγαθοκλεῖ ἐπιβουλευσαὶ  
 λέγεται. ἤδη δὲ ἔγραφαν καὶ ὡς Ἀγαθοκλέους  
 ἀφίκοιτο ἐς ἔρωτα ἡ Ἀρσινόη, ἀποτυγχάνουσα δὲ  
 ἐπὶ τῷ<sup>1</sup> βουλευσαὶ λέγουσιν Ἀγαθοκλεῖ θάνατον.  
 λέγουσι δὲ καὶ ὡς Λυσιμάχος αἰσθοῖτο ὕστερον  
 τὰ τολμηθέντα ὑπὸ τῆς γυναικός, εἶναι δὲ οὐδὲν  
 ἔτι οἱ πλέον ἡρημωμένῳ φίλων ἐς τὸ ἔσχατον.  
 4 ὡς γὰρ δὴ τότε ὁ Λυσιμάχος ἀνελεῖν τὸν Ἀγαθο-  
 κλεῖα Ἀρσινόη παρήκε, Λυσάνδρα παρὰ Σέλευκον  
 ἐκδιδράσκει τοὺς τε παῖδας ἅμα ἀγομένη καὶ τοὺς  
 ἀδελφούς τοὺς αὐτῆς, οἱ<sup>2</sup> περιελθὼν τοῦτο ἐς  
 Πτολεμαῖον καταφεύγουσι. τούτοις ἐκδιδρά-  
 σκουσι παρὰ Σέλευκον καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ἠκολούθη-  
 σεν, υἱὸς μὲν Λυσιμάχου, γεγονώς δὲ ἐξ Ὀδρσι-  
 άδος γυναικός. οὗτοί τε οὖν ἐς Βαβυλῶνα ἀνα-  
 βεβηκότες ἰκέτευν Σέλευκον ἐς πόλεμον πρὸς  
 Λυσιμάχον καταστῆναι· καὶ Φιλέταιρος ἅμα, ᾧ  
 τὰ χρήματα ἐπετέτραπτο Λυσιμάχου, τῇ τε

<sup>1</sup> ἔπειτα?

<sup>2</sup> Text corrupt.

Demetrius continued hostilities; when Demetrius submitted to Seleucus, the friendship between Lysimachus and Pyrrhus was broken, and when war broke out Lysimachus fought against Antigonus son of Demetrius and against Pyrrhus himself, had much the better of the struggle, conquered Macedonia and forced Pyrrhus to retreat to Epeirus. Love is wont to bring many calamities upon men. Lysimachus, although by this time of mature age and considered happy in respect of his children, and although Agathocles had children by Lysandra, nevertheless married Lysandra's sister Arsinoë. This Arsinoë, fearing for her children, lest on the death of Lysimachus they should fall into the hands of Agathocles, is said for this reason to have plotted against Agathocles. Historians have already related how Arsinoë fell in love with Agathocles, and being unsuccessful they say that she plotted against his life. They say also that Lysimachus discovered later his wife's machinations, but was by this time powerless, having lost all his friends. Since Lysimachus, then, overlooked Arsinoë's murder of Agathocles, Lysandra fled to Seleucus, taking with her her children and her brothers, who were taking refuge with Ptolemy and finally adopted this course. They were accompanied on their flight to Seleucus by Alexander, who was the son of Lysimachus by an Odrysian woman. So they going up to Babylon entreated Seleucus to make war on Lysimachus. And at the same time Hiletaerus, to whom the property of Lysimachus had



Ἀγαθοκλέους τελευτῇ χαλεπῶς φέρων καὶ τὰ  
 παρὰ τῆς Ἀρσινόης ὑποπτα ἡγούμενος καταλαμ-  
 βάνει Πέργαμον τὴν ὑπὲρ Καϊκου, πέμψας δὲ  
 κήρυκα τὰ τε χρήματα καὶ αὐτὸν ἐδίδου Σελεύκῳ.  
 5 Λυσίμαχος δὲ ταῦτα πάντα πυνθανόμενος ἔφθη  
 διαβάς ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ ἄρξας αὐτὸς πολέμου  
 συμβαλὼν τε Σελεύκῳ παρὰ πολὺ τε ἐκρατήθη  
 καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπέθανεν. Ἀλέξανδρος δέ, ὃς ἐκ τῆς  
 γυναικὸς Ὀδρυσίδος ἐγεγόνει οἱ, πολλὰ Λυσάν-  
 δραν παραιτησάμενος ἀναιρεῖται τε καὶ ὕστερον  
 τούτων ἐς Χερρόνησον κομίσας ἔθαψεν, ἔνθα ἔτι  
 καὶ νῦν ἐστὶν οἱ φανερός ὁ τάφος Καρδίας τε  
 μεταξὺ Κώμης καὶ Πακτύης.

XI. Τὰ μὲν οὖν Λυσιμάχου τοιαῦτα ἐγένετο·  
 Ἀθηναίοις δὲ εἰκὼν ἐστὶ καὶ Πύρρου. οὗτος ὁ  
 Πύρρος Ἀλεξάνδρῳ προσῆκεν οὐδέν, εἰ μὴ ὅσα  
 κατὰ γένος· Αἰακίδου γὰρ τοῦ Ἀρύββου Πύρρος  
 ἦν, Ὀλυμπιάδος δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος τῆς Νεοπτολέ-  
 μου, Νεοπτολέμῳ δὲ καὶ Ἀρύββῳ πατὴρ ἦν Ἀλ-  
 κέτας ὁ Θαρύπου. ἀπὸ δὲ Θαρύπου ἐς Πύρρου  
 τὸν Ἀχιλλέως πέντε ἀνδρῶν καὶ δέκα εἰσὶ γενεαί·  
 πρῶτος γὰρ δὴ οὗτος ἀλούσης Ἰλίου τὴν μὲν ἐς  
 Θεσσαλίαν ὑπερεῖδεν ἀναχώρησιν, ἐς δὲ τὴν  
 Ἡπειρον κατάρας ἐνταῦθα ἐκ τῶν Ἑλένου χρη-  
 σμῶν ὥκησε. καὶ οἱ παῖς ἐκ μὲν Ἑρμιόνης ἐγένετο  
 οὐδεὶς, ἐξ Ἀνδρομάχης δὲ Μολοσσός καὶ Πίελος  
 καὶ νεώτατος ὁ Πέργαμος. ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ Ἑλένῳ  
 Κεστρίνος· τούτῳ γὰρ Ἀνδρομάχῃ συνώκησεν  
 2 ἀποθανόντος ἐν Δελφοῖς Πύρρου. Ἑλένου δὲ ὡς  
 ἐτελεύτα Μολοσσῶ τῷ Πύρρου παραδόντος τὴν  
 ἀρχὴν Κεστρίνος μὲν σὺν τοῖς ἐθέλουσιν Ἡπειρω-  
 τῶν τὴν ὑπὲρ Θύαμιν ποταμὸν χώραν ἔσχε, Πέρ-



been entrusted, aggrieved at the death of Agathocles and suspicious of the treatment he would receive at the hands of Arsinoë, seized Pergamus on the Caicus, and sending a herald offered both the property and himself to Seleucus. Lysimachus hearing of all these things lost no time in crossing into Asia, and assuming the initiative met Seleucus, suffered a severe defeat and was killed. Alexander, his son by the Odrysian woman, after interceding long with Lysandra, won his body and afterwards carried it to the Chersonesus and buried it, where his grave is still to be seen between the village of Cardia and Pactye. 281 B.C.

XI. Such was the history of Lysimachus. The Athenians have also a statue of Pyrrhus. This Pyrrhus was not related to Alexander, except by ancestry. Pyrrhus was son of Aeacides, son of Arybbas, but Alexander was son of Olympias, daughter of Neoptolemus, and the father of Neoptolemus and Arybbas was Alcetas, son of Tharypus. And from Tharypus to Pyrrhus, son of Achilles, are fifteen generations. Now Pyrrhus was the first who after the capture of Troy disdained to return to Thessaly, but sailing to Epeirus dwelt there because of the oracles of Helenus. By Hermione Pyrrhus had no child, but by Andromache he had Molossus, Pielus, and Pergamus, who was the youngest. Helenus also had a son, Cestrinus, being married to Andromache after the murder of Pyrrhus at Delphi. Helenus on his death passed on the kingdom to Molossus, son of Pyrrhus, so that Cestrinus with volunteers from the Epeirots took possession of the region beyond the river Thyamis, while Pergamus

- γαμος δὲ διαβὰς ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν Ἀρειον δυναστεύοντα ἐν τῇ Τευθρανίᾳ κτείνει μονομαχήσαντά οἱ περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ τῇ πόλει τὸ ὄνομα ἔδωκε τὸ νῦν ἀφ' αὐτοῦ· καὶ Ἀνδρομάχης—ἠκολούθει γάρ οἱ—καὶ νῦν ἐστὶν ἡρῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει. Πίελος δὲ αὐτοῦ κατέμεινεν ἐν Ἡπείρῳ, καὶ ἐς πρόγονον τούτου ἀνέβαινε Πύρρος τε ὁ Αἰακίδου καὶ οἱ
- 3 πατέρες, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐς Μολοσσόν. ἦν δὲ ἄχρι μὲν Ἀλκέτου τοῦ Θαρύπου ἐφ' ἐνὶ βασιλείᾳ καὶ τὰ Ἡπειρωτῶν· οἱ δὲ Ἀλκέτου παῖδες, ὥς σφισι στασιάσασι μετέδοξεν ἐπ' ἴσης ἀρχειν, αὐτοὶ τε πιστῶς ἔχοντες διέμειναν ἐς ἀλλήλους καὶ ὕστερον Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Νεοπτολέμου τελευτήσαντος ἐν Λευκανοῖς, Ὀλυμπιάδος δὲ διὰ τὸν Ἀντιπάτρου φόβον ἐπανελθούσης ἐς Ἡπειρον, Αἰακίδης ὁ Ἀρύββου τὰ τε ἄλλα διετέλει κατήκοος ὢν
- 4 Ὀλυμπιάδῃ καὶ συνεστράτευσε πολεμήσων Ἀριδαίῳ καὶ Μακεδόσιν, οὐκ ἐθελόντων ἐπεσθαι τῶν Ἡπειρωτῶν. Ὀλυμπιάδος δὲ ὡς ἐπεκράτησεν ἀνόσια μὲν ἐργασαμένης καὶ ἐς τὸν Ἀριδαίου θάνατον, πολλῶ δὲ ἔτι ἀνοσιώτερα ἐς ἄνδρας Μακεδόνας, καὶ διὰ ταῦτα οὐκ ἀνάξια ὕστερον ὑπὸ Κασσάνδρου παθεῖν νομισθείσης, Αἰακίδην κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν οὐδ' αὐτοὶ διὰ τὸ Ὀλυμπιάδος ἔχθος ἐδέχοντο Ἡπειρῶται, εὐρομένου δὲ ἀνὰ χρόνον παρὰ τούτων συγγνώμῃν δεύτερα ἡναντιοῦτο Κασσανδρὸς μὴ κατελθεῖν ἐς Ἡπειρον. γηνομένης δὲ Φιλίππου τε ἀδελφοῦ Κασσάνδρου καὶ Αἰακίδου μάχης πρὸς Οἰνιάδαις, Αἰακίδην μὲν τρωθέντα κατέλαβε μετ' οὐ πολὺ τὸ χρεῶν
- 5 Ἡπειρῶται δὲ Ἀλκέταν ἐπὶ βασιλείᾳ κατεδέξαντο, Ἀρύββου μὲν παῖδα καὶ ἀδελφὸν Αἰακί-

crossed into Asia and killed Areius, despot in Teuthrania, who fought with him in single combat for his kingdom, and gave his name to the city which is still called after him. To Andromache, who accompanied him, there is still a shrine in the city. Pielus remained behind in Epeirus, and to him as ancestor Pyrrhus, the son of Aeacides, and his fathers traced their descent, and not to Molossus. Down to Alcetas, son of Tharypus, Epeirus too was under one king. But the sons of Alcetas after a quarrel agreed to rule with equal authority, remaining faithful to their compact; and afterwards, when Alexander, son of Neoptolemus, died among the Leucani, and Olympias returned to Epeirus through fear of Antipater, Aeacides, son of Arybbas, continued in allegiance to Olympias and joined in her campaign against Aridaeus and the Macedonians, although the Epeirots refused to accompany him. Olympias on her victory behaved wickedly in the matter of the death of Aridaeus, and much more wickedly to certain Macedonians, and for this reason was considered to have deserved her subsequent treatment at the hands of Cassander; so Aeacides at first was not received even by the Epeirots because of their hatred of Olympias, and when afterwards they forgave him, his return to Epeirus was next opposed by Cassander. When a battle occurred at Oeneadae between Philip, brother of Cassander, and Aeacides, Aeacides was wounded and shortly after met his fate. The Epeirots accepted Alcetas as their king, being the son of Arybbas and the elder brother

313 B.C.

δου πρεσβύτερον, ἀκρατῇ δὲ ἄλλως θυμοῦ καὶ δι' αὐτὸ ἐξελασθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρός. καὶ τότε ἤκων ἐξεμαίνετο εὐθύς ἐς τοὺς Ἑπειρώτας, ἐς δ' οὐκ ἔτι αὐτόν τε καὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἐπαναστάντες ἔκτειναν. ἀποκτείναντες δὲ τοῦτον Πύρρον τὸν Διακίδου κατὰγουσιν· ἤκοντι δὲ εὐθύς ἐπεστράτενε Κάσσανδρος, νέφ τε ἡλικία ὄντι καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν οὐ κατεσκευασμένῳ βεβαίως. Πύρρος δὲ ἐπιόντων Μακεδόνων ἐς Αἴγυπτον παρὰ Πτολεμαῖον ἀναβαίνει τὸν Λάγον· καὶ οἱ Πτολεμαῖος γυναῖκά τ' ἔδωκεν ἀδελφὴν ὁμομητρίαν τῶν αὐτοῦ παίδων καὶ στόλῳ κατήγαγεν Αἰγυπτίων.

- 6 Πύρρος δὲ βασιλεύσας πρώτοις ἐπέθετο Ἑλλήνων Κορκυραίοις, κειμένην τε ὁρῶν τὴν νῆσον πρὸ τῆς αὐτοῦ χώρας καὶ ἄλλοις ὁρμητήριον ἐφ' αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐθέλων εἶναι. μετὰ δὲ ἀλούσαν Κόρκυραν ὅσα μὲν Λυσιμάχῳ πολεμήσας ἔπαθε καὶ ὡς Δημήτριον ἐκβαλὼν Μακεδονίας ἤρξεν ἐς δ' αὖθις ἐξέπεσεν ὑπὸ Λυσιμάχου, τάδε μὲν τοῦ Πύρρου μέγιστα ἐς ἐκείνον τὸν καιρὸν δεδήλωκεν ἤδη μοι
- 7 τὰ ἐς Λυσιμάχον ἔχοντα· Ῥωμαίοις δὲ οὐδένα Πύρρου πρότερον πολεμήσαντα ἴσμεν Ἑλληνα. Διομήδει μὲν γὰρ καὶ Ἀργείων τοῖς σὺν αὐτῷ οὐδεμίαν ἐτι γενέσθαι πρὸς Αἰνείαν λέγεται μάχην· Ἀθηναίοις δὲ ἄλλα τε πολλὰ ἐλπίσασιν καὶ Ἰταλίαν πᾶσαν καταστρέψασθαι τὸ ἐν Συρακούσαις πταῖσμα ἐμποδῶν ἐγένετο μὴ καὶ Ῥωμαίων λαβεῖν πείραν· Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ὁ Νεοπτολέμου, γένους τε ὡν Πύρρῳ τοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡλικία πρεσβύτερος, ἀποθανὼν ἐν Λευκανοῖς ἐφθῆ πρὶν ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν Ῥωμαίοις. XII. οὕτω Πύρρος ἐστὶν ὁ πρῶτος ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος τῆς



of Aeacides, but of an uncontrollable temper and on his account banished by his father. Immediately on his arrival he began to vent his fury on the Peirots, until they rose up and put him and his children to death at night. After killing him they brought back Pyrrhus, son of Aeacides. No sooner did he arrive than Cassander made war upon him, while he was young in years and before he had consolidated his empire. When the Macedonians attacked him, Pyrrhus went to Ptolemy, son of Lagus, in Egypt. Ptolemy gave him to wife the half-sister of his children, and restored him by an Egyptian force.

The first Greeks that Pyrrhus attacked on becoming king were the Corcyraeans. He saw that the island lay off his own territory, and he did not wish others to have a base from which to attack him. My account of Lysimachus has already related how he fared, after taking Coreyra, in his war with Lysimachus, how he expelled Demetrius and ruled Macedonia until he was in turn expelled by Lysimachus, the most important of his achievements until he waged war against the Romans, being the first Greek we know of to do so. For no further battle, it is said, took place between Aeneas and Diomedes with his Argives. One of the many ambitions of the Athenians was to reduce all Italy, but the disaster at Syracuse prevented their trying conclusions with the Romans. Alexander, son of Neoptolemus, of the same family as Pyrrhus but older, died among the Leucani before he could meet the Romans in battle. XII. So Pyrrhus was the first to cross the Ionian 413 B.C. 280 B.C.



πέραν Ἰονίου διαβὰς ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους· διέβη δὲ  
 καὶ οὗτος ἐπαγαγομένων Ταραντίνων. τοῦτοις  
 γὰρ πρότερον ἔτι πρὸς Ῥωμαίους συνεισθίκει  
 πόλεμος· ἀδύνατοι δὲ κατὰ σφᾶς ὄντες ἀντι-  
 σχεῖν, προὔπαρχούσης μὲν ἐς αὐτὸν εὐεργεσίας,  
 ὅτι οἱ πολεμοῦντι τὸν πρὸς Κόρκυραν πόλεμον  
 ναυσὶ συνήραντο, μάλιστα δὲ οἱ πρέσβεις τῶν  
 Ταραντίνων ἀνέπεισαν τὸν Πύρρον, τὴν τε Ἰτα-  
 λίαν διδάσκοντες ὥς εὐδαιμονίας ἔνεκα ἀντὶ  
 πάσης εἴη τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ ὥς οὐχ ὅσιον αὐτῷ  
 παραπέμψαι σφᾶς φίλους τε καὶ ἰκέτας ἐν τῷ  
 παρόντι ἤκοντας. ταῦτα λεγόντων τῶν πρέσβεων  
 μνήμη τὸν Πύρρον τῆς ἀλώσεως ἐσήληθε τῆς  
 Ἰλίου, καὶ οἱ κατὰ ταῦτ᾽ ἠλπίζε χωρήσειν πολε-  
 μοῦντι· στρατεύειν γὰρ ἐπὶ Τρώων ἀποίκους  
 2 Ἀχιλλέως ὧν ἀπόγονος. ὥς δὲ οἱ ταῦτα ἤρεσκε  
 —διέμελλε γὰρ ἐπ' οὐδενὶ ὧν ἔλοιτο—, αὐτίκα  
 ναῦς τε ἐπλήρου μακρὰς καὶ πλοῖα στρογγύλα  
 εὐτρέπιζεν ἵππους καὶ ἄνδρας ὀπλίτας ἄγειν.  
 ἔστι δὲ ἀνδράσι βιβλία οὐκ ἐπιφανέσιν ἐς συγ-  
 γραφήν, ἔχοντα ἐπίγραμμα ἔργων ὑπομνήματα  
 εἶναι. ταῦτα ἐπιλεγόμενῳ μοι μάλιστα ἐπήληθε  
 θαυμάσαι Πύρρον τόλμαν τε, ἣν μαχόμενος αὐ-  
 τὸς παρείχετο, καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς αἰεὶ μέλλουσιν  
 ἀγῶσι πρόνοιαν ὃς καὶ τότε περαιούμενος ναυσὶν  
 ἐς Ἰταλίαν Ῥωμαίους ἐλελήθει καὶ ἤκων οὐκ  
 εὐθὺς ἦν σφισι φανερός, γινομένης δὲ Ῥωμαίων  
 πρὸς Ταραντίνους συμβολῆς τότε δὴ πρῶτον  
 ἐπιφαίνεται σὺν τῷ στρατῷ καὶ παρ' ἐλπίδα  
 3 σφισι προσπεσὼν, ὥς τὸ εἶκος, ἐτάραξεν. ἄτε δὲ  
 ἄριστα ἐπιστάμενος ὥς οὐκ ἀξιώμαχος εἴη πρὸς  
 Ῥωμαίους, παρεσκευάζετο ὥς τοὺς ἐλέφαντας

Sea from Greece to attack the Romans. And even he crossed on the invitation of the Tarentines. For they were already involved in a war with the Romans, but were no match for them unaided. Pyrrhus was already in their debt, because they had sent a fleet to help him in his war with Coreyra, but the most cogent arguments of the Tarentine envoys were their accounts of Italy, how its prosperity was equal to that of the whole of Greece, and their plea that it was wicked to dismiss them when they had come as friends and suppliants in their hour of need. When the envoys urged these considerations, Pyrrhus remembered the capture of Troy, which he took to be an omen of his success in the war, as he was a descendant of Achilles making war upon a colony of Trojans. Pleased with this proposal, and being a man who never lost time when once he had made up his mind, he immediately proceeded to man war-ships and to prepare transports to carry horses and men-at-arms. There are books written by men of no renown as historians, entitled "Memoirs." When I read these I marvelled greatly both at the personal bravery of Pyrrhus in battle, and also at the forethought he displayed whenever a contest was imminent. So on this occasion also when crossing to Italy with a fleet he eluded the observation of the Romans, and for some time after his arrival they were unaware of his presence; it was only when the Romans made an attack upon the Tarentines that he appeared on the scene with his army, and his unexpected assault naturally threw his enemies into confusion. And being perfectly aware that he was no match for the Romans, he prepared to let loose against them his elephants.

ἐπαφήσων σφίσιν. ἐλέφαντας δὲ πρῶτος μὲν  
 τῶν ἐκ τῆς Εὐρώπης Ἀλέξανδρος ἐκτίσατο  
 Πῶρον καὶ τὴν δύναμιν καθελὼν τὴν Ἰνδῶν,  
 ἀποθανόντος δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ ἄλλοι τῶν βα-  
 σιλέων καὶ πλείστους ἔσχευ Ἀντίγονος, Πύρρῳ  
 δὲ ἐκ τῆς μάχης ἐγεγόνει τῆς πρὸς Δημήτριον τὰ  
 θηρία αἰχμάλωτα· τότε δὲ ἐπιφανέντων αὐτῶν  
 δεῖμα ἔλαβε Ῥωμαίους ἄλλο τι καὶ οὐ ζῶα εἶναι  
 4 νομίσαντας. ἐλέφαντα γάρ, ὅσος μὲν ἐς ἔργα καὶ  
 ἀνδρῶν χεῖρας, εἰσὶν ἐκ παλαιοῦ δηλοὶ πάντες  
 εἰδότες· αὐτὰ δὲ τὰ θηρία, πρὶν ἢ διαβῆναι Μα-  
 κεδόνας ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν, οὐδὲ ἐωράκεσαν ἀρχὴν  
 πλὴν Ἰνδῶν τε αὐτῶν καὶ Λιβύων καὶ ὅσοι  
 πλησιόχωροι τούτοις. δηλοῖ δὲ Ὅμηρος, ὃς βα-  
 σιλεῦσι κλίνας μὲν καὶ οἰκίας τοῖς εὐδαιμονε-  
 στέροις αὐτῶν ἐλέφαντι ἐποίησε κεκοσμημένας,  
 θηρίου δὲ ἐλέφαντος μνήμην οὐδεμίαν ἐποιήσατο·  
 θεασάμενος δὲ ἢ πεπυσμένος ἐμνημόνευσεν ἂν  
 5 πολὺ γε πρότερον ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν ἢ Πυγμαίων τε  
 ἀνδρῶν καὶ γεράνων μάχης. Πύρρον δὲ ἐς Σικε-  
 λίαν ἀπήγαγε πρεσβεῖα Συρακουσίων· Καρχη-  
 δόνιοι γὰρ διαβάντες τὰς Ἑλληνίδας τῶν πόλεων  
 ἐποιοῦν ἀναστάτους, ἢ δὲ ἦν λοιπή, Συρακούσiais  
 πολιορκοῦντες προσεκάθηντο. ἂ τῶν πρέσβων  
 Πύρρος ἀκούων Τάραντα μὲν εἶα καὶ τοὺς τὴν  
 ἄκτὴν ἔχοντας Ἰταλιωτῶν, ἐς δὲ τὴν Σικελίαν  
 διαβάς Καρχηδονίους ἠνάγκασεν ἀπαναστῆναι  
 Συρακουσῶν. φρονήσας δὲ ἐφ' αὐτῷ Καρχηδο-  
 νίων, οἳ θαλάσσης τῶν τότε βαρβάρων μάλιστα  
 εἶχον ἐμπείρως Τύριοι Φοίνικες τὸ ἀρχαῖον ὄντες,

The first European to acquire elephants was Alexander, after subduing Porus and the power of the Indians; after his death others of the kings got them, but Antigonos more than any; Pyrrhus captured his beasts in the battle with Demetrius. When on this occasion they came in sight the Romans were seized with panic, and did not believe they were animals. For although the use of ivory in arts and crafts all men obviously have known from of old, the actual beasts, before the Macedonians crossed into Asia, nobody had seen at all except the Indians themselves, the Libyans, and their neighbours. This is proved by Homer, who describes the couches and houses of the more prosperous kings as ornamented with ivory, but never mentions the beast; but if he had seen or heard about it he would, in my opinion, have been much more likely to speak of it than of the battle between the Dwarf-men and cranes.<sup>1</sup> Pyrrhus was brought over to Sicily by an embassy of the Syracusans. The Carthaginians had crossed over and were destroying the Greek cities, and had sat down to invest Syracuse, the only one now remaining. When Pyrrhus heard this from the envoys he abandoned Tarentum and the Italiots on the coast, and crossing into Sicily forced the Carthaginians to raise the siege of Syracuse. In his self-conceit, although the Carthaginians, being Phoenicians of Tyre by ancient descent, were more experienced seamen than any other non-Greek people of that day, Pyrrhus was nevertheless encouraged to meet them

<sup>1</sup> *Iliad*, iii. 3 f.



τούτων ἐναντία ἐπήρθη ναυμαχῆσαι τοῖς Ἑπειρώταις χρώμενος, οἳ μηδὲ ἀλούσης Ἰλίου θάλασσαν οἱ πολλοὶ μηδὲ ἀλσὶν ἠπίσταντό πω χρησθαι. μαρτυρεῖ δέ μοι καὶ Ὅμηρου ἔπος ἐν Ὀδυσσεΐᾳ·

οἳ οὐκ ἴσασι θάλασσαν

ἀνέρες, οὐδέ θ' ἄλεσσι μεμιγμένον εἶδαρ ἔδουσιν.

XIII. τότε δὲ ὁ Πύρρος, ὡς ἠτήθη, ταῖς ναυσὶν ἐς Τάραντα ἀνήγετο ταῖς λοιπαῖς· ἐνταῦθα προσέπταισε μεγάλως καὶ τὴν ἀναχώρησιν—οὐ γὰρ ἀμαχεῖ Ῥωμαίους ἠπίστατο ἀφήσοντας—πορίζεται τρόπον τοῦτον. ὡς ἐπανήκων ἐκ Σικελίας ἠτήθη, πρῶτον διέπεμπε γράμματα ἐς τε τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ πρὸς Ἀντίγονον, τοὺς μὲν στρατιῶν τῶν βασιλέων, τοὺς δὲ χρήματα, Ἀντίγονον δὲ καὶ ἀμφοτέρα αἰτῶν· ἀφικομένων δὲ τῶν ἀγγέλων, ὥς οἱ γράμματα ἀπεδόθη, συναγαγὼν τοὺς ἐν τέλει τῶν τε ἐξ Ἑπείρου καὶ τῶν Ταραντίνων, ὧν μὲν εἶχε τὰ βιβλία ἀνεγίνωσκεν οὐδέν, ὃ δὲ ἤξειν συμμαχίαν ἔλεγε. ταχὺ δὲ καὶ ἐς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἦλθε φήμη Μακεδόνας καὶ ἄλλα ἔθνη περαιούσθαι τῶν Ἀσιανῶν ἐς τὴν Πύρρου βοήθειαν· Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἀκούοντες ἡσυχάζον, Πύρρος δὲ ὑπὸ τὴν ἐπιούσαν περαιούται νύκτα πρὸς τὰ ἄκρα τῶν ὄρων, ἃ Κεραῦνια ὀνομάζουσι.

- 2 Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ πληγὴν ἀναπαύσας τὴν δύναμιν προεῖπεν Ἀντίγονῳ πόλεμον, ἄλλα τε ποιούμενος ἐγκλήματα καὶ μάλιστα τῆς ἐς Ἰταλίαν βοηθείας διαμαρτίαν. κρατήσας δὲ τὴν τε ἰδίαν παρασκευὴν Ἀντιγόνου καὶ τὸ παρ' αὐτῷ Γαλατῶν ξενικὸν ἐδίωξεν ἐς τὰς ἐπὶ θαλάσῃ



in a naval battle, employing the Epeirots, the majority of whom, even after the capture of Troy, knew nothing of the sea nor even as yet how to use salt. Witness the words of Homer in the *Odyssey*<sup>1</sup> :—

“Nothing they know of ocean, and mix not salt with their victuals.”

XIII. Worsted on this occasion Pyrrhus put back with the remainder of his vessels to Tarentum. Here he met with a serious reverse, and his retirement, for he knew that the Romans would not let him depart without striking a blow, he contrived in the following manner. On his return from Sicily and his defeat, he first sent various dispatches to Asia and to Antigonus, asking some of the kings for troops, some for money, and Antigonus for both. When the envoys returned and their dispatches were delivered, he summoned those in authority, whether Epeirot or Tarentine, and without reading any of the dispatches declared that reinforcements would come. A report spread quickly even to the Romans that Macedonians and Asiatic tribes also were crossing to the aid of Pyrrhus. The Romans, on hearing this, made no move, but Pyrrhus on the approach of that very night crossed to the headlands of the mountains called Ceraunian.

After the defeat in Italy Pyrrhus gave his forces a rest and then declared war on Antigonus, his chief ground of complaint being the failure to send reinforcements to Italy. Overpowering the native troops of Antigonus and his Gallic mercenaries he pursued

<sup>1</sup> *Odyssey*, xi. 122.

πόλεις, αὐτὸς δὲ Μακεδονίας τε τῆς ἄνω καὶ Θεσσαλῶν ἐπεκράτησε. δηλοῖ δὲ μάλιστα τὸ μέγεθος τῆς μάχης καὶ τὴν Πύρρου νίκην, ὡς παρὰ πολὺ γένοιτο, τὰ ἀνατεθέντα ὄπλα τῶν Κελτῶν ἐς τὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερὸν τῆς Ἰτωνίας Φερῶν μεταξὺ καὶ Λαρίσης καὶ τὸ ἐπίγραμμα τὸ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς·

Τοὺς θυρεοὺς ὁ Μολοσσὸς Ἰτωνίδι δῶρον  
Ἀθάνᾳ

- 3 Πύρρος ἀπὸ θρασέων ἐκρέμασεν Γαλατᾶν,  
πάντα τὸν Ἀντιγόνου καθελῶν στρατόν. οὐ  
μέγα θαῦμα·  
αἰχματαὶ καὶ νῦν καὶ πάρος Αἰακίδαι.

τούτους μὲν δὴ ἐνταῦθα, τῷ δὲ ἐν Δωδώνῃ Διὶ Μακεδόνων ἀνέθηκεν αὐτῶν τὰς ἀσπίδας. ἐπὶ γέγραπται δὲ καὶ ταύταις·

Αἶδε ποτ' Ἀσίδα γαῖαν ἐπόρθησαν πολὺν  
χρυσόν,  
αἶδε καὶ Ἑλλασιν δουλοσύναν ἔπορον.  
νῦν δὲ Διὸς ναῶ ποτὶ κίονας ὄρφανὰ κεῖται  
τὰς μεγαλαυχήτω σκῦλα Μακεδονίας.

- Πύρρῳ δὲ Μακεδόνας ἐς ἅπαν μὴ καταστρέψα-  
4 σθαι παρ' ὀλίγον ὅμως ἤκοντι ἐγένετο Κλεώνυμος  
αἴτιος, ἐτοιμοτέρῳ καὶ ἄλλως ὄντι ἐλέσθαι τὰ ἐν  
χερσίν. Κλεώνυμος δὲ οὗτος, ὁ τὸν Πύρρον ἀπο-  
λιπόντα τὰ Μακεδόνων πείσας ἐς Πελοπόννησον  
ἐλθεῖν, Λακεδαιμόνιος ὢν Λακεδαιμονίοις στρατὸν  
ἐς τὴν χώραν πολέμιον ἐπήγε δι' αἰτίαν, ἣν ἐγὼ  
τοῦ γένους ὕστερον τοῦ Κλεωνύμου δηλώσω.  
Παυσανίου τοῦ περὶ Πλάταιαν τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν

them to the coast cities, and himself reduced upper Macedonia and the Thessalians. The extent of the fighting and the decisive character of the victory of Pyrrhus are shown best by the Celtic armour dedicated in the sanctuary of Itonian Athena between Pherae and Larisa, with this inscription on them :—

“Pyrrhus the Molossian hung these shields taken from the bold Gauls as a gift to Itonian Athena, when he had destroyed all the host of Antigonus. 'Tis no great marvel. The Aeacidae are warriors now, even as they were of old.”

These shields then are here, but the bucklers of the Macedonians themselves he dedicated to Dodonian Zeus. They too have an inscription :—

“These once ravaged golden Asia, and brought slavery upon the Greeks. Now ownerless they lie by the pillars of the temple of Zeus, spoils of boastful Macedonia.”

Pyrrhus came very near to reducing Macedonia entirely, but, being usually readier to do what came first to hand, he was prevented by Cleonymus. This Cleonymus, who persuaded Pyrrhus to abandon his Macedonian adventure and to go to the Peloponnesus, was a Lacedaemonian who led an hostile army into the Lacedaemonian territory for a reason which I will relate after giving the descent of Cleonymus. Pausanias, who was in command of the 470 B.C.

ἡγησαμένου Πλειστοάναξ υἱὸς ἐγένετο, τοῦ δὲ Πανσανίας, τοῦ δὲ Κλεόμβροτος, ὃς ἐναντία Ἐπαμινώνδα καὶ Θηβαίοις μαχόμενος ἀπέθανεν ἐν Λεύκτροις· Κλεομβρότου δὲ Ἀγησίπολις ἦν καὶ Κλεομένης, Ἀγησιπόλιδος δὲ ἄπαιδος τελευ-  
 5 τήσαντος Κλεομένης τὴν βασιλείαν ἔσχε. Κλεο-  
 μένει δὲ παῖδες γίνονται πρεσβύτερος μὲν Ἀκρό-  
 τatos, νεώτερος δὲ Κλεώνυμος. Ἀκρότατον μὲν οὖν πρότερον κατέλαβεν ἢ τελευτή· Κλεομένου-  
 δὲ ἀποθανόντος ὕστερον ἐς ἀμφισβήτησιν κατέστη-  
 περι τῆς ἀρχῆς Ἀρεὺς ὁ Ἀκροτάτου, καὶ Κλεω-  
 νυμος ὅτῳ δὴ τρόπῳ μετελθὼν ἐπάγει Πύρρον ἐς  
 τὴν χώραν. Λακεδαιμονίοις δὲ πρὸ μὲν τοῦ ἐν  
 Λεύκτροις οὐδὲν ἐγεγόνει πταῖσμα, ὥστε οὐδὲ  
 συνεχώρουν ἀγωνίᾳ πῶ κεκρατῆσθαι πεζῶ· Λεω-  
 νίδα μὲν γὰρ νικῶντι οὐκ ἔφασαν τοὺς ἐπομένους  
 ἐς τελείαν ἐξαρκέσαι φθορὰν τῶν Μήδων, τὸ δὲ  
 Ἀθηναίων καὶ Δημοσθένους ἔργον πρὸς τῇ νήσῳ  
 Σφακτηρίᾳ κλοπὴν εἶναι πολέμου καὶ οὐ νίκην.  
 6 πρῶτης δὲ γενομένης σφίσι συμφορὰς ἐν Βοιωτοῖς,  
 ὕστερον Ἀντιπάτρῳ καὶ Μακεδόσι μεγάλως  
 προσέπταισαν· τρίτος δὲ ὁ Δημητρίου πόλεμος  
 κακὸν ἀνέλπιστον ἦλθεν ἐς τὴν γῆν. Πύρρου δὲ  
 ἐσβαλόντος τέταρτον δὴ τότε στρατὸν ὁρῶντες  
 πολέμιον αὐτοὶ τε παρετάσσοντο καὶ Ἀργείων  
 ἦκοντες καὶ Μεσσηνίων σύμμαχοι· Πύρρος δὲ  
 ὡς ἐπεκράτησεν, ὀλίγου μὲν ἦλθεν ἐλεῖν αὐτοβοεῖ  
 τὴν πόλιν, δηρώσας δὲ τὴν γῆν καὶ λείαν ἐλάσας  
 μικρὸν ἡσύχαζεν. οἱ δὲ ἐς πολιορκίαν εὐτρεπί-  
 ζοντο, πρότερον ἐπὶ τῆς Σπάρτης ἐπὶ τοῦ πολέμου  
 τοῦ πρὸς Δημήτριον τάφροις τε βαθείαις καὶ  
 σταυροῖς τετειχισμένης ἰσχυροῖς, τὰ δὲ ἐπιμαχώ-



Greeks at Plataea, was the father of Pleistoanax, he of Pausanias, and he of Cleombrotus, who was killed at Leuctra fighting against Epaminondas and the Thebans. Cleombrotus was the father of Agesipolis and Cleomenes, and, Agesipolis dying without issue, Cleomenes ascended the throne. Cleomenes had two sons, the elder being Acrotatus and the younger Cleonymus. Now Acrotatus died first; and when afterwards Cleomenes died, a claim to the throne was put forward by Areus son of Acrotatus, and Cleonymus took steps to induce Pyrrhus to enter the country. Before the battle of Leuctra the Lacedaemonians had suffered no disaster, so that they even refused to admit that they had yet been worsted in a land battle. For Leonidas, they said, had won the victory, but his followers were insufficient for the entire destruction of the Persians; the achievement of Demosthenes and the Athenians on the island of Sphacteria was no victory, but only a trick in war. Their first reverse took place in Boeotia, and they afterwards suffered a severe defeat at the hands of Antipater and the Macedonians. Thirdly the war with Demetrius came as an unexpected misfortune to their land. Invaded by Pyrrhus and seeing a hostile army for the fourth time, they arrayed themselves to meet it along with the Argives and Messenians who had come as their allies. Pyrrhus won the day, and came near to capturing Sparta without further fighting, but desisted for a while after ravaging the land and carrying off plunder. The citizens prepared for a siege, and Sparta even before this in the war with Demetrius had been fortified with deep trenches and strong stakes, and at

371 B.C.

480 B.C.

425 B.C.

390 B.C.

295 B.C.

272 B.C.



- 7 τατα καὶ οἰκοδομήμασιν. ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦτον τὸν  
 χρόνον καὶ τὴν τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ Λακωνικοῦ  
 τριβὴν Ἀντίγονος τὰς πόλεις τῶν Μακεδόνων  
 ἀνασώσάμενος ἠπέλγετο εἰς Πελοπόννησον οἷα  
 ἐπιστάμενος Πύρρον, ἣν Λακεδαίμονα κατα-  
 στρέψῃται καὶ Πελοποννήσου τὰ πολλά, οὐκ  
 εἰς Ἡπειρον ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τε Μακεδονίαν αὖθις καὶ  
 τὸν ἐκεῖ πόλεμον ἤξοντα· μέλλοντος δὲ Ἀντιγόνου  
 τὸν στρατὸν ἐξ Ἀργους εἰς τὴν Λακωνικὴν ἄγειν,  
 αὐτὸς ἐς τὸ Ἄργος ἐληλύθει Πύρρος. κρατῶν δὲ  
 καὶ τότε συνεσπίπτει τοῖς φεγγουσιν εἰς τὴν  
 πόλιν καὶ οἱ διαλύεται κατὰ τὸ εἶκος ἡ τάξις·  
 8 μαχομένων δὲ πρὸς ἱεροῖς ἤδη καὶ οἰκίαις καὶ  
 κατὰ τοὺς στενωποὺς καὶ κατ' ἄλλο ἄλλων τῆς  
 πόλεως, ἐνταῦθα ὁ Πύρρος ἐμονώθη καὶ τιτρώ-  
 σκεται τὴν κεφαλὴν. κεράμῳ δὲ βληθέντα ὑπὸ  
 γυναικὸς τεθνάναι φασὶ Πύρρον· Ἀργεῖοι δὲ οὐ  
 γυναῖκα τὴν ἀποκτεῖνασαν, Δήμητρα δὲ φασιν  
 εἶναι γυναικὶ εἰκασμένην, ταῦτα εἰς τὴν Πύρρον  
 τελευτὴν αὐτοὶ λέγουσιν Ἀργεῖοι καὶ ὁ τῶν ἐπι-  
 χωρίων ἐξηγητὴς Λυκίας ἐν ἔπεσιν εἴρηκε· καὶ  
 σφισιν ἔστι τοῦ θεοῦ χρήσαντος, ἔνθα ὁ Πύρρος  
 ἐτελεύτησεν, ἱερὸν Δήμητρος· ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ  
 9 Πύρρος τέθαιπται, θαῦμα δὲ ποιοῦμαι τῶν  
 καλονμένων Αἰακιδῶν τρισὶ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ ἐκ τοῦ  
 θεοῦ συμβῆναι τὴν τελευτήν, εἴ γε Ἀχιλλεῖα  
 μὲν Ὀμηρος ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου φησὶ τοῦ Πριάμου  
 καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος ἀπολέσθαι, Πύρρον δὲ τὸν  
 Ἀχιλλέως ἡ Πυθία προσέταξεν ἀποκτεῖναι Δελ-  
 φοῖς, τῷ δὲ Αἰακίδου συνέβη τὰ εἰς τὴν τελευτήν  
 οἷα Ἀργεῖοί τε λέγουσι καὶ Λυκίας ἐποίησε.

most vulnerable points with buildings as well. At about this time, while the Laconian war was going on, Antigonos, having recovered the Macedonian cities, hastened to the Peloponnesus, being well aware that if Pyrrhus were to reduce Lacedaemon and the greater part of the Peloponnesus, he would return to Epeirus but to Macedonia to make war there again. When Antigonos was about to lead his army from Argos into Laconia, Pyrrhus himself attacked Argos. Victorious once more he dashed into the city along with the fugitives, and his formation unnaturally was broken up. When the fighting was now taking place by sanctuaries and houses, and in the narrow lanes, between detached bodies in different parts of the town, Pyrrhus left by himself was wounded in the head. It is said that his death was caused by a blow from a tile thrown by a woman. The Argives however declare that it was not a woman who killed him but Demeter in the likeness of a woman. This is what the Argives themselves relate about his end, and Lyceas, the guide for the neighbourhood, has written a poem which confirms the story. They have a sanctuary of Demeter, built at the command of the oracle, on the spot where Pyrrhus died, and in it Pyrrhus is buried. I consider it remarkable that of those styled *Aeacidae* three met their end by similar heaven-sent means; if, as Homer says, Achilles was killed by Alexander, son of Priam, and by Apollo, if the Delphians were bidden by the Delphic oracle to slay Pyrrhus, son of Achilles, and if the end of the son of Aeacides was such as the Argives say and

διάφορα δὲ ὅμως ἐστὶ καὶ ταῦτα ὧν Ἰερώνυμος ὁ Καρδιανὸς ἔγραψεν· ἀνδρὶ γὰρ βασιλεῖ συνόντα ἀνάγκη πᾶσα ἐς χάριν συγγράφειν. εἰ δὲ καὶ Φίλιστος αἰτίαν δικαίαν εἶληφεν, ἐπελπίζων τὴν ἐν Συρακούσαις κάθοδον, ἀποκρύψασθαι τῶν Διονυσίου τὰ ἀνοσιώτατα, ἣ που πολλή γε Ἰερωνύμῳ συγγνώμη τὰ ἐς ἡδονὴν Ἀντιγόνου γράφειν.

XIV. Ἡ μὲν Ἡπειρωτῶν ἀκμὴ κατέστρεψεν ἐς τοῦτο· ἐς δὲ τὸ Ἀθήνησιν ἐσελθούσιν Ὀιδεῖον ἄλλα τε καὶ Διόνυσος κεῖται θέας ἄξιος. πλησίον δέ ἐστι κρήνη, καλοῦσι δὲ αὐτὴν Ἐννεάκρουνον, οὕτω κοσμηθεῖσαν ὑπὸ Πεισιστράτου· φρέατα μὲν γὰρ καὶ διὰ πάσης τῆς πόλεως ἐστί, πηγὴ δὲ αὕτη μόνη. ναοὶ δὲ ὑπὲρ τὴν κρήνην ὁ μὲν Δήμητρος πεποιήται καὶ Κόρης, ἐν δὲ τῷ Τριπτολέμου κείμενον ἐστὶν ἄγαλμα· τὰ δὲ ἐς αὐτὸν ὅποια λέγεται γράψω, παρὲς ὅπόσον ἐς Δηϊόπην 2 ἔχει τοῦ λόγου. Ἑλλήνων οἱ μάλιστα ἀμφισβητοῦντες Ἀθηναίοις ἐς ἀρχαιότητα καὶ δῶρα, ἃ παρὰ θεῶν φασὶν ἔχειν, εἰσὶν Ἀργεῖοι, καθάπερ βαρβάρων Φρυγῖν Αἰγύπτιοι. λέγεται οὖν ὡς Δήμητρα ἐς Ἄργος ἐλθοῦσαν Πελασγὸς δέξαιτο οἴκῳ καὶ ὡς Χρυσανθὶς τὴν ἀρπαγὴν ἐπισταμένη τῆς Κόρης διηγῆσαιτο· ὕστερον δὲ Τροχίλον ἱεροφάντην φυγόντα ἐξ Ἀργους κατὰ ἔχθος Ἀγῆνορος ἐλθεῖν φασιν ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν καὶ γυναικὰ τε ἐξ Ἐλευσίνος γῆμαι καὶ γενέσθαι οἱ παῖδας Εὐβουλέα καὶ Τριπτόλεμον. ὃδε μὲν Ἀργείων ἐστὶ λόγος· Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ καὶ ὅσοι παρὰ 3 τοῦτοις . . . ἴσασι Τριπτόλεμον τὸν Κελεοῦ πρῶτον σπεῖραι καρπὸν ἡμερον. ἔπη δὲ ᾄδεται

Lyceas has described in his poem. The account, however, given by Hieronymus the Cardian is different, for a man who associates with royalty cannot help being a partial historian. If Philistus was justified in suppressing the most wicked deeds of Dionysius, because he expected his return to Syracuse, surely Hieronymus may be fully forgiven for writing to please Antigonus.

XIV. So ended the period of Epeirot ascendancy. When you have entered the Odeum at Athens you meet, among other objects, a figure of Dionysus worth seeing. Hard by is a spring called Enneacrunos (*Nine Jets*), embellished as you see it by Peisistratus. There are cisterns all over the city, but this is the only fountain. Above the spring are two temples, one to Demeter and the Maid, while in that of Triptolemus is a statue of him. The accounts given of Triptolemus I shall write, omitting from the story as much as relates to Deiope. The Greeks who dispute most the Athenian claim to antiquity and the gifts they say they have received from the gods are the Argives, just as among those who are not Greeks the Egyptians compete with the Phrygians. It is said, then, that when Demeter came to Argos she was received by Pelagus into his home, and that Chrysanthis, knowing about the rape of the Maid, related the story to her. Afterwards Trochilus, the priest of the mysteries, fled, they say, from Argos because of the enmity of Agenor, came to Attica and married a woman of Eleusis, by whom he had two children, Eubuleus and Triptolemus. That is the account given by the Argives. But the Athenians and those who with them . . . know that Triptolemus, son of Celeus, was the first to sow seed for cultivation. Some extant verses of Musaeus, if indeed they are



Μουσαίου μὲν, εἰ δὴ Μουσαίου καὶ ταῦτα, Τρι-  
 πτόλεμον παῖδα Ὠκεανοῦ καὶ Γῆς εἶναι, Ὀρφέως  
 δέ, οὐδὲ ταῦτα Ὀρφέως ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν ὄντα, Εὐβου-  
 λεῖ καὶ Τριπτολέμῳ Δυσαύλην πατέρα εἶναι,  
 μηνύσασι δέ σφισι περὶ τῆς παιδὸς δοθῆναι παρὰ  
 Δήμητρος σπείραι τοὺς καρπούς· Χοιρίλῳ δὲ  
 Ἀθηναίῳ δρᾶμα ποιήσαντι Ἀλόπῃν ἔστιν  
 εἰρημένα Κερκύνονα εἶναι καὶ Τριπτόλεμον ἀδελ-  
 φούς, τεκεῖν δὲ σφᾶς θυγατέρα Ἀμφικτύονος,  
 εἶναι δὲ πατέρα Τριπτολέμῳ μὲν Ῥᾶρον, Κερ-  
 κύνῳ δὲ Ποσειδῶνα. πρόσω δὲ ἰέναι με ὥρμη-  
 μένον τοῦδε τοῦ λόγου καὶ ὅποσα ἐξήγησιν<sup>1</sup>  
 ἔχει τὸ Ἀθήνησιν ἱερόν, καλούμενον δὲ Ἐλευ-  
 σίνιον, ἐπέσχευ ὄψις ὀνείρατος· ἃ δὲ ἐς πάντας  
 4 ὅσιον γράφειν, ἐς ταῦτα ἀποτρέφομαι. πρὸ τοῦ  
 ναοῦ τοῦδε, ἔνθα καὶ τοῦ Τριπτολέμον τὸ ἄγαλμα,  
 ἔστι βοὺς χαλκοῦς οἷα ἐς θυσίαν ἀγόμενος,  
 πεποιήται δὲ καθήμενος Ἐπιμενίδης Κνώσσιος,  
 ὃν ἐλθόντα ἐς ἀγρὸν κοιμᾶσθαι λέγουσιν ἐσελ-  
 θόντα ἐς σπήλαιον· ὃ δὲ ὕπνος οὐ πρότερον  
 ἀνῆκεν αὐτὸν πρὶν ἢ οἱ τεσσαρακοστὸν ἔτος  
 γενέσθαι καθεύδοντι, καὶ ὕστερον ἔπη τε ἐποίησε  
 καὶ πόλεις ἐκάθηρεν ἄλλας τε καὶ τὴν Ἀθηναίων.  
 Θάλης δὲ ὁ Λακεδαιμονίοις τὴν νόσον παύσας  
 οὔτε ἄλλως προσήκων οὔτε πόλεως ἦν Ἐπιμενίδῃ  
 τῆς αὐτῆς· ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν Κνώσσιος, Θάλητα δὲ  
 εἶναι φησι Γορτύνιον Πολύμναστος Κολοφώνιος  
 5 ἔπη Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐς αὐτὸν ποιήσας. — ἔτι δὲ  
 ἀπωτέρω ναὸς Εὐκλείας, ἀνάθημα καὶ τοῦτο ἀπὸ  
 Μήδων, οἳ τῆς χώρας Μαραθῶνι ἔσχον. φρο-  
 νῆσαι δὲ Ἀθηναίους ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ ταύτῃ μάλιστα

<sup>1</sup> Text corrupt. ἐς ἐξήγησιν ὁπόσων Hitzig.



to be included among his works, say that Triptolemus was the son of Oceanus and Earth; while those ascribed to Orpheus (though in my opinion the received authorship is again incorrect) say that Eubuleus and Triptolemus were sons of Dysaules, and that because they gave Demeter information about her daughter the sowing of seed was her reward to them. But Choerilus, an Athenian, who wrote a play called *Alope*, says that Cereyon and Triptolemus were brothers, that their mother was the daughter of Amphictyon, while the father of Triptolemus was Rarus, of Cereyon, Poseidon. After I had intended to go further into this story, and to describe the contents of the sanctuary at Athens, called the Eleusinium, I was stayed by a vision in a dream. I shall therefore turn to those things it is lawful to write of to all men. In front of this temple, where is also the statue of Triptolemus, is a bronze bull being led as it were to sacrifice, and there is a sitting figure of Epimenides of Cnossus, who they say entered a cave in the country and slept. And the sleep did not leave him before the fortieth year, and afterwards he wrote verses and purified Athens and other cities. But Thales who stayed the plague for the Lacedaemonians was not related to Epimenides in any way, and belonged to a different city. The latter was from Cnossus, but Thales was from Gortyn, according to Polymnastus of Colophon, who composed a poem about him for the Lacedaemonians. Still farther off is a temple to Glory, this too being a thank-offering for the victory over the Persians, who had landed at Marathon. This is the victory of which I am of opinion the Athenians were

*A. c.*  
600 B.C.

εἰκάζω· καὶ δὴ καὶ Αἰσχύλος, ὥς οἱ τοῦ βίου προσεδοκάτο ἡ τελευταίη, τῶν μὲν ἄλλων ἐμνημόνευσεν οὐδενός, δόξης ἐς τοσοῦτο ἦκων ἐπὶ ποιήσει καὶ πρὸ Ἀρτεμισίου καὶ ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχίας· ὁ δὲ τό τε ὄνομα πατρόθεν καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἔγραψε καὶ ὥς τῆς ἀνδρίας μάρτυρας ἔχει τὸ Μαραθῶνι ἄλλος καὶ Μῆδων τοὺς ἐς αὐτὸ ἀποβάντας.

- 6 Ὅτι δὲ τὸν Κεραμεικὸν καὶ στοὰν τὴν καλουμένην Βασιλῆιον ναὸς ἐστὶν Ἡφαίστου. καὶ ὅτι μὲν ἄγαλμά οἱ παρέστηκεν Ἀθηνᾶς, οὐδὲν θαῦμα ἐποιούμην τὸν ἐπὶ Ἐριχθονίῳ ἐπιστάμενος λόγον· τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα ὁρῶν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς γλαυκοὺς ἔχον τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς Λιβύων τὸν μῦθον ὄντα εὕρισκον· τούτοις γάρ ἐστιν εἰρημένον Ποσειδῶνος καὶ Λίμνης Τριτωνίδος θυγατέρα εἶναι καὶ διὰ τοῦτο γλαυκοὺς εἶναι ὥσπερ καὶ τῷ Ποσειδῶνι  
7 τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς. πλησίον δὲ ἱερὸν ἐστὶν Ἀφροδίτης Οὐρανίας. πρώτοις δὲ ἀνθρώπων Ἀσσυρίοις κατέστη σέβεσθαι τὴν Οὐρανίαν, μετὰ δὲ Ἀσσυρίους Κυπρίων Παφίοις καὶ Φοινίκων τοῖς Ἀσκάλωνα ἔχουσιν ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ, παρὰ δὲ Φοινίκων Κυθήριοι μαθόντες σέβουσιν· Ἀθηναίοις δὲ κατεστήσατο Αἰγέως, αὐτῷ τε οὐκ εἶνα παῖδας νομίζων—οὐ γάρ πω τότε ἦσαν—καὶ ταῖς ἀδελφαῖς γενέσθαι τὴν συμφορὰν ἐκ μηνίματος τῆς Οὐρανίας. τὸ δὲ ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἐστὶ ἄγαλμα λίθο Παρίων καὶ ἔργον Φειδίου· δῆμος δὲ ἐστὶν Ἀθηναίοις Ἀθμονέων, οἱ Πορφυρίων ἐτι πρότερόν Ἀκταίου βασιλεύσαντα τῆς Οὐρανίας φασὶν τὴν παρὰ σφίσιν ἱερὸν ἰδρύσασθαι. λέγουσι δὲ ἀν

proudest; while Aeschylus, who had won such renown for his poetry and for his share in the naval battles before Artemisium and at Salamis, recorded at the prospect of death nothing else, and merely wrote his name, his father's name, and the name of his city, and added that he had witnesses to his valour in the grove at Marathon and in the Persians who landed there.

Above the Cerameicus and the portico called the King's Portico is a temple of Hephæstus. I was not surprised that by it stands a statue of Athena, because I knew the story about Erichthonius. But when I saw that the statue of Athena had blue eyes I found out that the legend about them is Libyan. For the Libyans have a saying that the Goddess is the daughter of Poseidon and Lake Tritonis, and for this reason has blue eyes like Poseidon. Hard by is a sanctuary of the Heavenly Aphrodite; the first men to establish her cult were the Assyrians, after the Assyrians the Paphians of Cyprus and the Phœnicians who live at Ascalon in Palestine; the Phœnicians taught her worship to the people of Cythera. Among the Athenians the cult was established by Ægeus, who thought that he was childless (he had, in fact, no children at the time) and that his sisters had suffered their misfortune because of the wrath of Heavenly Aphrodite. The statue still extant is of Parian marble and is the work of Pheidias. One of the Athenian parishes is that of the Athmoneis, who say that Porphyryon, an earlier king than Actæus, founded their sanctuary of the Heavenly One. But

τοὺς δῆμους καὶ ἄλλα οὐδὲν ὁμοίως καὶ οἱ τὴν πόλιν ἔχοντες.

- XV. Ἰοῦσι δὲ πρὸς τὴν στοάν, ἣν Ποικίλην ὀνομάζουσιν ἀπὸ τῶν γραφῶν, ἔστιν Ἑρμῆς χαλκοὺς καλούμενος Ἀγοραῖος καὶ πύλη πλησίον ἔπεστι δέ οἱ τρόπαιον Ἀθηναίων ἵππομαχίᾳ κρατησάντων Πλείσταρχον, ὃς τῆς ἵππου Κασσάνδρου καὶ τοῦ ξενικοῦ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀδελφὸς ὢν ἐπετέτραπτο. αὕτη δὲ ἡ στοὰ πρῶτα μὲν Ἀθηναίους ἔχει τεταγμένους ἐν Οἰνῷ τῆς Ἀργείας ἐναντία Λακεδαιμονίων· γέγραπται δὲ οὐκ ἐς ἀκμὴν ἀγώνος οὐδὲ τολμημάτων ἐς ἐπίδειξιν τὸ ἔργον ἤδη προῆκον, ἀλλὰ ἀρχομένη τε ἡ μάχη
- 2 καὶ ἐς χεῖρας ἔτι συνιόντες. ἐν δὲ τῷ μέσῳ τῶν τοίχων Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Θησεὺς Ἀμαζόσι μάχονται. μόναις δὲ ἄρα ταῖς γυναιξίν οὐκ ἀφῆρει τὰ πταίσματα τὸ ἐς τοὺς κινδύνους ἀφειδές, εἰ γε Θεμισκύρας τε ἀλούσης ὑπὸ Ἡρακλέους καὶ ὕστερον φθαρείσης σφίσι τῆς στρατιᾶς, ἣν ἐπ' Ἀθήνας ἔστειλαν, ὅμως ἐς Τροίαν ἦλθον Ἀθηναίους τε αὐτοῖς μαχομένους καὶ τοῖς πᾶσιν Ἑλλησιν. ἐπὶ δὲ ταῖς Ἀμαζόσιν Ἑλληνές εἰσιν ἡρηκότες Ἴλιον καὶ οἱ βασιλεῖς ἡθροισμένοι διὰ τὸ Αἴαντος ἐς Κασσάνδραν τόλμημα· καὶ αὐτὸν ἡ γραφὴ τὸν Αἴαντα ἔχει καὶ γυναικας τῶν αἰχ-
- 3 μαλώτων ἄλλας τε καὶ Κασσάνδραν. τελευταῖον δὲ τῆς γραφῆς εἰσιν οἱ μαχεσάμενοι Μαραθῶνι· Βοιωτῶν δὲ οἱ Πλάταιαν ἔχοντες καὶ ὅσον ἦν Ἀττικὸν ἴασιν ἐς χεῖρας τοῖς βαρβάροις. καὶ ταύτῃ μὲν ἔστιν ἴσα τὰ παρ' ἀμφοτέρων ἐς τὸ ἔργον· τὸ δὲ ἔσω τῆς μάχης φεύγοντές εἰσιν οἱ βάρβαροι καὶ ἐς τὸ ἔλος ὠθοῦντες ἀλλήλους,



the traditions current among the parishes often differ altogether from those of the city.

XV. As you go to the portico which they call Painted, because of its pictures, there is a bronze statue of Hermes of the Market-place, and near it a gate. On it is a trophy erected by the Athenians, who in a cavalry action overcame Pleistarchus, to whose command his brother Cassander had entrusted his cavalry and mercenaries. This Portico contains, first, the Athenians arrayed against the Lacedaemonians at Oenoë in the Argive territory.<sup>1</sup> What is depicted is not the crisis of the battle nor when the action had advanced as far as the display of deeds of valour, but the beginning of the fight when the combatants were about to close. On the middle wall are the Athenians and Theseus fighting with the Amazons. So, it seems, only the women did not lose through their defeats their reckless courage in the face of danger; Themiscyra was taken by Heracles, and afterwards the army which they dispatched to Athens was destroyed, but nevertheless they came to Troy to fight all the Greeks as well as the Athenians themselves. After the Amazons come the Greeks when they have taken Troy, and the kings assembled on account of the outrage committed by Ajax against Cassandra. The picture includes Ajax himself, Cassandra and other captive women. At the end of the painting are those who fought at Marathon; the Boeotians of Plataea and the Attic contingent are coming to blows with the foreigners. In this place neither side has the better, but the centre of the fighting shows the foreigners in flight and pushing one another into the morass, while at the end of the

<sup>1</sup> Date unknown.



ἔσχαται δὲ τῆς γραφῆς νῆες τε αἱ Φοίνισσαι καὶ  
 τῶν βαρβάρων τοὺς ἐσπίπτοντας ἐς ταύτας  
 φονεύοντες οἱ Ἕλληνες. ἐνταῦθα καὶ Μαραθὼν  
 γεγραμμένος ἐστὶν ἥρως, ἀφ' οὗ τὸ πεδὶον ἀνι-  
 μασται, καὶ Θησεὺς ἀνιόντι ἐκ γῆς εἰκασμένος  
 Ἀθηνᾶ τε καὶ Ἡρακλῆς. Μαραθωνίοις γάρ, ὡς  
 αὐτοὶ λέγουσιν, Ἡρακλῆς ἐνομήσθη θεὸς πρῶ-  
 τοις. τῶν μαχομένων δὲ δῆλοι μάλιστα εἰσιν ἐν  
 τῇ γραφῇ Καλλίμαχος τε, ὃς Ἀθηναίοις πο-  
 λεμαρχεῖν ἤρητο, καὶ Μιλτιάδης τῶν στρατη-  
 γούντων, ἥρωες τε Ἐχέτος καλούμενος, οὗ καὶ  
 4 ὕστερον ποιήσομαι μνήμην. ἐνταῦθα ἀσπίδες  
 κεῖνται χαλκαῖ, καὶ ταῖς μὲν ἐστὶν ἐπίγραμμα  
 ἀπὸ Σκιωναίων καὶ τῶν ἐπικούρων εἶναι, τὰς δὲ  
 ἐπαλληλιμμένας πίσση, μὴ σφᾶς ὅ τε χρόνος λυ-  
 μήνηται καὶ ὁ ἰός, Λακεδαιμονίων εἶναι λέγεται  
 τῶν ἀλόντων ἐν τῇ Σφακτηρίᾳ νήσῳ.

XVI. Ἀνδριάντες δὲ χαλκοῖ κεῖνται πρὸ μὲν  
 τῆς στοᾶς Σόλων ὁ τοὺς νόμους Ἀθηναίους γρά-  
 ψας, ὀλίγον δὲ ἀπωτέρω Σέλευκος, ᾧ καὶ προτε-  
 ρον ἐγένετο ἐς τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν τὴν μέλλουσαν  
 σημεία οὐκ ἀφανῆ. Σελεύκῳ γάρ, ὡς ὥρματο ἐκ  
 Μακεδονίας σὺν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, θύοντι ἐν Πέλλῃ  
 τῷ Διὶ τὰ ξύλα τὰ ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ κείμενα  
 πρῶτον τε αὐτόματα πρὸς τὸ ἄγαλμα καὶ ἀνε-  
 πυρὸς ἤφθη. τελευτήσαντος δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου  
 Σέλευκος Ἀντίγονον ἐς Βαβυλῶνα ἀφικόμενον  
 δείσας καὶ παρὰ Πτολεμαῖον φυγὼν τὸν Λάγῳ  
 κατήλθεν αὐθις ἐς Βαβυλῶνα, κατελθὼν δὲ ἐκρά-  
 τησε μὲν τῆς Ἀντιγόνου στρατίας καὶ αὐτὸν  
 ἀπέκτεινε Ἀντίγονον, εἶλε δὲ ἐπιστρατεύσαντα  
 2 ὕστερον Δημήτριον τὸν Ἀντιγόνου. ὥς δέ οἱ

painting are the Phoenician ships, and the Greeks killing the foreigners who are scrambling into them. Here is also a portrait of the hero Marathon, after whom the plain is named, of Theseus represented as coming up from the under-world, of Athena and of Heracles. The Marathonians, according to their own account, were the first to regard Heracles as a god. Of the fighters the most conspicuous figures in the painting are Callimachus, who had been elected commander-in-chief by the Athenians, Miltiades, one of the generals, and a hero called Echetus, of whom I shall make mention later. Here are dedicated brazen shields, and some have an inscription that they are taken from the Scioneans and their allies, while others, smeared with pitch lest they should be worn by age and rust, are said to be those of the Lacedaemonians who were taken prisoners in the island of Sphacteria.

421 B.C.

425 B.C.

XVI. Here are placed bronze statues, one, in front of the Portico, of Solon, who composed the laws for the Athenians, and, a little farther away, one of Seleucus, whose future prosperity was foreshadowed by unmistakable signs. When he was about to set forth from Macedonia with Alexander, and was sacrificing at Pella to Zeus, the wood that lay on the altar advanced of its own accord to the image and caught fire without the application of a light. On the death of Alexander, Seleucus, in fear of Antigonus, who had arrived at Babylon, fled to Ptolemy, son of Lagus, and then returned again to Babylon. On his return he overcame the army of Antigonus and killed Antigonus himself, afterwards capturing Demetrius, son of Antigonus, who had advanced with an army. After these successes, which were shortly fol-

594 B.C.

ταῦτα προκεχωρήκει καὶ μετ' ὀλίγον τὰ Λυσι-  
 μάχου κατείργαστο, τὴν μὲν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ πᾶσαν  
 ἀρχὴν παρέδωκεν Ἀντιόχῳ τῷ παιδί, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐς  
 Μακεδονίαν ἠπείγετο. στρατιὰ μὲν καὶ Ἑλλήνων  
 καὶ βαρβάρων ἦν παρὰ Σελεύκῳ· Πτολεμαῖος δὲ  
 ἀδελφὸς μὲν Λυσάνδρας καὶ παρὰ Λυσιμάχου  
 παρ' αὐτὸν πεφενγώς, ἄλλως δὲ τολμήσαι πρό-  
 χειρος καὶ δι' αὐτὸ Κεραυνὸς καλούμενος, οὗτος  
 ὁ Πτολεμαῖος, ὡς προσίων ὁ Σελεύκου στρατὸς  
 ἐγένετο κατὰ Λυσιμάχειαν, λαθὼν Σέλευκον  
 κτείνει, διαρπάσαι δὲ ἐπιτρέψας τὰ χρήματα  
 τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ἐβασίλευσε Μακεδονίας, ἐς ὃ  
 Γαλάταις πρῶτος ὦν ἴσμεν βασιλέων ἀντιτάξα-  
 σθαι τολμήσας ἀναιρεῖται ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων  
 τὴν δὲ ἀρχὴν Ἀντίγονος ἀνέσωσατο ὁ Δημητρίου.  
 3 Σέλευκον δὲ βασιλέων ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα πείθεσθαι  
 καὶ ἄλλως γενέσθαι δίκαιον καὶ πρὸς τὸ θεῖον  
 εὐσεβῆ. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ Σέλευκός ἐστιν ὁ Μιλη-  
 σίοις τὸν χαλκὸν καταπέμψας Ἀπόλλωνα ἐς  
 Βραγχίδας, ἀνακομισθέντα ἐς Ἑκβάτανα τὰ Μη-  
 δικὰ ὑπὸ Ξέρξου· τοῦτο δὲ Σελεύκειαν οἰκίσας  
 ἐπὶ Τίγρητι ποταμῷ καὶ Βαβυλωνίους οὗτος  
 ἐπαγόμενος ἐς αὐτὴν συνοίκους ὑπελίπετο μὲν τὸ  
 τεῖχος Βαβυλῶνος, ὑπελίπετο δὲ τοῦ Βῆλ τοῦ  
 ἱεροῦ καὶ περὶ αὐτὸ τοὺς Χαλδαίους οἰκεῖν.

XVII. Ἀθηναίοις δὲ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ καὶ ἄλλα  
 ἐστὶν οὐκ ἐς ἅπαντας ἐπίσημα καὶ Ἑλέου βωμός,  
 ᾧ μάλιστα θεῶν ἐς ἀνθρώπινον βίον καὶ μετα-  
 βολὰς πραγμάτων ὄντι ὠφελίμῳ μόνοι τιμὰς  
 Ἑλλήνων νέμουσιν Ἀθηναῖοι. τούτοις δὲ οὐ τὰ  
 ἐς φιλανθρωπίαν μόνον καθέστηκεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ  
 θεοὺς εὐσεβοῦσιν ἄλλων πλέον, καὶ γὰρ Αἰδοῦς

lowed by the fall of Lysimachus, he entrusted to his son Antiochus all his empire in Asia, and himself proceeded rapidly towards Macedonia, having with him an army both of Greeks and of foreigners. But Ptolemy, brother of Lysandra, had taken refuge with him from Lysimachus; this man, an adventurous character named for this reason the Thunderbolt, when the army of Seleucus had advanced as far as Lysimachea, assassinated Seleucus, allowed the kings to seize his wealth, and ruled over Macedonia until, being the first of the kings to my knowledge to dare to meet the Gauls in battle, he was killed by the foreigners. The empire was recovered by Antigonus, son of Demetrius. I am persuaded that Seleucus was the most righteous, and in particular the most religious of the kings. Firstly, it was Seleucus who sent back to Branchidae for the Milesians the bronze Apollo that had been carried by Xerxes to Ecbatana in Persia. Secondly, when he founded Seleucea on the river Tigris and brought to it Babylonian colonists, he spared the wall of Babylon as well as the sanctuary of Bel, near which he permitted the Chaldeans to live.

XVII. In the Athenian market-place among the objects not generally known is an altar to Mercy, of all divinities the most useful in the life of mortals and in the vicissitudes of fortune, but honoured by the Athenians alone among the Greeks. And they are conspicuous not only for their humanity but also for their devotion to religion. They have an altar to



σφίσι βωμός ἐστι καὶ Φήμης καὶ Ὀρμῆς· ἔ-  
 τε ἐναργῶς, ὅσοις πλέον τι ἐτέρων εὐσεβ-  
 2 μέτεστιν, ἴσου σφίσι παρὸν τύχης χρηστήριον.  
 δὲ τῷ γυμνασίῳ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἀπέχοντι οὐκ ἔστι  
 Πτολεμαίου δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ κατασκευασαμένου  
 λουμένῳ, λίθοι τέ εἰσιν Ἑρμαῖ θεᾶς ἄξιοι  
 εἰκῶν Πτολεμαίου χαλκῇ· καὶ ὁ τε Λίβυς Ἰδ-  
 ἐνταῦθα κεῖται καὶ Χρῦσιππος ὁ Σολεύς.

Πρὸς δὲ τῷ γυμνασίῳ Θησεῶς ἐστὶν ἱε-  
 γραφαὶ δὲ εἰσι πρὸς Ἀμαζόννας Ἀθηναῖοι μι-  
 μενοι. πεποίηται δὲ σφισιν ὁ πόλεμος οὗτος  
 τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ ἐπὶ τῇ ἀσπίδι καὶ τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου  
 ἐπὶ τῷ βάθρῳ. γέγραπται δὲ ἐν τῷ τοῦ Θε-  
 ἱερῷ καὶ ἡ Κενταύρων καὶ Λαπιθῶν μάχῃ·  
 σεὺς μὲν οὖν ἀπεκτονῶς ἐστὶν ἤδη Κένταν  
 τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις ἐξ ἴσου καθέστηκεν ἔτι ἡ μι-  
 3 τοῦ δὲ τρίτου τῶν τοίχων ἡ γραφὴ μὴ πυθομένη  
 ἀ λέγουσιν οὐ σαφὴς ἐστὶ, τὰ μὲν πονεῖ διὰ  
 χρόνον, τὰ δὲ Μίκων οὐ τὸν πάντα ἔγραψε λό-  
 Μίνως ἠνίκα Θησεᾶ καὶ τὸν ἄλλον στόλον  
 παίδων ἤγεεν ἐς Κρήτην, ἐρασθεῖς Περιβοίας  
 οἱ Θησεὺς μάλιστα ἠναντιοῦτο, καὶ ἄλλα  
 ὀργῇ ἀπέρριψεν ἐς αὐτὸν καὶ παῖδα οὐκ  
 Προσειδῶνος εἶναι, ἐπεὶ οὐ δύνασθαι τὴν σφ-  
 γίδα, ἣν αὐτὸς φέρων ἔτυχεν, ἀφέντι ἐς θάλασσαν  
 ἀνασῶσθαί οἱ. Μίνως μὲν λέγεται ταῦτα εἰ-  
 ἀφεῖναι τὴν σφραγίδα· Θησεᾶ δὲ σφραγιδο-  
 ἐκείνην ἔχοντα καὶ στέφανον χρυσοῦν, Ἀ-  
 τρίτης δῶρον, ἀνελθεῖν λέγουσιν ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης  
 4 ἐς δὲ τὴν τελευταίην τὴν Θησεῶς πολλὰ ἤδη  
 οὐχ ὁμολογοῦντα εἴρηται· δεδέσθαι τε γὰρ αὐτὸν  
 λέγουσιν ἐς τὸδε ἕως ὑφ' Ἡρακλέους ἀναχθῆναι



Shamefastness, one to Rumour and one to Effort. It is quite obvious that those who excel in piety are correspondingly rewarded by good fortune. In the gymnasium not far from the market-place, called Ptolemy's from the founder, are stone *Hermæ* well worth seeing and a likeness in bronze of Ptolemy. Here also is Juba the Libyan and Chrysippus<sup>1</sup> of Soli.

Hard by the gymnasium is a sanctuary of Theseus, where are pictures of Athenians fighting Amazons. This war they have also represented on the shield of their Athena and upon the pedestal of the Olympian Zeus. In the sanctuary of Theseus is also a painting of the battle between the Centaurs and the Lapithæ. Theseus has already killed a Centaur, but elsewhere the fighting is still undecided. The painting on the third wall is not intelligible to those unfamiliar with the traditions, partly through age and partly because Micon has not represented in the picture the whole of the legend. When Minos was taking Theseus and the rest of the company of young folk to Crete he fell in love with Periboea, and on meeting with determined opposition from Theseus, hurled insults at him and denied that he was a son of Poseidon, since he could not recover for him the signet-ring, which he happened to be wearing, if he threw it into the sea. With these words Minos is said to have thrown the ring, but they say that Theseus came up from the sea with that ring and also with a gold crown that Amphitrite gave him. The accounts of the end of Theseus are many and inconsistent. They say he was kept a prisoner until Heracles restored him to the light of day, but the

<sup>1</sup> The Stoic philosopher, 280-207 B.C.

πιθανώτατα δὲ ὧν ἤκουσα. Θησεὺς ἐς Θεσπρω-  
 τοὺς ἐμβαλὼν, τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Θεσπρωτῶν  
 γυναῖκα ἀρπάσων, τὸ πολὺ τῆς στρατιᾶς οὕτως  
 ἀπόλλυσι, καὶ αὐτὸς τε καὶ Πειρίθους — Πειρί-  
 θους γὰρ καὶ τὸν γάμον σπεύδων ἐστράτευσεν —  
 ἤλωσαν, καὶ σφᾶς ὁ Θεσπρωτὸς δῆσας εἶχεν ἐν  
 5 Κιχύρῳ. γῆς δὲ τῆς Θεσπρωτίδος ἔστι μὲν που  
 καὶ ἄλλα θεᾶς ἄξια, ἱερὸν τε Διὸς ἐν Δωδώνῃ καὶ  
 ἱερὰ τοῦ θεοῦ φηγός· πρὸς δὲ τῇ Κιχύρῳ λίμνῃ  
 τέ ἐστιν Ἀχερουσία καλουμένη καὶ ποταμὸς  
 Ἀχέρων, ρεῖ δὲ καὶ Κωκυτὸς ὕδωρ ἀτερπέστατον.  
 Ὅμηρός τε μοι δοκεῖ ταῦτα ἑωρακῶς ἔς τε τὴν  
 ἄλλην ποιῆσιν ἀποτολμῆσαι τῶν ἐν Ἀΐδου καὶ  
 δὴ καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα τοῖς ποταμοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν  
 Θεσπρωτίδι θέσθαι. τότε δὲ ἐχομένου Θησεῖος  
 στρατεύουσιν ἐς Ἀφιδναν οἱ Τυνδάρεω παῖδες  
 καὶ τὴν τε Ἀφιδναν αἰροῦσι καὶ Μενεσθέα ἐπὶ  
 6 βασιλείᾳ κατήγαγον. Μενεσθεὺς δὲ τῶν μὲν  
 παίδων τῶν Θησεῖος παρ' Ἐλεφήνορα ὑπεξεληθόν-  
 των ἐς Εὐβοίαν εἶχεν οὐδένα λόγον, Θησέα δέ, εἰ  
 ποτε παρὰ Θεσπρωτῶν ἀνακομισθῆσεται, δυσαν-  
 τασίαν ἡγούμενος διὰ θεραπείας τὰ τοῦ δήμου  
 καθίστατο, ὥς Θησέα ἀνασωθέντα ὕστερον ἀπω-  
 σθῆναι. στέλλεται δὲ Θησεὺς παρὰ Δευκαλίωνα  
 ἐς Κρήτην, ἐξενεχθέντα δὲ αὐτὸν ὑπὸ πνευμάτων  
 ἐς Σκύρον τὴν νῆσον λαμπρῶς περιεῖπον οἱ Σκύ-  
 ριοι κατὰ γένους δόξαν καὶ ἀξίωμα ὧν ἦν αὐτὸς  
 εἰργασμένος· καὶ οἱ θάνατον Λυκομηδὲς διὰ  
 ταῦτα ἐβούλευσεν.

Ὁ μὲν δὲ Θησεῖος σηκὸς Ἀθηναίοις ἐγένετο  
 ὕστερον ἢ Μῆδοι Μαραθῶνι ἔσχον, Κίμωνος το  
 Μιλτιάδου Σκυρίου ποιήσαντος ἀναστάτους —

most plausible account I have heard is this. Theseus invaded Thesprotia to carry off the wife of the Thesprotian king, and in this way lost the greater part of his army, and both he and Peirithous (he too was taking part in the expedition, being eager for the marriage) were taken captive. The Thesprotian king kept them prisoners at Cichyrus. Among the sights of Thesprotia are a sanctuary of Zeus at Dodona and an oak sacred to the god. Near Cichyrus is a lake called Acherusia, and a river called Acheron. There is also Cocytus, a most unlovely stream. I believe it was because Homer had seen these places that he made bold to describe in his poems the regions of Hades, and gave to the rivers there the names of those in Thesprotia. While Theseus was thus kept in bonds, the sons of Tyn-dareus marched against Aphidna, captured it and restored Menestheus to the kingdom. Now Menes-theus took no account of the children of Theseus, who had secretly withdrawn to Elephenor in Euboea, but he was aware that Theseus, if ever he returned from Thesprotia, would be a doughty antagonist, and so carried favour with his subjects that Theseus on re-covering afterwards his liberty was expelled. So Theseus set out to Deucalion in Crete. Being carried out of his course by winds to the island of Scyros he was treated with marked honour by the inhabitants, both for the fame of his family and for the reputation of his own achievements. Accordingly Lycomedes contrived his death.

His close was built at Athens after the Per-sians landed at Marathon, when Cimon, son of Miltiades, ravaged Scyros, thus avenging Theseus'

- δίκην δὴ τοῦ Θησέως θανάτου — καὶ τὰ ὅσα κομίσαντος ἐς Ἀθήνας· XVIII. τὸ δὲ ἱερὸν τῶν Διοσκούρων ἐστὶν ἀρχαῖον, αὐτοὶ τε ἐστώτες καὶ οἱ παῖδες καθήμενοι σφισιν ἐφ' ἵππων. ἐνταῦθα Πολύγνωτος μὲν ἔχοντα ἐς αὐτοὺς ἔγραψε γάμον τῶν θυγατέρων τῶν Λευκίππου, Μίκων δὲ τοὺς μετὰ Ἰάσονος ἐς Κόλχους πλεύσαντας· καὶ οἱ τῆς γραφῆς ἢ σπουδὴ μάλιστα ἐς Ἀκαστον καὶ
- 2 τοὺς ἵππους ἔχει τοὺς Ἀκάστου. ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν Διοσκούρων τὸ ἱερὸν Ἀγλαύρου τέμενός ἐστιν. Ἀγλαύρῳ δὲ καὶ ταῖς ἀδελφαῖς Ἔρση καὶ Πανδρόσῳ δοῦναί φασιν Ἀθηναῖν Ἐριχθόνιον καταθεῖσαν ἐς κιβωτόν, ἀπειποῦσαν ἐς τὴν παρακαταθήκην μὴ πολυπραγμονεῖν· Πάνδρῳ μὲν δὴ λέγουσι πείθεσθαι, τὰς δὲ δύο — ἀνοῖξαι γὰρ σφᾶς τὴν κιβωτόν — μαίνεσθαι τε, ὥς εἶδον τὸν Ἐριχθόνιον, καὶ κατὰ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως, ἔνθα ἦν μάλιστα ἀπότομον, αὐτὰς ῥίψαι. κατὰ τοῦτο ἐπαναβάντες Μῆδοι κατεφόνευσαν Ἀθηναίων τοὺς πλεόν τι ἐς τὸν χρησμόν ἢ Θεμιστοκλῆς εἰδέναι νομίζοντας καὶ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ξύλοις καὶ
- 3 σταυροῖς ἀποτειχίσαντας. πλησίον δὲ πρυτανεῖόν ἐστιν, ἐν ᾧ νόμοι τε οἱ Σόλωνός εἰσι γεγραμμένοι καὶ θεῶν Εἰρήνης ἀγάλματα κεῖται καὶ Ἑστίας, ἀνδριάντες δὲ ἄλλοι τε καὶ Αὐτόλυνκος ὁ παγκρατιαστής· τὰς γὰρ Μιλτιάδου καὶ Θεμιστοκλέους εἰκόνας ἐς Ῥωμαίων τε ἀνδρα καὶ Θράκα
- 4 μετέγραψαν. ἐντεῦθεν ἰούσιν ἐς τὰ κάτω τῆς πόλεως Σαράπιδός ἐστιν ἱερὸν, ὃν Ἀθηναῖοι παρὰ Πτολεμαίου θεὸν ἐσηγάγοντο. Αἰγυπτίοις δὲ ἱερὰ Σαράπιδος ἐπιφανέστατον μὲν ἐστὶν Ἀλεξανδρεῦσιν, ἀρχαιότατον δὲ ἐν Μέμφει· ἐς τοῦτο



leath, and carried his bones to Athens. XVIII. The sanctuary of the Dioscuri is ancient. They themselves are represented as standing, while their sons are seated on horses. Here Polygnotus has painted the marriage of the daughters of Leucippus, which is a part of the gods' history, but Micon those who sailed with Jason to the Colchians, and he has concentrated his attention upon Acastus and his horses. Above the sanctuary of the Dioscuri is a sacred enclosure of Aglaurus. It was to Aglaurus and her sisters, Herse and Pandrosus, that they say Athena gave Erichthonius, whom she had hidden in a chest, forbidding them to pry curiously into what was entrusted to their charge. Pandrosus, they say, obeyed, but the other two (for they opened the chest) went mad when they saw Erichthonius, and threw themselves down the steepest part of the Acropolis. Here it was that the Persians climbed and killed the Athenians who thought that they understood the oracle<sup>1</sup> better than did Themistocles, and fortified the Acropolis with logs and stakes. Hard by is the Prytaneum (*Town-hall*), in which the laws of Solon are inscribed, and figures are placed of the goddesses Peace and Hestia (*Hearth*), while among the statues is Autolycus the pancratiast.<sup>2</sup> For the likenesses of Miltiades and Themistocles have had their titles changed to a Roman and a Thracian. As you descend from here to the lower part of the city, is a sanctuary of Serapis, whose worship the Athenians introduced from Ptolemy. Of the Egyptian sanctuaries of Serapis the most famous is at Alexandria, the oldest at Memphis. Into this neither

A. 465  
B.C.

480 B.C.

<sup>1</sup> That the Athenians were to trust their "wooden walls," i.e. their ships.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 191.



- ἐσελθεῖν οὔτε ξένοις ἔστιν οὔτε τοῖς ἱερεῦσι, πρὶν  
 ἂν τὸν Ἄπιν θάπτωσι. τοῦ δὲ ἱεροῦ τοῦ Σαρα-  
 πιδος οὐ πόρρω χωρίον ἐστίν, ἐνθα Πειρίθουν καὶ  
 Θησέα συνθεμένους ἐς Λακεδαίμονα καὶ ὕστερον  
 5 ἐς Θεσπρωτοὺς σταλῆναι λέγουσι. πλησίον δὲ  
 ὠκοδόμητο ναὸς Εἰλειθυίας, ἣν ἐλθοῦσαν ἐξ  
 Ὑπερβορέων ἐς Δῆλον γενέσθαι βοηθὸν ταῖς  
 Λητοῦς ὠδισι, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους παρ' αὐτῶν φασί  
 τῆς Εἰλειθυίας μαθεῖν τὸ ὄνομα· καὶ θύνοσί τε  
 Εἰλειθυία Δῆλιοι καὶ ὕμνον ᾄδουσιν Ὀλῆνος.  
 Κρήτες δὲ χώρας τῆς Κνωσσίας ἐν Ἀμνιστῇ  
 γενέσθαι νομίζουσιν Εἰλειθυίαν καὶ παῖδα Ἥρας  
 εἶναι· μόνοις δὲ Ἀθηναίοις τῆς Εἰλειθυίας κεκά-  
 λυπται τὰ ξόανα ἐς ἄκρους τοὺς πόδας. τὰ μὲν  
 δὴ δύο εἶναι Κρητικὰ καὶ Φαίδρας ἀναθήματα  
 ἔλεγον αἱ γυναῖκες, τὸ δὲ ἀρχαιότατον Ἐρυσί-  
 χθονα ἐκ Δήλου κομίσαι.
- 6 Πρὶν δὲ ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν ἰέναι τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ὀλυμ-  
 πίου — Ἀδριανὸς ὁ Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς τὸν τε  
 ναὸν ἀνέθηκε καὶ τὸ ἀγαλμα θεᾶς ἄξιον, οὐ  
 μεγέθει<sup>1</sup> μὲν, ὅτι μὴ Ῥοδίοις καὶ Ῥωμαίοις εἰσὶν  
 οἱ κολοσσοί, τὰ λοιπὰ ἀγάλματα ὁμοίως ἀπολεί-  
 πεται,<sup>2</sup> πεποίηται δὲ ἕκ τε ἐλέφαντος καὶ χρυσοῦ  
 καὶ ἔχει τέχνης εὖ πρὸς τὸ μέγεθος ὀρώσιν —  
 ἐνταῦθα εἰκόνες Ἀδριανοῦ δύο μὲν εἰσι Θεασίου  
 λίθου, δύο δὲ Αἰγυπτίου· χαλκαὶ δὲ ἐστᾶσι πρό-  
 των κίωνων ἅς Ἀθηναῖοι καλοῦσιν ἀπόικους πό-  
 λεις.<sup>3</sup> ὁ μὲν δὴ πᾶς περίβολος σταδίων μάλιστα

<sup>1</sup> οὐ μεγέθει, emended by Coraes.

<sup>2</sup> ἀποδείκνυται, emended by Coraes.

<sup>3</sup> ἅς . . . ἀπόικους πόλεις placed after ἐκείνης by Wachsmuth.

nger nor priest may enter, until they bury Apis.

far from the sanctuary of Serapis is the place where they say that Peirithous and Theseus made a pact before setting forth to Lacedaemon and onwards to Thesprotia. Hard by is built a temple to Eileithyia, who they say came from the Hyperboreans to Delos and helped Leto in her labour; and on Delos the name spread to other peoples. The Athenians sacrifice to Eileithyia and sing a hymn of praise to her. But the Cretans suppose that Eileithyia was born at Amnisus in the Cnossian territory, and that Demeter was her mother. Only among the Athenians are the wooden figures of Eileithyia draped to the knees. The women told me that two are Cretan, one offering of Phaedra, and that the third, which is the oldest, Erysichthon brought from Delos.

Before the entrance to the sanctuary of Olympian Zeus—Hadrian the Roman emperor dedicated the temple and the statue, one worth seeing, which in size exceeds all other statues save the colossi at Rhodes and Rome, and is made of ivory and gold, showing an artistic skill which is remarkable when the work is taken into account—before the entrance, I stand statues of Hadrian, two of Thasian stone, and one of Egyptian. Before the pillars stand bronze statues which the Athenians call "colonies." The whole circumference of the precincts is about four

- τεσσάρων ἐστίν, ἀνδριάντων δὲ πλήρης· ἀπὸ γὰρ πόλεως ἐκάστης εἰκὼν Ἀδριανοῦ βασιλέως ἀνέκειται, καὶ σφᾶς ὑπερεβάλλοντο Ἀθηναῖοι τὸν κολοσσὸν ἀναθέντες ὀπίσθε τοῦ ναοῦ θεᾶς ἄξιον.
- 7 ἔστι δὲ ἀρχαία ἐν τῷ περιβόλῳ Ζεὺς χαλκοῦς καὶ ναὸς Κρόνου καὶ Ῥέας καὶ τέμενος Γῆς ἐπὶ κλησιν Ὀλυμπίας. ἐνταῦθα ὅσον ἐς πῆχυν τὸ ἑδαφος διέστηκε, καὶ λέγουσι μετὰ τὴν ἐπομβρίαν τὴν ἐπὶ Δευκαλίωνος συμβᾶσαν ὑπορρυῆναι ταύτη τὸ ὕδωρ, ἐσβάλλουσί τε ἐς αὐτὸ ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος
- 8 ἄλφита πυρῶν μέλιτι μίξαντες. κεῖται δὲ ἐπὶ κίονος Ἰσοκράτους ἀνδριάς, ὃς ἐς μνήμην τρία ὑπελίπετο, ἐπιπονώτατον μὲν ὅτι οἱ βιώσαντι ἔτη δυοῖν δέοντα ἑκατὸν οὐποτε κατελύθη μαθητὰς ἔχειν, σωφρονέστατον δὲ ὅτι πολιτείας ἀπεχόμενος διέμεινε καὶ τὰ κοινὰ οὐ πολυπραγμονῶν, ἐλευθερώτατον δὲ ὅτι πρὸς τὴν ἀγγελίαν τῆς ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ μάχης ἀληθῶς ἐτελεύτησεν ἐθέλοντής. κεῖνται δὲ καὶ λίθου Φρυγίου Πέρσαι χαλκοῦν τρίποδα ἀνέχοντες, θεᾶς ἄξιοι καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ ὁ τρίπους. τοῦ δὲ Ὀλυμπίου Διὸς Δευκαλίωνα οἰκοδομήσαι λέγουσι τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἱερόν, σημεῖον ἀποφαίνοντες ὡς Δευκαλίον Ἀθήνησιν ᾤκησε τάφον τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ νῦν οὐ πολὺ ἀφεσθηκότα.
- 9 Ἀδριανὸς δὲ κατεσκευάσατο μὲν καὶ ἄλλα Ἀθηναίοις, ναὸν Ἥρας καὶ Διὸς Πανελληνίου καὶ θεοῖς τοῖς πᾶσιν ἱερόν κοινόν, τὰ δὲ ἐπιφανέστατα ἑκατὸν εἰσι κίονες Φρυγίου λίθου· πεποιήνται δὲ καὶ ταῖς στοαῖς κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ οἱ τοῖχοι. καὶ οἰκήματα ἐνταυθὰ ἐστὶν ὀρόφῳ τε ἐπιχρύσῳ καὶ ἀλαβύστρῳ λίθῳ, πρὸς δὲ ἀγάλμασι κεκοσμη-

stades, and they are full of statues; for every city has dedicated a likeness of the emperor Hadrian, and the Athenians have surpassed them in dedicating, behind the temple, the remarkable colossus. Within the precincts are antiquities: a bronze Zeus, a temple of Cronus and Rhea and an enclosure of Earth surnamed Olympian. Here the floor opens to the width of a cubit, and they say that along this bed flowed off the water after the deluge that occurred in the time of Deucalion, and into it they cast every year wheat meal mixed with honey. On a pillar is a statue of Isocrates, whose memory is remarkable for three things: his diligence in continuing to teach to the end of his ninety-eight years, his self-restraint in keeping aloof from politics and from interfering with public affairs, and his love of liberty in dying a voluntary death, distressed at the news of the battle at Chaeronea. There are also statues in Phrygian marble of Persians supporting a bronze tripod; both the figures and the tripod are worth seeing. The ancient sanctuary of Olympian Zeus the Athenians say was built by Deucalion, and they cite as evidence that Deucalion lived at Athens a grave which is not far from the present temple. Hadrian constructed other buildings also for the Athenians: a temple of Hera and Zeus Panellenios (*Common to all Greeks*), a sanctuary common to all the gods, and, most famous of all, a hundred pillars of Phrygian marble. The walls too are constructed of the same material as the cloisters. And there are rooms there adorned with a gilded roof and with alabaster stone, as well as

335 A.C.



μένα καὶ γραφαῖς· κατάκειται δὲ ἐς αὐτὰ βιβλία.  
καὶ γυμνάσιόν ἐστιν ἐπώνυμον Ἀδριανοῦ· κίονες  
δὲ καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἑκατὸν λιθοτομίας τῆς Λιβύου.

- XIX. Μετὰ δὲ τὸν ναὸν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ὀλυμ-  
πίου πλησίον ἀγαλμά ἐστιν Ἀπόλλωνος Πυθίου·  
ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλο ἱερὸν Ἀπόλλωνος ἐπὶ κλησιν  
Δελφινίου. λέγουσι δὲ ὡς ἐξεργασμένου τοῦ  
ναοῦ πλὴν τῆς ὀροφῆς ἀγνώως ἔτι τοῖς πᾶσιν ἀφί-  
κοιτο Θησεὺς ἐς τὴν πόλιν· οἷα δὲ χιτῶνα ἔχον-  
τος αὐτοῦ ποδῆρη καὶ πεπλεγμένης ἐς εὐπρεπές οἱ  
τῆς κόμης, ὡς ἐγένετο κατὰ τὸν τοῦ Δελφινίου  
ναόν, οἱ τὴν στέγην οἰκοδομοῦντες ἤρουτο σὺν  
χλευασίᾳ, ὃ τι δὴ παρθένος ἐν ὥρᾳ γάμου πλανᾶ-  
ται μόνη· Θησεὺς δὲ ἄλλο μὲν αὐτοῖς ἐδήλωσεν  
οὐδέν, ἀπολύσας δὲ ὡς λέγεται τῆς ἀμάξης  
τοὺς βοῦς, ἣ σφισι παρήν, ἀνέρριψεν ἐς ὑψι-  
2 λότερον ἢ τῷ ναῷ τὴν στέγην ἐποιοῦντο.—ἐς  
δὲ τὸ χωρίον, ὃ Κήπους ὀνομάζουσι, καὶ τῆς  
Ἀφροδίτης τὸν ναὸν οὐδεὶς λεγόμενός σφισιν ἐστὶ  
λόγος· οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ἐς τὴν Ἀφροδίτην, ἣ τοῦ  
ναοῦ πλησίον ἔστηκε. ταύτης γὰρ σχῆμα μὲν  
τετράγωνον κατὰ ταῦτα καὶ τοῖς Ἑρμαῖς, τὸ δὲ  
ἐπίγραμμα σημαίνει τὴν Οὐρανίαν Ἀφροδίτην  
τῶν καλουμένων Μοιρῶν εἶναι πρεσβυτάτην. τὸ  
δὲ ἀγαλμα τῆς Ἀφροδίτης τῆς ἐν Κήποις ἔργον  
ἐστὶν Ἀλκαμένους καὶ τῶν Ἀθήνησιν ἐν ὀλίγοις  
3 θέας ἄξιον. ἐστὶ δὲ Ἡρακλέους ἱερὸν καλού-  
μενον Κυνόσαργες· καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐς τὴν κύνα εἶδε-  
ναι τὴν λευκὴν ἐπιλεξαμένοις ἐστὶ τὸν χρησμόν,  
βωμοὶ δὲ εἰσιν Ἡρακλέους τε καὶ Ἡβης, ἣν  
Διὸς παῖδα οὖσαν συνοικεῖν Ἡρακλεῖ νομίζουσιν·  
Ἀλκμήνης τε βωμὸς καὶ Ἰολάου πεποιήται, ὃς



h statues and paintings. In them are kept books. There is also a gymnasium named after Hadrian; of the pillars are too the pillars are a hundred in number from the Attic quarries.

XIX. Close to the temple of Olympian Zeus is a temple of the Pythian Apollo. There is further a sanctuary of Apollo surnamed Delphinus. The story has it that when the temple was finished with the exception of the roof Theseus arrived in the city, a stranger to everybody. When he came to the temple of the Delphinian, wearing a tunic that reached his feet and with his hair neatly plaited, those who were building the roof mockingly inquired what a marriageable virgin was doing wandering out by herself. The only answer that Theseus made was to loose, it is said, the oxen from the cart led by, and to throw them higher than the roof of the temple they were building. Concerning the district called The Gardens, and the temple of Aphrodite, there is no story that is told by them, nor yet about the Aphrodite which stands near the temple. Now the shape of it is square, like that of the Hermae, and the inscription declares that the heavenly Aphrodite is the oldest of those called statues. But the statue of Aphrodite in the Gardens is the work of Alcamenes, and one of the most noteworthy things in Athens. There is also the place called Cynosarges, sacred to Heracles; the story of the white dog<sup>1</sup> may be known by reading the oracle. There are altars of Heracles and Hebe, who they think is the daughter of Zeus and wife to Heracles. An altar has been built to Alcmena and to Iolaus,

<sup>1</sup> "Cynosarges" may mean *white dog*.

- τὰ πολλὰ Ἡρακλεῖ συνεπόνησε τῶν ἔργων. Λύκειον δὲ ἀπὸ μὲν Λύκου τοῦ Πανδίωνος ἔχει τὸ ὄνομα, Ἀπόλλωνος δὲ ἱερὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς τε εὐθὺς καὶ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐνομίζετο, Λυκεῖός τε ὁ θεὸς ἐνταῦθα ὠνομάσθη πρῶτον· λέγεται δὲ ὅτι καὶ Τερμίλαις, ἐς οὗς ἦλθεν ὁ Λύκος φεύγων Αἰγέα, καὶ τούτοις αἰτιός ἐστι Λυκίου ἀπ' αὐτοῦ κα-
- 4 λείσθαι. ἔστι δὲ ὀπίσθεν τοῦ Λυκείου Νίσου μνῆμα, ὃν ἀποθανόντα ὑπὸ Μίνω βασιλεύοντα Μεγάρων κομίσαντες Ἀθηναῖοι ταύτῃ θάπτουσιν. ἐς τοῦτον τὸν Νῖσον ἔχει λόγος τρίχας ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ οἱ πορφυρᾶς εἶναι, χρῆναι δὲ αὐτὸν τελευτᾶν ἐπὶ ταύταις ἀποκαρεῖσαι· ὥς δὲ οἱ Κρήτες ἦλθον ἐς τὴν γῆν, τὰς μὲν ἄλλας ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς ἤρουν τὰς ἐν τῇ Μεγαρίδι πόλεις, ἐς δὲ τὴν Νίσαιαν καταφεύγοντα τὸν Νῖσον ἐπολιόρκουν ἐνταῦθα τοῦ Νίσου λέγεται θυγατέρα ἐρασθῆναι Μίνω καὶ ὥς ἀπέκειρε τὰς τρίχας τοῦ πατρός.
- 5 Ταῦτα μὲν οὕτω γενέσθαι λέγουσι· ποταμοὶ δὲ Ἀθηναίοις ῥέουσιν Ἰλισός τε καὶ Ἡριδανῶ τῷ Κελτικῷ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ ὄνομα ἔχων, ἐκδιδούς ἐς τὸν Ἰλισόν. ὁ δὲ Ἰλισός ἐστιν οὗτος, ἐνθα παίζουσιν Ὀρεῖθνιαν ὑπὸ ἀνέμου Βορέου φασὶν ἀρπασθῆναι· καὶ συνοικεῖν Ὀρεῖθνιά Βορέαν καὶ σφισι διὰ τὸ κῆδος ἀμύναντα τῶν τριήρων τῶν βαρβαρικῶν ἀπολέσαι τὰς πολλὰς. ἐθέλουσι δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ ἄλλων θεῶν ἱερὸν εἶναι τὸν Ἰλισόν, καὶ Μουσῶν βωμὸς ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἐστιν Ἰλισιάδων· δείκνυται δὲ καὶ ἐνθα Πελοποννήσιοι Κόδρον τὸν Μελάνθου βασιλεύοντα Ἀθηναίων κτείνουσι.
- 6 διαβᾶσι δὲ τὸν Ἰλισόν χωρίον Ἀγραι καλούμενον καὶ ναὸς Ἀγροτέρας ἐστὶν Ἀρτέμιδος· ἐνταῦθα

who shared with Heracles most of his labours. The Lyceum has its name from Lycus, the son of Pandion, but it was considered sacred to Apollo from the beginning down to my time, and here was the god first named Lyceus. There is a legend that the Termilæ also, to whom Lycus came when he fled from Aegeus, were called Lycii after him. Behind the Lyceum is a monument of Nisus, who was killed while king of Megara by Minos, and the Athenians carried him here and buried him. About this Nisus there is a legend. His hair, they say, was red, and it was fated that he should die on its being cut off. When the Cretans attacked the country, they captured the other cities of the Megarid by assault, but Nisaea, in which Nisus had taken refuge, they beleaguered. The story says how the daughter of Nisus, falling in love here with Minos, cut off her father's hair. Such is the legend.

The rivers that flow through Athenian territory are the Ilisus and its tributary the Eridanus, whose name is the same as that of the Celtic river. This Ilisus is the river by which Oreithyia was playing when, according to the story, she was carried off by the North Wind. With Oreithyia he lived in wedlock, and because of the tie between him and the Athenians he helped them by destroying most of the foreigners' warships. The Athenians hold that the Ilisus is sacred to other deities as well, and on its bank is an altar of the Ilisian Muses. The place too is pointed out where the Peloponnesians killed Codrus, son of Melanthus and king of Athens. Across the Ilisus is a district called Agræ and a temple of Artemis Agrotera (*the*

Ἄρτεμιν πρῶτον θηρεῦσαι λέγουσιν ἐλθούσαν ἐκ Διήλου, καὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα διὰ τοῦτο ἔχει τόξον. τὸ δὲ ἀκούσασι μὲν οὐχ ὁμοίως ἐπαγωγόν, θαῦμα δ' ἰδοῦσι, στάδιον ἐστὶ λευκοῦ λίθου. μέγεθος δὲ αὐτοῦ τῆδε ἂν τις μάλιστα τεκμαίροιο· ἄνωθεν ὁρος ὑπὲρ τὸν Ἰλισὸν ἀρχόμενον ἐκ μηνοειδούς καθήκει τοῦ ποταμοῦ πρὸς τὴν ὄχθην εὐθύ τε καὶ διπλοῦν. τοῦτο ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος Ἡρώδης ἀκοδόμησε, καὶ οἱ τὸ πολὺ τῆς λιθοτομίας τῆς Πεντελῆσιν ἐς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν ἀνηλώθη.

XX. Ἔστι δὲ ὁδὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ πρυτανείου καλουμένη Τρίποδες· ἀφ' οὗ καλοῦσι τὸ χωρίον, ναοὶ ὅσον ἐς τοῦτο μεγάλοι, καὶ σφισιν ἐφεστηκασιν τρίποδες, χαλκοὶ μὲν, μνήμης δὲ ἄξια μάλιστα περιέχοντες εἴργασμένα. Σάτυρος γάρ ἐστιν, ἐφ' ᾧ Πραξιτέλην λέγεται φρονῆσαι μέγα· καὶ ποτε Φρύνης αἰτούσης, ὃ τι οἱ κάλλιστον εἴη τῶν ἔργων, ὁμολογεῖν μὲν φασιν οἱ ἑραστὴν διδόναι, κατεπεῖν δ' οὐκ ἐθέλειν ὃ τι κάλλιστον αὐτῷ οἱ φαίνοιο. ἐσδραμῶν οὖν οἰκέτης Φρύνης ἔφασκεν οἷχεσθαι Πραξιτέλει τὸ πολὺ τῶν ἔργων πυρὸς ἐσπεσόντος ἐς τὸ οἶκημα, οὐ μὲν  
2 οὖν πάντα γε ἀφανισθῆναι. Πραξιτέλης δὲ αὐτίκα ἔθει διὰ θυρῶν ἔξω καὶ οἱ καμόντι οὐδὲν ἔφασκεν εἶναι πλέον, εἰ δὴ καὶ τὸν Σάτυρον ἢ φλόξ καὶ τὸν Ἑρωτα ἐπέλαβε· Φρύνη δὲ μένειν θαρροῦντα ἐκέλευε· παθεῖν γὰρ ἀνιαρὸν οὐδέν, τέχνη δὲ ἅλόντα ὁμολογεῖν τὰ κάλλιστα ὧν ἐποίησε. Φρύνη μὲν οὕτω τὸν Ἑρωτα αἰρεῖται· Διονύσῳ δὲ ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῷ πλησίον Σάτυρός ἐστι παῖς καὶ δίδωσιν ἔκπωμα· Ἑρωτα δ' ἐστηκότα ὁμοῦ καὶ Διόνυσον Θυμῖλος ἐποίησεν.



*Luttrell*). They say that Artemis first hunted here when she came from Delos, and for this reason the statue carries a bow. A marvel to the eyes, though not so impressive to hear of, is a race-course of white marble, the size of which can best be estimated from the fact that beginning in a crescent on the heights above the Ilissus it descends in two straight lines to the river bank. This was built by Herodes, an Athenian, and the greater part of the Pentelic quarry was exhausted in its construction.

XX. Leading from the Prytaneum is a road called Tripods. The place takes its name from the shrines, large enough to hold the tripods which stand upon them, of bronze, but containing very remarkable works of art, including a Satyr, of which Praxiteles is said to have been very proud. Phryne once asked of him the most beautiful of his works, and the story goes that lover-like he agreed to give it, but refused to say which he thought the most beautiful. So a slave of Phryne rushed in saying that a fire had broken out in the studio of Praxiteles, and the greater number of his works were lost, though not all were destroyed. Praxiteles at once started to rush through the door crying that his labour was all wasted if indeed the flames had caught his Satyr and his Love. But Phryne bade him stay and be of good courage, for he had suffered no grievous loss, but had been trapped into confessing which were the most beautiful of his works. So Phryne chose the statue of Love; while a Satyr is in the temple of Dionysus and by, a boy holding out a cup. The Love standing with him and the Dionysus were made by Thymilus.



- 3 Τοῦ Διονύσου δὲ ἐστὶ πρὸς τῷ θεάτρῳ τὸ ἀρχαιότατον ἱερόν· δύο δὲ εἰσὶν ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου ναοὶ καὶ Διόνυσσοι, ὃ τε Ἐλευθερεὺς καὶ ὃν Ἀλκαμένης ἐποίησεν ἐλέφαντος καὶ χρυσοῦ. γραφαὶ δὲ αὐτόθι Διόνυσσός ἐστιν ἀνάγων Ἥφαιστον ἐς οὐρανόν· λέγεται δὲ καὶ τάδε ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων, ὡς Ἥρα ῥίψαι γενόμενον Ἥφαιστον, ὃ δὲ οἱ μνησικακῶν πέμψαι δῶρον χρυσοῦν θρόνον ἀφανεῖς δεσμούς ἔχοντα, καὶ τὴν μὲν ἐπεὶ τε ἐκαθέζετο δεδέσθαι, θεῶν δὲ τῶν μὲν ἄλλων οὐδενὶ τὸν Ἥφαιστον ἐθέλειν πείθεσθαι, Διόνυσσος δὲ—μάλιστα γὰρ ἐς τοῦτον πιστὰ ἦν Ἥφαιστῳ—μεθύσας αὐτὸν ἐς οὐρανὸν ἤγαγε· ταῦτά τε δὴ γεγραμμένα εἰσὶ καὶ Πενθεὺς καὶ Λυκοῦργος ὧν ἐς Διόνυσσον ὕβρισαν διδόντες δίκας, Ἀριάδνη δὲ καθεύδουσα καὶ Θησεὺς ἀναγόμενος καὶ Διόνυσσος ἥκων ἐς τῆς Ἀριάδνης τὴν ἀρπαγὴν.
- 4 Ἔστι δὲ πλησίον τοῦ τε ἱεροῦ τοῦ Διονύσου καὶ τοῦ θεάτρου κατασκευάσμα, ποιηθῆναι δὲ τῆς σκηνῆς αὐτὸ ἐς μίμησιν τῆς Ξέρξου λέγεται· ἐποιήθη δὲ καὶ δεύτερον, τὸ γὰρ ἀρχαῖον στρατηγὸς Ῥωμαίων ἐνέπρησε Σύλλας Ἀθήνας ἐλὼν· αἰτία δὲ ἦδε τοῦ πολέμου. Μιθριδάτης ἐβασίλευε βαρβάρων τῶν περὶ τὸν Πόντον τὸν Εὐξείνου· πρόφασις μὲν δὴ δι' ἥντινα Ῥωμαίοις ἐπολέμησε καὶ ὃν τρόπον ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν διέβη καὶ ὅσας ἡ πολέμῳ βιασάμενος πόλεις ἔσχεν ἡ φίλας ἐποίησατο, τάδε μὲν τοῖς ἐπίστασθαι τὰ Μιθριδάτου θέλουσι μελέτω· ἐγὼ δὲ ὅσον ἐς τὴν ἄλωσιν τὴν
- 5 Ἀθηναίων ἔχει δηλώσω. ἦν Ἀριστίων Ἀθηναῖος, ᾧ Μιθριδάτης πρεσβεύειν ἐς τὰς πόλεις τὰς Ἑλληνίδας ἐχρῆτο· οὗτος ἀνέπεισεν Ἀθη-

The oldest sanctuary of Dionysus is near the theatre. Within the precincts are two temples and two statues of Dionysus, the Eleuthereus (*Deliverer*) and the one Alcamenes made of ivory and gold. There are paintings here—Dionysus bringing Hephaestus up to heaven. One of the Greek legends is that Hephaestus, when he was born, was thrown down by Hera. In revenge he sent as a gift a golden chair with invisible fetters. When Hera sat down she was held fast, and Hephaestus refused to listen to any other of the gods save Dionysus—in him he reposed the fullest trust—and after making him drunk Dionysus brought him to heaven. Besides this picture there are also represented Pentheus and Lyeurgus paying the penalty of their insolence to Dionysus, Ariadne asleep, Theseus putting out to sea, and Dionysus on his arrival to carry off Ariadne.

Near the sanctuary of Dionysus and the theatre is a structure, which is said to be a copy of Xerxes' tent. It has been rebuilt, for the old building was burnt by the Roman general Sulla when he took Athens. 86 B.C. The cause of the war was this. Mithridates was king over the foreigners around the Euxine. Now the grounds on which he made war against the Romans, how he crossed into Asia, and the cities he took by force of arms or made his friends, I must leave for those to find out who wish to know the history of Mithridates, and I shall confine my narrative to the capture of Athens. There was an Athenian, Aristion, whom Mithridates employed as his envoy to the Greek cities. He induced the Athenians to join

ναίους Μιθριδάτην θέσθαι Ῥωμαίων ἐπίπροσθεν.  
 ἀνέπεισε δὲ οὐ πάντας, ἀλλ' ὅσον δῆμος ἦν καὶ  
 δῆμον τὸ ταραχῶδες· Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ὧν τις λόγος,  
 παρὰ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐκπίπτουσιν ἐβελονταί. γε-  
 νομένης δὲ μάχης πολλῶ περιῆσαν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι,  
 καὶ φεύγοντας Ἀριστίωνα μὲν καὶ Ἀθηναίους ἐς  
 τὸ ἄστυ καταδιώκουσιν, Ἀρχέλαον δὲ καὶ τοὺς  
 βαρβάρους ἐς τὸν Πειραιᾶ· Μιθριδάτου δὲ στρα-  
 τηγὸς καὶ οὗτος ἦν, ὃν πρότερον τούτων Μάγνητες  
 οἱ τὸν Σίπυλον οἰκοῦντες σφᾶς ἐπεκδραμόντα αὐ-  
 τόν τε τιτρώσκουσι καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων φονεύουσι  
 6 τοὺς πολλούς. Ἀθηναῖοις μὲν δὴ πολιορκία  
 καθειστήκει, Ταξίλος δὲ Μιθριδάτου στρατηγὸς  
 ἐτύγχανε μὲν περικαθήμενος Ἐλάτειαν τὴν ἐν τῇ  
 Φωκίδι, ἀφικομένων δὲ ἀγγέλων ἀναστήσας τὸν  
 στρατὸν ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἤγειν. ἃ πυρθανόμενος  
 ὁ στρατηγὸς τῶν Ῥωμαίων Ἀθήνας μὲν τοῦ στρα-  
 τοῦ μέρει πολιορκεῖν ἀφῆκεν, αὐτὸς δὲ Ταξίλῳ τὸ  
 πολὺ τῆς δυνάμεως ἔχων ἐς Βοιωτοὺς ἵπαντά,  
 τρίτῃ δὲ ὕστερον ἡμέρᾳ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἦλθον ἐπ'  
 ἀμφοτέρα τὰ στρατόπεδα ἄγγελοι, Σύλλα μὲν  
 ὡς Ἀθηναῖοις εἴη τὸ τεῖχος ἐαλωκός, τοῖς δὲ  
 Ἀθήνας πολιορκήσασι Ταξίλον κεκρατήσθαι  
 μάχῃ περὶ Χαιρώνειαν. Σύλλας δὲ ὡς ἐς τὴν  
 Ἀττικὴν ἐπανῆλθε, τοὺς ἐναντιωθέντας Ἀθη-  
 ναίων καθεύρξας ἐς τὸν Κεραμεικὸν τὸν λαχόντα  
 σφῶν ἐκ δεκάδος ἐκάστης ἐκέλευσεν ἄγεσθαι τὴν  
 7 ἐπὶ θανάτῳ. Σύλλου δὲ οὐκ ἀνιέντος ἐς Ἀθη-  
 ναίους τοῦ θυμοῦ λαθόντες ἐκδιδράσκουσιν ἄνδρες  
 ἐς Δελφούς· ἐρομένοις δὲ σφισιν, εἰ καταλαμβάνου-  
 τὸ χρεῶν ἤδη καὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας ἐρημωθῆναι, τού-  
 τοις ἔχρησεν ἡ Πυθία τὰ ἐς τὸν ἄσκον ἔχοντα·

thridates rather than the Romans, although he  
 did not induce all, but only the lower orders, and  
 by the turbulent among them. The respectable  
 Athenians fled to the Romans of their own accord.  
 In the engagement that ensued the Romans won a  
 decisive victory; Aristion and the Athenians they  
 drove in flight into the city, Archelaus and the foreign-  
 ers into the Peiraeus. This Archelaus was another  
 general of Mithridates, whom earlier than this the  
 Agnetes, who inhabit Sipylus, wounded when he  
 invaded their territory, killing most of the foreigners  
 as well. So Athens was invested. Taxilus, a general  
 of Mithridates, was at the time besieging Elatea in  
 Locis, but on receiving the news he withdrew his  
 troops towards Attica. Learning this, the Roman  
 general entrusted the siege of Athens to a portion  
 of his army, and with the greater part of his forces  
 advanced in person to meet Taxilus in Boeotia. On  
 the third day from this, news came to both the  
 Roman armies; Sulla heard that the Athenian forti-  
 fications had been stormed, and the besieging force  
 learnt that Taxilus had been defeated in battle near  
 Chaeronea. When Sulla returned to Attica he im-  
 prisoned in the Cerameicus the Athenians who had  
 opposed him, and one chosen by lot out of every ten  
 was ordered to be led to execution. Sulla abated  
 nothing of his wrath against the Athenians, and so a  
 few effected an escape to Delphi, and asked if the  
 time were now come when it was fated for Athens  
 to be made desolate, receiving from the Pythia  
 the response about the wine skin. Afterwards Sulla



Σύλλα δὲ ὕστερον τούτων ἐνέπεσεν ἡ νόσος, ἥ καὶ τὸν Σύριον Φερεκύδην ἀλῶναι πυνθάνομαι. Σύλλα δὲ ἔστι μὲν καὶ τὰ ἐς τοὺς πολλοὺς Ἀθηναίων ἀγριώτερα ἢ ὡς ἄνδρα εἰκὸς ἦν ἐργάσασθαι Ῥωμαῖον· ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐ ταῦτα δὴ αἰτίαν γενέσθαι οἱ δοκῶ τῆς συμφορᾶς, Ἰκεσίου δὲ μῆνιμα, ὅτι καταφυγόντα ἐς τὸ τῆς Ἀθηναίων ἱερὸν ἀπέκτεινεν ἀποσπάσας Ἀριστίωνα.

Ἀθῆναι μὲν οὕτως ὑπὸ τοῦ πολέμου κακωθεῖσαι τοῦ Ῥωμαίων αὐθις Ἀδριανοῦ βασιλεύοντος ἠμυθῆσαν· XXI. Εἰσὶ δὲ Ἀθηναίοις εἰκόνες ἐν τῇ θεάτρῳ καὶ τραγωδίας καὶ κωμωδίας ποιητῶν, αἱ πολλαὶ τῶν ἀφανεστέρων· ὅτι μὴ γὰρ Μένανδρος, οὐδείς ἦν ποιητῆς κωμωδίας τῶν ἐς δόξαν ἡκόντων. τραγωδίας δὲ κεῖνται τῶν φανερῶν Εὐριπίδης καὶ Σοφοκλῆς. λέγεται δὲ Σοφοκλέους τελευτήσαντος ἐσβαλεῖν ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν Λακεδαιμονίους, καὶ σφῶν τὸν ἡγούμενον ἰδεῖν ἐπιστάντα οἱ Διόνυσον κελεύειν τιμαῖς, ὅσα καθεστήκασιν ἐπὶ τοῖς τεθνεώσι, τὴν Σειρήνα τὴν νέαν τιμᾶν· καὶ οἱ τὸ ὄναρ ἐς Σοφοκλέα καὶ τὴν Σοφοκλέους ποίησιν ἐφαίνετο ἔχειν, εἰώθασι δὲ καὶ νῦν ἔτι ποιημάτων καὶ λόγων τὸ ἐπαγωγὸν

2 Σειρήνι εἰκάζειν. τὴν δὲ εἰκόνα τὴν Αἰσχύλου πολλῶ τε ὕστερον τῆς τελευτῆς δοκῶ ποιηθῆναι καὶ τῆς γραφῆς ἥ τὸ ἔργον ἔχει τὸ Μαραθῶνι. ἔφη δὲ Αἰσχύλος μειράκιον ὦν καθεύδειν ἐν ἀγρῷ φυλάσσω σταφυλὰς, καὶ οἱ Διόνυσον ἐπιστάντα κελεύσαι τραγωδίαν ποιεῖν· ὡς δὲ ἦν ἡμέρα—

3 ποιεῖν. οὗτος μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεγεν· ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ Νοτίου καλουμένου τείχους, ὃ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως



was smitten with the disease which I learn attacked Pherecydes the Syrian. Although Sulla's treatment of the Athenian people was so savage as to be unworthy of a Roman, I do not think that this was the cause of his calamity, but rather the vengeance of the suppliants' Protector, for he had dragged Aristion from the sanctuary of Athena, where he had taken refuge, and killed him.

In such wise was Athens sorely afflicted by the war with Rome, but she flourished again when Hadrian was emperor. XXI. In the theatre the Athenians have portrait statues of poets, both tragic and comic, but they are mostly of undistinguished persons. With the exception of Menander no poet of comedy represented here won a reputation, but tragedy has two illustrious representatives, Euripides and Sophocles. There is a legend that after the death of Sophocles the Lacedaemonians invaded Attica, and their commander saw in a vision Dionysus, who bade him honour, with all the customary honours of the dead, the new Siren. He interpreted the dream as referring to Sophocles and his poetry, and down to the present day men are wont to liken to a Siren whatever is charming in both poetry and prose. The likeness of Aeschylus is, I think, much later than his death and than the painting which depicts the action at Marathon. Aeschylus himself said that when a youth he slept while watching grapes in a field, and that Dionysus appeared and bade him write tragedy. When day came, in obedience to the vision, he made an attempt and hereafter found composing quite easy. Such were his words. On the South wall, as it is called, of the Acropolis, which faces

ἐς τὸ θέατρον ἐστὶ τετραμμένον, ἐπὶ τούτῳ  
Μεδούσης τῆς Γοργόνης ἐπίχρυσος ἀνάκειται  
κεφαλὴ, καὶ περὶ αὐτὴν αἰγὶς πεποιήται. ἐν δὲ  
τῇ κορυφῇ τοῦ θεάτρου σπήλαιόν ἐστιν ἐν ταῖς  
πέτραις ὑπὸ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν· τρίπους δὲ ἔπῃ  
καὶ τούτῳ. Ἀπόλλων δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ Ἄρτεμις  
τοὺς παῖδας εἰσὶν ἀναιροῦντες τοὺς Νιόβης.  
ταύτην τὴν Νιόβην καὶ αὐτὸς εἶδον ἀνελθὼν ἐς  
τὸν Σίπυλον τὸ ὄρος· ἡ δὲ πλησίον μὲν πέτρα  
καὶ κρημνός ἐστιν οὐδὲν παρόντι σχῆμα παρεχό-  
μενος γυναικὸς οὔτε ἄλλως οὔτε πενθούσης· εἰ δέ  
γε πορρωτέρω γένοιο, δεδακρυμένην δόξεις ὁρᾶν  
καὶ κατηφῇ γυναῖκα.

- 4 Ἴόντων δὲ Ἀθήνησιν ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἀπὸ  
τοῦ θεάτρου τέθῃται Κάλως· τοῦτον τὸν Κάλων  
ἀδελφῆς παῖδα ὄντα καὶ τῆς τέχνης μαθητὴν  
φονεύσας Δαίδαλος ἐς Κρήτην ἔφυγε, χρόνῳ δὲ  
ὕστερον ἐς Σικελίαν ἐκδιδράσκει παρὰ Κωκαλον.  
τοῦ δὲ Ἀσκληπιοῦ τὸ ἱερόν ἐς τε τὰ ἀγάλματα  
ἐστίν, ὅποσα τοῦ θεοῦ πεποιήται καὶ τῶν παίδων,  
καὶ ἐς τὰς γραφὰς θεᾶς ἄξιον· ἔστι δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ  
κρήνη, παρ' ἣ λέγουσι Ποσειδῶνος παῖδα Ἀλιρ-  
ρόθιον θυγατέρα Ἄρεως Ἀλκίππην αἰσχύναντα  
ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὸ Ἄρεως, καὶ δίκην ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῷ
- 5 φόνῳ γενέσθαι πρῶτον. ἐνταῦθα ἄλλα τε καὶ  
Σαυροματικὸς ἀνάκειται θώραξ· ἐς τοῦτόν τις  
ιδῶν οὐδὲν ᾗσσον Ἑλλήνων τοὺς βαρβάρους  
φήσει σοφοὺς ἐς τὰς τέχνας εἶναι. Σαυρομάταις  
γὰρ οὔτε αὐτοῖς σίδηρός ἐστιν ὀρυσσόμενος οὔτε  
σφίσις ἐσάγουσιν· ἄμικτοι γὰρ μάλιστα τῶν  
ταύτῃ βαρβάρων εἰσὶ. πρὸς οὖν τὴν ἀπορίαν  
ταύτην ἐξεύρηται σφίσι· ἐπὶ μὲν τοῖς δόρασιν

the theatre, there is dedicated a gilded head of Medusa the Gorgon, and round it is wrought an aegis. At the top of the theatre is a cave in the rocks under the Acropolis. This also has a tripod over it, wherein are Apollo and Artemis slaying the children of Niobe. This Niobe I myself saw when I had gone up to Mount Sipylus. When you are near it is a beetling crag, with not the slightest resemblance to a woman, mourning or otherwise; but if you go further away you will think you see a woman in tears, with head bowed down.

On the way to the Athenian Acropolis from the theatre is the tomb of Calos. Daedalus murdered this Calos, who was his sister's son and a student of his craft, and therefore he fled to Crete; afterwards he escaped to Cocalus in Sicily. The sanctuary of Aesclepius is worth seeing both for its paintings and for the statues of the god and his children. In it there is a spring, by which they say that Poseidon's son Halirrhothius deflowered Alcippe the daughter of Ares, who killed the ravisher and was the first to be put on his trial for the shedding of blood. Among the votive offerings there is a Sauromatic breast-plate. On seeing this a man will say that no less than Greeks are foreigners skilled in the arts. For the Sauromatae have no iron, neither mined by themselves nor yet imported. They have, in fact, no dealings at all with the foreigners around them. To meet this deficiency they have contrived inventions. In place of iron they use bone for their spear-blades,

αἶχμᾶς ὀστεῖνας ἀντὶ σιδήρου φοροῦσι, τόξα τε  
 κρανίνα καὶ ὀιστοὺς καὶ ὀστεῖνας ἀκίδας ἐπὶ τοῖς  
 ὀιστοῖς· καὶ σειραῖς περιβαλόντες τῶν πολεμίων  
 ὀπίσους καὶ τύχοιεν, τοὺς ἵππους ἀποστρέψαντες  
 6 ἀνατρέπουσι τοὺς ἐνσχεθέντας ταῖς σειραῖς. τοὺς  
 δὲ θώρακας ποιοῦνται τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον. ἵππους  
 πολλὰς ἑκαστος τρέφει, ὥς ἂν οὔτε ἐς ἰδιωτῶν  
 κλήρους τῆς γῆς μεμερισμένης οὔτε τι φερούσης  
 πλὴν ὕλης ἀγρίας ἅτε ὄντων νομάδων· ταύταις  
 οὐκ ἐς πόλεμον χρῶνται μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ θεοῖς  
 θύουσιν ἐπιχωρίοις καὶ ἄλλως σιτοῦνται. συλ-  
 λεξάμενοι δὲ τὰς ὀπλὰς ἐκκαθήραντές τε καὶ  
 διελόντες ποιοῦσιν ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἐμφερῇ δρακόντων  
 φολίσιν· ὅστις δὲ οὐκ εἶδὲ πῶ δράκοντα, πῖτνος  
 γε εἶδε καρπὸν χλωρὸν ἔτι· ταῖς οὖν ἐπὶ τῇ  
 καρπῷ τῆς πῖτνος φαινομέναις ἐντομαῖς εἰκάζων  
 τὸ ἔργον τὸ ἐκ τῆς ὀπλῆς οὐκ ἂν ἀμαρτάνοι.  
 ταῦτα διατρήσαντες καὶ νεύροις ἵππων καὶ βοῶν  
 συρράψαντες χρῶνται θώραξιν οὔτε εὐπρεπεῖα  
 τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἀποδέουσιν οὔτε ἀσθενεστέροις·  
 καὶ γὰρ συστάδην τυπτόμενοι καὶ βληθέντες  
 7 ἀνέχονται. οἱ δὲ θώρακες οἱ λινοὶ μαχομένοις  
 μὲν οὐχ ὁμοίως εἰσὶ χρήσιμοι, διᾶσι γὰρ καὶ  
 βιαζόμενοι τὸν σῖδηρον· θηρεύοντας δὲ ὠφελοῦ-  
 σιν, ἐναποκλῶνται γὰρ σφισι καὶ λεόντων ὀδόν-  
 τες καὶ παρδάλεων. θώρακας δὲ λινοὺς ἰδεῖν ἔν τε  
 ἄλλοις ἱεροῖς ἔστιν ἀνακειμένους καὶ ἐν Γρυνεῖφ.  
 ἔνθα Ἀπόλλωνος κάλλιστον ἄλσος δένδρων καὶ  
 ἡμέρων καὶ ὅσα τῶν ἀκάρπων ὁσμῆς παρέχεται  
 τινα ἢ θέας ἡδονήν.

XXII. Μετὰ δὲ τὸ ἱερόν τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ ταύτην  
 πρὸς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἰοῦσι Θέμιδος ναὸς ἔστι.



and cornel-wood for their bows and arrows, with bone points for the arrows. They throw a lasso round any enemy they meet, and then turning round their horses upset the enemy caught in the lasso. Their breastplates they make in the following fashion. Each man keeps many mares, since the land is not divided into private allotments, nor does it bear anything except wild trees, as the people are nomads. These mares they not only use for war, but also sacrifice them to the local gods and eat them for food. Their hoofs they collect, clean, split, and make from them as it were python scales. Whoever has never seen a python must at least have seen a pine-cone still green. He will not be mistaken if he liken the product from the hoof to the segments that are seen on the pine-cone. These pieces they bore and stitch together with the sinews of horses and oxen, and then use them as breastplates that are as handsome and strong as those of the Greeks. For they can withstand blows of missiles and those struck in close combat. Linen breastplates are not so useful to fighters, for they let the iron pass through, if the blow be a violent one. They aid hunters, however, for the teeth of lions or leopards break off in them. You may see linen breastplates dedicated in other sanctuaries, notably in that at Gryneum, where there is a most beautiful grove of Apollo, with cultivated trees, and all those which, although they bear no fruit, are pleasing to smell or look upon.

XXII. After the sanctuary of Aesclepius, as you go by this way towards the Acropolis, there is a temple

- κέχωσται δὲ πρὸ αὐτοῦ μνήμα Ἴππολύτῳ· τοῦ δὲ οἱ βίου τὴν τελευτὴν συμβῆναι λέγουσιν ἐκ καταρῶν. δῆλα δέ, καὶ ὅστις βαρβάρων γλώσσαν ἔμαθεν Ἑλλήνων, ὃ τε ἔρως τῆς Φαίδρας καὶ τῆς τροφοῦ τὸ ἐς τὴν διακονίαν τόλμημα. ἔστι δὲ καὶ Τροιζηνίοις Ἴππολύτου τάφος· ἔχει δὲ σφισιν
- 2 ὦδε ὁ λόγος. Θησεὺς ὡς ἔμελλεν ἄξεισθαι Φαίδραν, οὐκ ἐθέλων εἰ οἱ γένοιτο παῖδες οὔτε ἄρχεσθαι τὸν Ἴππολύτον οὔτε βασιλεύειν ἀνὶ αὐτῶν, πέμπει παρὰ Πιθθέα τραφησόμενον αὐτὸν καὶ βασιλεύσοντα Τροιζήνως. χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον Πάλλας καὶ οἱ παῖδες ἐπανέστησαν Θησεῖ· τοὺς κτείνας ἐς Τροιζήνα ἔρχεται καθαρσίον ἔνεκα, καὶ Φαίδρα πρώτη ἐνταῦθα εἶδεν Ἴππολύτον καὶ τὰ ἐς τὸν θάνατον ἐρασθεῖσα ἐβούλευσε. μυρσίνη δὲ ἔστι Τροιζηνίοις τὰ φύλλα διὰ πάσης ἔχουσα τετρυπημένα· φύναι δὲ οὐκ ἐξ ἀρχῆς τοιαύτην λέγουσιν, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἔργον γεγενῆσθαι τῆς ἐς τὸν ἔρωτα ἄσης καὶ τῆς περονῆς ἦν
- 3 ἐπὶ ταῖς θριξίν εἶχεν ἡ Φαίδρα. Ἀφροδίτην δὲ τὴν Πάνδημον, ἐπεὶ τε Ἀθηναίους Θησεὺς ἐς μίαν ἤγαγεν ἀπὸ τῶν δήμων πόλιν, αὐτὴν τε σέβεσθαι καὶ Πειθῶ κατέστησε· τὰ μὲν δὲ παλαιὰ ἀγάλματα οὐκ ἦν ἐπ' ἐμοῦ, τὰ δὲ ἐπ' ἐμοῦ τεχνιτῶν ἦν οὐ τῶν ἀφανεστάτων. ἔστι δὲ καὶ Γῆς Κουροτρόφου καὶ Δήμητρος ἱερὸν Χλόης· τὰ δὲ ἐς τὰς ἐπωνυμίας ἔστιν αὐτῶν διδαχθῆναι τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἐλθόντα ἐς λόγους.
- 4 Ἐς δὲ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἔστιν ἔσοδος μία· ἑτέραν δὲ οὐ παρέχεται, πᾶσα ἀπότομος οὔσα καὶ τεῖχος ἔχουσα ἐχυρόν. τὰ δὲ προπύλαια λίθου λευκοῦ

emis. Before it is raised a sepulchral mound  
 Hippolytus. The end of his life, they say, came  
 curses. Everybody, even a foreigner who has  
 Greek, knows about the love of Phaedra and  
 ckedness the nurse dared commit to serve her.  
 troezenians too have a grave of Hippolytus, and  
 legend about it is this. When Theseus was  
 to marry Phaedra, not wishing, should he have  
 en, Hippolytus either to be their subject or to  
 g in their stead, sent him to Pittheus to be  
 it up and to be the future king of Troezen.  
 vards Pallas and his sons rebelled against  
 as. After putting them to death he went to  
 n for purification, and Phaedra first saw Hip-  
 s there. Falling in love with him she contrived  
 ot for his death. The Troezenians have a  
 with every one of its leaves pierced; they say  
 did not grow originally in this fashion, the  
 being due to Phaedra's disgust with love and to  
 which she wore in her hair. When Theseus had  
 into one state the many Athenian parishes, he  
 shed the cults of Aphrodite Pandemos (*Com-*  
*and of Persuasion*). The old statues no longer  
 l in my time, but those I saw were the work  
 inferior artists. There is also a sanctuary of  
 Nurse of Youth, and of Demeter Chloë  
 ). You can learn all about their names by  
 sing with the priests.

re is but one entry to the Acropolis. It affords  
 er, being precipitous throughout and having  
 ng wall. The gateway has a roof of white

τὴν ὀροφὴν ἔχει καὶ κόσμῳ καὶ μεγέθει τῶν  
 λίθων μέχρι γε καὶ ἐμοῦ προεῖχε. τὰς μὲν οὖν  
 εἰκόνας τῶν ἱππέων οὐκ ἔχω σαφῶς εἰπεῖν, εἴτε  
 οἱ παῖδες εἰσιν οἱ Ξενοφώντος εἴτε ἄλλως ἐν  
 εὐπρέπειαν πεποιημένοι· τῶν δὲ προπυλαίων ἐν  
 δεξιά Νίκης ἐστὶν Ἀπτέρου ναός. ἐντεῦθεν ἡ  
 θάλασσά ἐστι σύνοπτος, καὶ ταύτῃ ῥίψας Αἰγέως  
 5 ἐαυτὸν ὥς λέγουσιν ἐτελεύτησεν. ἀνήγχο μὲν  
 γὰρ ἡ ναὺς μέλασιν ἰστίοις ἢ τοὺς παῖδας φέ-  
 ρουσα ἐς Κρήτην, Θησεὺς δὲ—ἔπλει γὰρ τόλμης  
 τι ἔχων ἐς τὸν Μίνω καλούμενον ταῦρον—πρὸς  
 τὸν πατέρα προεῖπε χρῆσθαι τοῖς ἰστίοις λευ-  
 κοῖς, ἣν ὀπίσω πλὴν τοῦ ταύρου κρατήσας· τοῦ-  
 ταν λήθην ἔσχεν Ἀριάδην ἀφρημένος· ἐνταῦθα  
 Αἰγέως ὥς εἶδεν ἰστίοις μέλασι τὴν ναῦν κομ-  
 ζομένην, οἶα τὸν παῖδα τεθνάναι δοκῶν, ἀφεί-  
 αὐτὸν διαφθείρεται· καὶ οἱ παρὰ Ἀθηναίοις ἐστὶ  
 6 καλούμενον ἥρῳον Αἰγέως.—ἐστὶ δὲ ἐν ἀριστερῇ  
 τῶν προπυλαίων οἴκημα ἔχον γραφάς· ὅποσαι  
 δὲ μὴ καθέστηκεν ὁ χρόνος αἴτιος ἀφανέσιν εἶναι.  
 Διομήδης ἦν καὶ Ὀδυσσεύς, ὁ μὲν ἐν Ἀθήνῃ τὸ  
 Φιλοκτήτου τόξον, ὁ δὲ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν ἀφαιρου-  
 μένος ἐξ Ἰλίου. ἐνταῦθα ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς Ὀρέ-  
 στης ἐστὶν Αἰγισθον φονεύων καὶ Πυλάδης τοὺς  
 παῖδας τοὺς Ναυπλίου βοηθοὺς ἐλθόντας Αἰγί-  
 σθῳ· τοῦ δὲ Ἀχιλλέως τάφου πλησίον μέλλουσά  
 ἐστὶ σφάζεσθαι Πολυξένη. Ὀμήρῳ δὲ εὖ μὲν  
 παρέβη τόδε τὸ ὥμῶν οὕτως ἔργον· εὖ δέ μοι  
 φαίνεται ποιῆσαι Σκύρον ὑπὸ Ἀχιλλέως ἀλου-  
 σαν, οὐδὲν ὁμοίως καὶ ὅσοι λέγουσιν ὁμοῦ ταῖς  
 παρθένοις Ἀχιλλέα ἔχειν ἐν Σκύρῳ δίαιταν, ἃ δὲ  
 καὶ Πολύγνωτος ἔγραψεν. ἔγραψε δὲ καὶ πρὸς



le, and down to the present day it is unrivalled  
 he beauty and size of its stones. Now as to the  
 es of the horsemen, I cannot tell for certain  
 her they are the sons of Xenophon or whether  
 were made merely to beautify the place. On  
 right of the gateway is a temple of Wingless  
ory. From this point the sea is visible, and here  
 is that, according to legend, Aegeus threw him-  
 down to his death. For the ship that carried  
 young people to Crete began her voyage with  
 e sails; but Theseus, who was sailing on an  
 nture against the bull of Minos, as it is called,  
 told his father beforehand that he would  
 white sails if he should sail back victorious  
 the bull. But the loss of Ariadne made him  
 at the signal. Then Aegeus, when from this  
 ence he saw the vessel borne by black sails,  
 ing that his son was dead, threw himself down  
 estruction. There is at Athens a sanctuary  
 ated to him, and called the hero-shrine of  
 us. On the left of the gateway is a building  
 pictures. Among those not effaced by time I  
 d Diomedes taking the Athena from Troy, and  
 seus in Lemnos taking away the bow of Philo-  
 s. There in the pictures is Orestes killing  
 sthus, and Pylades killing the sons of Nauplius  
 had come to bring Aegisthus succour. And  
 is Polyxena about to be sacrificed near the  
 e of Achilles. Homer did well in passing by this  
 ous act. I think too that he showed poetic  
 ht in making Achilles capture Scyros, differing  
 ely from those who say that Achilles lived  
 cyros with the maidens, as Polygnotus has re-  
 ented in his picture. He also painted Odysseus

- τῷ ποταμῷ ταῖς ὁμοῦ Ναυσικᾷ πλυνούσαις ἐφίστάμενον Ὀδυσσεᾶ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ καθὰ δὴ καὶ Ὅμηρος ἐποίησε. γραφαὶ δὲ εἰσι καὶ ἄλλαι καὶ
- 7 Ἀλκιβιάδης, ἵππων δὲ οἱ νίκης τῆς ἐν Νερῆϊ ἐστὶ σημεῖα ἐν τῇ γραφῇ· καὶ Περσεύς ἐστιν ἐς Σέριφον κομιζόμενος, Πολυδέκτη φέρων τὴν κεφαλὴν τὴν Μεδοῦσης. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐς Μέδουσαν οὐκ εἰμὶ πρόθυμος ἐν τοῖς Ἀττικοῖς σημῆναι· ἐτι δὲ τῶν γραφῶν, παρέντι τὸν παῖδα τὸν τῆς ὑδρίας φέροντα καὶ τὸν παλαιστὴν ὃν Τιμαίνετος ἔγραψεν, ἐστὶ Μουσαῖος. ἐγὼ δὲ ἔπη μὲν ἐπέλεξα μὴν, ἐν οἷς ἐστὶ πέτεσθαι Μουσαῖον ὑπὸ Βορέου δῶρον, δοκεῖν δέ μοι πεποίηκεν αὐτὰ Ὀνομάκριτος καὶ ἐστὶν οὐδὲν Μουσαίου βεβαίως ὅτι μὴ μόνον ἐς Δήμητρα ὕμνος Λυκομίδαις.
- 8 Κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἔσοδον αὐτὴν ἤδη τὴν ἐς ἀκρόπολιν Ἑρμῆν, ὃν Προπύλαιον ὀνομάζουσι, καὶ Χάριτας Σωκράτην ποιῆσαι τὸν Σωφρονίσκου λέγουσιν, ὃ σοφῷ γενέσθαι μάλιστα ἀνθρώπων ἐστὶν ἢ Πυθία μάρτυς, ὃ μὴδὲ Ἀνάχαρσιν ἐθέλοντα ὅμως καὶ δι' αὐτὸ ἐς Δελφοὺς ἀφικόμενον προσεῖπεν. XXIII. Ἕλληνες δὲ ἄλλα τε λέγουσι καὶ ἄνδρας ἑπτὰ γενέσθαι σοφούς. τούτων καὶ τὸν Λέσβιον τύραννον καὶ Περιάνδρου εἶναι φασὶ τὸν Κυψέλου· καίτοι Περιάνδρου Πεισίστρατος καὶ ὁ παῖς Ἰππίας φιλίνθρωπος μάλλον καὶ σοφώτεροι τὰ τε πολεμικὰ ἦσαν καὶ ὅσα ἤκεν ἐς κόσμον τῶν πολιτῶν, ἐς δὲ διὰ τὸν Ἰππάρχου θάνατον Ἰππίας ἄλλα τε ἐχρήσατο
- 2 θυμῷ καὶ ἐς γυναῖκα ὄνομα Λέαιναν. ταύτην γάρ, ἐπεὶ τε ἀπέθανεν Ἰππαρχος,—λέγω δὲ οὐκ ἐς συγγραφὴν πρότερον ἦκοντα, πιστὰ δὲ ἄλλως

ming upon the women washing clothes with musicaa at the river, just like the description in Homer. There are other pictures, including a portrait of Alcibiades, and in the picture are emblems of the victory his horses won at Nemea. There is also Perseus journeying to Seriphos, and carrying to Polydectes the head of Medusa, the legend about whom I am unwilling to relate in my description of Attica. Included among the paintings—I omit the boy carrying the water-jars and the wrestler of Timaeus<sup>1</sup>—is Musaeus. I have read verse in which Musaeus receives from the North Wind the gift of flight, but, in my opinion, Onomacritus wrote them, and there are no certainly genuine works of Musaeus except a hymn to Demeter written for the Lycornidae.

Right at the very entrance to the Acropolis are a Hermes (called Hermes of the Gateway) and figures of the Graces, which tradition says were sculptured by Protagoras, the son of Sophroniscus, who the Pythia testified was the wisest of men, a title she refused to Anacharsis, although he desired it and came to Delphi to win it. XXIII. Among the sayings of the Greeks is one that there were seven wise men. Two of them were the despot of Lesbos and Periander the son of Cypselus. And yet Peisistratus and his son Hippias were more humane than Periander, wiser too in warfare and in statecraft, until, on account of the murder of Hipparchus, Hippias vented his passion against all and sundry, including a woman named Leagena (*Lioness*). What I am about to say has never before been committed to writing, but is generally credited

<sup>1</sup> An unknown painter.

Ἀθηναίων τοῖς πολλοῖς—Ἰππίας εἶχεν ἐν αἰκίᾳ  
ἐς ὃ διέφθειρεν, οἳ ἐταίραν Ἀριστογείτονος  
ἐπιστάμενος οὔσαν καὶ τὸ βούλευμα οὐδαμῶς  
ἀγνοῆσαι δοξάζων· ἀντὶ δὲ τούτων, ἐπεὶ τυραν-  
νίδος ἐπαύθησαν οἱ Πεισιστρατίδαι, χαλκῇ  
λέαινα Ἀθηναίοις ἐστὶν ἐς μνήμην τῆς γυναικός,  
παρὰ δὲ αὐτὴν ἄγαλμα Ἀφροδίτης, ὃ Καλλίου  
τέ φασιν ἀνάθημα εἶναι καὶ ἔργον Καλάμιδος.

- 3 Πλησίον δὲ ἐστὶ Διτρέφους χαλκοῦς ἀνδριάς  
οἰστοῖς βεβλημένος. οὗτος ὁ Διτρέφης ἄλλα  
τε ἔπραξεν ὅποσα λέγουσιν Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Θράκας  
μισθωτοὺς ἀφικομένους ὕστερον ἢ Δημοσθένης ἐς  
Συρακούσας ἐξέπλευσε, τούτους ὡς ὑστέρησαν  
ὁ Διτρέφης ἀπῆγεν ὀπίσω, καὶ δὴ κατὰ τὸν  
Χαλκιδικὸν ἔσχεν Εὐριπον, ἔνθα Βοιωτῶν ἐν  
μεσογαίᾳ πόλις Μυκαλησσὸς ἦν· ταύτην ἐ-  
παναβὰς ἐκ θαλάσσης ὁ Διτρέφης εἶλε. Μυ-  
καλησσίων δὲ οὐ μόνον τὸ μάχιμον οἱ Θράκας  
ἀλλὰ καὶ γυναῖκας ἐφόνευσαν καὶ παῖδας, μαρ-  
τυρεῖ δέ μοι· Βοιωτῶν γὰρ ὅσους ἀνέστησαν  
Θηβαῖοι, ὥκοῦντο αἱ πόλεις ἐπ' ἐμοῦ, διαφυ-  
γόντων ὑπὸ τὴν ἄλωσιν τῶν ἀνθρώπων· εἰ δὲ  
καὶ Μυκαλησσίοις οἱ βάρβαροι μὴ πᾶσιν ἀπο-  
κτείναντες ἐπεξῆλθον, ὕστερον ἂν τὴν πόλιν  
4 ἀπέλαβον οἱ λειψθέντες. τοσοῦτον μὲν παρέστη  
μοι θαῦμα ἐς τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ Διτρέφους, ὅτι  
οἰστοῖς ἐβέβλητο, Ἑλλήσιν ὅτι μὴ Κρησὶν οὐκ  
ἐπιχώριον ὄν τοξεύειν· Λοκροὺς γὰρ τοὺς Ὀπουν-  
τίους ὀπλιτεύοντας ἤδη κατὰ τὰ Μηδικὰ ἴσμεν,  
οὓς Ὅμηρος ἐποίησεν ὡς φερόμενοι τόξα καὶ  
σφενδόνας ἐς Ἴλιον ἔλθοιεν· οὐ μὲν οὐδὲ Μαλιεῦσι  
παρέμεινε μελέτη τῶν τόξων, δοκῶ δὲ οὔτε πρό-



among the Athenians. When Hipparchus died, Hippias tortured Leæna to death, because he knew she was the mistress of Aristogeiton, and therefore could not possibly, he held, be in ignorance of the plot. As a recompense, when the tyranny of the Peisistratidae was at an end, the Athenians put up a bronze lioness in memory of the woman, which they say Callias dedicated and Calamis made.

Hard by is a bronze statue of Diitrephes shot 413 B.C. through by arrows. Among the acts reported of this Diitrephes by the Athenians is his leading back home the Thracian mercenaries who arrived too late to take part in the expedition of Demosthenes against Syracuse. He also put into the Chalcidic Euripus, where the Boeotians had an inland town Mycælessus, marched up to this town from the coast and took it. Of the inhabitants the Thracians put to the sword not only the combatants but also the women and children. I have evidence to bring. All the Boeotian towns which the Thebans sacked were inhabited in my time, as the people escaped just before the capture; so if the foreigners had not exterminated the Mycælessians the survivors would have afterwards reoccupied the town. I was greatly surprised to see the statue of Diitrephes pierced with arrows, because the only Greeks whose custom it is to use that weapon are the Cretans. For the Opuntian Locrians, whom Homer represents as coming to Troy with bows and slings, we know were armed as heavy infantry by the time of the Persian wars. Neither indeed did the Malians continue the practice of the bow; in fact, I

- τερον ἐπίστασθαι σφᾶς πρὶν ἢ Φιλοκτήτην, παύσασθαι τε οὐ διὰ μακροῦ· τοῦ δὲ Διτρέφους πλησίον—τὰς γὰρ εἰκόνας τὰς ἀφανεστέρας γράφειν οὐκ ἐθέλω—θεῶν ἀγάλματά ἐστιν Ὑγείας τε, ἣν Ἀσκληπιοῦ παῖδα εἶναι λέγουσι, καὶ
- 5 Ἀθηνᾶς ἐπὶ κλησιν καὶ ταύτης Ὑγείας. ἔστι δὲ λίθος οὐ μέγας, ἀλλ' ὅσον καθίζεσθαι μικρὸν ἄνδρα· ἐπὶ τούτῳ λέγουσιν, ἥνικα Διόνυσος ἦλθεν ἐς τὴν γῆν, ἀναπαύσασθαι τὸν Σιληνόν. τοὺς γὰρ ἡλικία τῶν Σατύρων προήκοντας ὀνομάζουσι Σιληνοῦς· περὶ δὲ Σατύρων, οἵτινές εἰσιν, ἐτέρου πλέον ἐθέλων ἐπίστασθαι πολλοῖς αὐτῶν τούτων ἔνεκα ἐς λόγους ἦλθον. ἔφη δὲ Εὐφῆμος Κάρ' ἀνὴρ πλέων ἐς Ἰταλίαν ἀμαρτεῖν ὑπὸ ἀνέμων τοῦ πλοῦ καὶ ἐς τὴν ἔξω θάλασσαν, ἐς ἣν οὐκέτι πλέουσιν, ἐξενεχθῆναι. νήσους δὲ εἶναι μὲν ἔλεγεν ἐρήμους πολλὰς, ἐν δὲ ἄλλαις οἰκεῖν ἄνδρας ἀγρίους· ταύταις δὲ οὐκ ἐθέλειν νήσοις
- 6 προσίσχειν τοὺς ναύτας οἷα πρότερόν τε προσσχόντας καὶ τῶν ἐνοικούντων οὐκ ἀπείρους ἔχοντας, βιασθῆναι δ' οὖν καὶ τότε. ταύτας καλεῖσθαι μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ναυτῶν Σατυρίδας, εἶναι δὲ τοὺς ἐνοικούντας καπυροὺς καὶ ἵππων οὐ πολὺ μείους ἔχειν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἰσχύοις οὐράς. τούτους, ὡς ᾗσθοντο, καταδραμόντας ἐπὶ τὴν ναῦν φωνὴν μὲν οὐδεμίαν ἰέναι, ταῖς δὲ γυναιξὶν ἐπιχειρεῖν ταῖς ἐν τῇ νηὶ· τέλος δὲ δέσαντας τοὺς ναύτας βάρβαρον γυναῖκα ἐκβαλεῖν ἐς τὴν νῆσον· ἐς ταύτην οὖν ὑβρίζειν τοὺς Σατύρους οὐ μόνον ἢ καθέστηκεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ πᾶν ὁμοίως σῶμα.
- 7 Καὶ ἄλλα ἐν τῇ Ἀθηναίων ἀκροπόλει θεασόμενος οἶδα, Λυκίου τοῦ Μύρωνος χαλκοῦν παῖδα,

believe that they did not know it before the time of Philoctetes, and gave it up soon after. Near the statue of Diitrephes—I do not wish to write of the less distinguished portraits—are figures of gods; of Health, whom legend calls daughter of Asclepius, and of Athena, also surnamed Health. There is also a smallish stone, just large enough to serve as a seat to a little man. On it legend says Silenus rested when Dionysus came to the land. The oldest of the Satyrs they call Sileni. Wishing to know better than most people who the Satyrs are I have inquired from many about this very point. Euphemus the Carian said that on a voyage to Italy he was driven out of his course by winds and was carried into the outer sea, beyond the course of seamen. He affirmed that there were many uninhabited islands, while in others lived wild men. The sailors did not wish to put in at the latter, because, having put in before, they had some experience of the inhabitants, but on this occasion they had no choice in the matter. The islands were called Satyrides by the sailors, and the inhabitants were red haired, and had upon their flanks tails not much smaller than those of horses. As soon as they caught sight of their visitors, they ran down to the ship without uttering a cry and assaulted the women in the ship. At last the sailors in fear cast a foreign woman on to the island. Her the Satyrs outraged not only in the usual way, but also in a most shocking manner.

I remember looking at other things also on the Athenian Acropolis, a bronze boy holding the

ὅς τὸ περιρραντήριον ἔχει, καὶ Μύρωνος Περσέϊ  
τὸ ἐς Μέδουσαν ἔργον εἰργασμένον. καὶ Ἀρτέ-  
μιδος ἱερὸν ἐστὶ Βραυρωνίας, Πραξιτέλους μὲν  
τέχνη τὸ ἄγαλμα, τῇ θεῷ δέ ἐστιν ἀπὸ Βραυρωνῶν  
δήμου τὸ ὄνομα· καὶ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ξόανόν ἐστιν ἐν  
Βραυρῶνι, Ἄρτεμις ὡς λέγουσιν ἢ Ταυρική.  
8 Ἴππος δὲ ὁ καλούμενος Δούριος ἀνάκειται χαλ-  
κοῦς. καὶ ὅτι μὲν τὸ ποίημα τὸ Ἐπειοῦ μη-  
χάνημα ἦν ἐς διάλυσιν τοῦ τείχους, οἶδεν ὅστις  
μὴ πᾶσαν ἐπιφέρει τοῖς Φρυξὶν εὐήθειαν· λέγεται  
δὲ ἔς τε ἐκείνους τὸν ἵππον ὡς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐνδοῦ  
ἔχοι τοὺς ἀρίστους, καὶ δὴ καὶ τοῦ χαλκοῦ τὸ  
σχῆμά ἐστι κατὰ ταῦτα· καὶ Μενεσθεὺς καὶ  
Τεύκρος ὑπερκύπτουσιν ἐξ αὐτοῦ, προσέτι δὲ καὶ  
9 οἱ παῖδες οἱ Θησέως. ἀνδριάντων δὲ ὅσοι μετὰ  
τὸν ἵππον ἐστήκασιν Ἐπιχαρίνου μὲν ὀπλιτο-  
δρομεῖν ἀσκήσαντος τὴν εἰκόνα ἐποίησε Κριτίας.  
Οἶνοβίῳ δὲ ἔργον ἐστὶν ἐς Θουκυδίδην τὸν Ὀλόρου  
χρηστόν· ψήφισμα γὰρ ἐνίκησεν Οἰνόβιος κατελ-  
θεὶν ἐς Ἀθήνας Θουκυδίδην, καὶ οἱ δολοφονηθέντι  
ὡς κατῆι μνημὴ ἐστὶν οὐ πόρρω πυλῶν Μελιτί-  
10 δων. τὰ δὲ ἐς Ἑρμόλυκον τὸν παγκρατιαστήν  
καὶ Φορμίωνα τὸν Ἀσωπίχου γραψάντων ἐτέρων  
παρίημι· ἐς δὲ Φορμίωνα τοσόνδε ἔχω πλέον  
γράψαι. Φορμίῳ γὰρ τοῖς ἐπιεικέσιν Ἀθη-  
ναίων ὄντι ὁμοίῳ καὶ ἐς προγόνων δόξαν οὐκ  
ἀφανεῖ συνέβαινε ὀφείλειν χρεᾶ· ἀναχωρήσας  
οὖν ἐς τὸν Παιανίαν δῆμον ἐνταῦθα εἶχε δίαίταν,  
ἐς ὃ ναύαρχον αὐτὸν Ἀθηναίων αἰρουμένων ἐκ-  
πλεύσεσθαι<sup>1</sup> οὐκ ἔφασκεν· ὀφείλειν τε γὰρ καὶ οἱ,

<sup>1</sup> ἐκπλεῦσαι, emended by Herwerden.



prinkler, by Lycius son of Myron, and Myron's Perseus after beheading Medusa. There is also a sanctuary of Brauronian Artemis; the image is the work of Praxiteles, but the goddess derives her name from the parish of Brauron. The old wooden image is in Brauron, the Tauric Artemis as she is called. There is the horse called Wooden set up in bronze. That the work of Epeius was a contrivance to make a breach in the Trojan wall is known to everybody who does not attribute utter silliness to the Phrygians. But legend says of that horse that it contained the most valiant of the Greeks, and the design of the bronze figure fits in well with this story. Menestheus and Teucer are peeping out of it, and so are the sons of Theseus. Of the statues that stand after the horse, the likeness of Epicharinus who practised the race in armour was made by Critius, while Oenobius performed a kind service for Thucydides the son of Olorus.<sup>1</sup> He succeeded in getting a decree passed for the return of Thucydides to Athens, who was treacherously murdered as he was returning, and there is a monument to him not far from the Melitid gate. The stories of Hermolycus the pancratiast and Phormio<sup>2</sup> the son of Asopichus I omit, as others have told them. About Phormio, however, I have a detail to add. Quite one of the best men at Athens and distinguished for the fame of his ancestors he chanced to be heavily in debt. So he withdrew to the parish Paeania and lived there until the Athenians elected him to command a naval expedition. But he refused the office on the ground

<sup>1</sup> The great historian of the Peloponnesian war.

<sup>2</sup> A famous Athenian admiral who served during the first period of the Peloponnesian war.

πρὶν ἂν ἐκτίσῃ, πρὸς τοὺς στρατιώτας οὐκ εἶναι παρέχεσθαι φρόνημα. οὕτως Ἀθηναῖοι—πάντως γὰρ ἐβούλοντο ἄρχειν Φορμίωνα—τὰ χρέα ὅποιοις ὥφειλε διαλύουσιν.

XXIV. Ἐνταῦθα Ἀθηνᾶ πεποιήται τὸν Σίλην ὃν Μαρσύαν παίουσα, ὅτι δὴ τοὺς αὐλοὺς ἀνέλοιτο, ἐρρίφθαι σφᾶς τῆς θεοῦ βουλομένης. —τούτων πέραν, ὧν εἶρηκα, ἐστὶν ἡ λεγομένη Θησεῶς μάχη πρὸς τὸν ταῦρον τὸν Μίνω καλούμενον, εἴτε ἀνὴρ εἴτε θηρίον ἦν ὅποιον κεκράτηκεν ὁ λόγος· τέρατα γὰρ πολλῶ καὶ τοῦδε θαυμασιώτερα καὶ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἔτικτον γυναῖκες.

2 κεῖται δὲ καὶ Φρίξος ὁ Ἀθάμαντος ἐξηγηγεμένος ἐς Κόλχους ὑπὸ τοῦ κριοῦ· θύσας δὲ αὐτὸν ὅπως δὴ θεῶ, ὡς δὲ εἰκάσαι τῷ Λαφυστίῳ καλουμένῳ παρὰ Ὀρχομενίοις, τοὺς μηροὺς κατὰ νόμον ἐκτεμῶν τὸν Ἑλλήνων ἐς αὐτοὺς καιομένους ὄραν· κεῖνται δὲ ἐξῆς ἄλλαι τε εἰκόνες καὶ Ἡρακλέους· ἄγχει δὲ, ὡς λόγος ἔχει, τοὺς δράκοντας. Ἀθηνᾶ τέ ἐστὶν ἀνιούσα ἐκ τῆς κεφαλῆς τοῦ Διός. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ταῦρος ἀνάθημα τῆς βουλῆς τῆς ἐν Ἀρείῳ πάγῳ, ἐφ' ὅτῳ δὴ ἀνέθηκεν ἡ βουλή· πολλὰ δ'

3 ἂν τις ἐθέλων εἰκάξοι. λέλεκται δέ μοι καὶ πρότερον ὡς Ἀθηναίοις περισσώτερόν τι ἢ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐς τὰ θεῖά ἐστι σπουδῆς· πρῶτοι μὲν γὰρ Ἀθηνᾶν ἐπωνόμασαν Ἐργάνην, πρῶτοι δ' ἀκούλων Ἑρμᾶς ἀνέθεσαν, ὁμοῦ δὲ σφισιν ἐν τῷ ναφί σπουδαίων<sup>1</sup> δαίμων ἐστίν. ὅστις δὲ τὰ σὺν τέχνῃ πεποιημένα ἐπίπροσθε τίθεται τῶν ἐς ἀρχαιότητα ἡκόντων, καὶ τάδε ἐστὶν οἱ θεάσασθαι. κράνος ἐστὶν ἐπικείμενος ἀνὴρ Κλεοῖτον.

<sup>1</sup> The text here is almost certainly corrupt.

that before his debts were discharged he lacked the spirit to face his troops. So the Athenians, who were absolutely determined to have Phormio as their commander, paid all his creditors.

XXIV. In this place is a statue of Athena striking Marsyas the Silenus for taking up the flutes that the goddess wished to be cast away for good. Opposite these I have mentioned is represented the fight which legend says Theseus fought with the so-called Bull of Minos, whether this was a man or a beast of the nature he is said to have been in the accepted story. For even in our time women have given birth to far more extraordinary monsters than this. There is also a statue of Phrixus the son of Athamas carried ashore to the Colchians by the ram. Having sacrificed the animal to some god or other, presumably to the one called by the Orchomenians Laphystius, he has cut out the thighs in accordance with Greek custom and is watching them as they burn. Next come other statues, including one of Heracles strangling the serpents as the legend describes. There is Athena too coming up out of the head of Zeus, and also a bull dedicated by the Council of the Areopagus on some occasion or other, about which, if one cared, one could make many conjectures. I have already stated that the Athenians are far more devoted to religion than other men. They were the first to surname Athena Ergane (*Worker*); they were the first to set up limbless Hermae, and the temple of their goddess is shared by the Spirit of Good men. Those who prefer artistic workmanship to mere antiquity may look at the following: a man wearing a helmet, by Cleoetas, whose nails the artist

- καὶ οἱ τοὺς ὄνυχας ἀργυροῦς ἐνεποίησεν ὁ Κλειό-  
 τας· ἔστι δὲ καὶ Γῆς ἄγαλμα ἱκετευούσης ὕσαι οἱ  
 τὸν Δία, εἴτε αὐτοῖς ὄμβρου δεῖσαν Ἀθηναίους  
 εἴτε καὶ τοῖς πᾶσιν Ἑλλήσι συμβὰς αὐχμός.  
 ἐνταῦθα καὶ Τιμόθεος ὁ Κόνωνος καὶ αὐτὸς κεῖται  
 Κόνων· Πρόκην δὲ τὰ ἐς τὸν παῖδα βεβουλευ-  
 μένην αὐτὴν τε καὶ τὸν Ἴτυν ἀνέθηκεν Ἀλκαμένης.  
 πεποιοῖται δὲ καὶ τὸ φυτὸν τῆς ἐλαίας Ἀθηνᾶ καὶ  
 4 κῦμα ἀναφαίνων Ποσειδῶν καὶ Διὸς ἔστιν  
 ἄγαλμα τὸ τε Λεωχάρους καὶ ὁ ὀνομαζόμενος  
 Πολιεύς, ᾧ τὰ καθεστηκότα ἐς τὴν θυσίαν γρά-  
 φων τὴν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς λεγομένην αἰτίαν οὐ γράφω.  
 τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Πολιέως κριθᾶς καταθέντες ἐπὶ τὸν  
 βωμὸν μεμιγμένας πυροῖς οὐδεμίαν ἔχουσι φυλα-  
 κήν· ὁ βοῦς δέ, ὃν ἐς τὴν θυσίαν ἐτοιμάσαντες  
 φυλάσσουσιν, ἄπτεται τῶν σπερμάτων φοιτῶν  
 ἐπὶ τὸν βωμόν. καλοῦσι δὲ τινα τῶν ἱερέων  
 βουφόνον, ὃς κτείνας τὸν βόυν καὶ ταύτη τὸν  
 πέλεκυν ῥίψας—οὕτω γάρ ἐστίν οἱ νόμος—οἷχεται  
 φεύγων· οἱ δὲ ἄτε τὸν ἄνδρα ὃς ἔδρασε τὸ ἔργον  
 οὐκ εἰδότες, ἐς δίκην ὑπάγουσι τὸν πέλεκυν.  
 Ταῦτα μὲν τρόπον τὸν εἰρημένον δρῶσιν· ἐς δὲ  
 5 τὸν ναὸν ὃν Παρθενῶνα ὀνομάζουσιν, ἐς τοῦτον  
 ἐσιοῦσιν ὅποσα ἐν τοῖς καλουμένοις αἵετοῖς κεῖται.  
 πάντα ἐς τὴν Ἀθηνᾶς ἔχει γένεσιν, τὰ δὲ ὀπισθεν  
 ἢ Ποσειδῶνος πρὸς Ἀθηνᾶν ἔστιν ἕρις ὑπὲρ τῆς  
 γῆς· αὐτὸ δὲ ἐκ τε ἐλέφαντος τὸ ἄγαλμα καὶ  
 χρυσοῦ πεποιοῖται. μέσφ' μὲν οὖν ἐπίκειται οἱ  
 τῷ κράνει Σφιγγὸς εἰκῶν—ἃ δὲ ἐς τὴν Σφίγγα  
 λέγεται, γράψω προελθόντος ἐς τὰ Βοιωτιά μοι  
 τοῦ λόγου—, καθ' ἑκάτερον δὲ τοῦ κράνους γρύ-



made of silver, and an image of Earth beseeching  
 s to rain upon her; perhaps the Athenians them-  
 es needed showers, or may be all the Greeks had  
 a plagued with a drought. There also are set up  
 otheus the son of Conon and Conon himself;  
 me too, who has already made up her mind about  
 boy, and Itys as well—a group dedicated by Alca-  
 es. Athena is represented displaying the olive  
 it, and Poseidon the wave, and there are statues of  
 s, one made by Leochares<sup>1</sup> and one called Polieus  
 ban), the customary mode of sacrificing to whom I  
 give without adding the traditional reason thereof.  
 on the altar of Zeus Polieus they place barley mixed  
 wheat and leave it unguarded. The ox, which  
 keep already prepared for sacrifice, goes to the  
 and partakes of the grain. One of the priests  
 call the ox-slayer, who kills the ox and then,  
 ing aside the axe here according to the ritual,  
 away. The others bring the axe to trial, as  
 gh they know not the man who did the deed.  
 heir ritual, then, is such as I have described. As  
 enter the temple that they name the Parthenon,  
 the sculptures you see on what is called the  
 ment refer to the birth of Athena, those on the  
 pediment represent the contest for the land  
 een Athena and Poseidon. The statue itself is  
 e of ivory and gold. On the middle of her  
 et is placed a likeness of the Sphinx—the tale  
 e Sphinx I will give when I come to my descrip-  
 of Boeotia—and on either side of the helmet

<sup>1</sup> See p. 5.

- 6 πές εἰσιν ἐπειργασμένοι. τούτους τοὺς γρύπας ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσιν Ἀριστέας ὁ Προκοννήσιος μάχεσθαι περὶ τοῦ χρυσοῦ φησιν Ἀριμασποῖς τὸν ὑπὲρ Ἰσσηδόνων· τὸν δὲ χρυσόν, ὃν φυλάσσουσιν οἱ γρύπες, ἀνιέναι τὴν γῆν· εἶναι δὲ Ἀριμασποὺς μὲν ἄνδρας μονοφθαλμοὺς πάντας ἐκ γενετῆς, γρύπας δὲ θηρία λέουσιν εἰκασμένους· πτερὰ δὲ ἔχειν καὶ στόμα ἄετοῦ. καὶ γρυπῶν
- 7 μὲν περὶ τοσαῦτα εἰρήσθω· τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ ὀρθόν ἐστιν ἐν χιτῶνι ποδῆρει καὶ ὁ κατὰ τὸ στήρνον ἢ κεφαλὴ Μεδούσης ἐλέφαντός ἐστιν ἐμπεποιημένη· καὶ Νίκην τε ὅσον τεσσάρων πηχῶν, ἐν δὲ τῇ ἑτέρᾳ χειρὶ ὅδον ἔχει, καὶ ὁ πρὸς τοῖς ποσὶν ἀσπίς τε κεῖται καὶ πλησίον τῆς δόρατος δράκων ἐστίν· εἴη δ' ἂν Ἐριχθόνιος οὗτος ὁ δράκων. ἐστὶ δὲ τῷ βάθρῳ τοῦ ἀγάλματος ἐπειργασμένη Πανδώρας γένεσις. πεποιήται δὲ Ἡσιόδῳ τε καὶ ἄλλοις ὥς ἡ Πανδώρα γένοιτο αὐτῇ γυνὴ πρώτη· πρὶν δὲ ἡ γενέσθαι Πανδώρα· οὐκ ἦν πω γυναικῶν γένος. ἐνταῦθα εἰκόνα ἰδὼν οἶδα Ἀδριανοῦ βασιλέως μόνου, καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἔσοδον Ἰφικράτους ἀποδειξαμένου πολλά τε καὶ θαυμαστά ἔργα.
- 8 Τοῦ ναοῦ δὲ ἐστὶ πέραν Ἀπόλλων χαλκοῦν καὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα λέγουσι Φειδίαν ποιῆσαι· Παρ νόμιον δὲ καλοῦσιν, ὅτι σφίσι παρνόπων βλαπτόντων τὴν γῆν ἀποτρέψειν ὁ θεὸς εἶπεν ἐκ τῆς χώρας. καὶ ὅτι μὲν ἀπέτρεψεν ἴσασι, τρόπον οὐ λέγουσι ποίει· τρεῖς δὲ αὐτὸς ἤδη πάρνοπας Σιτυλοῦ τοῦ ὄρους οὐ κατὰ ταῦτα οἶδα φθαρέντα· ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν ἐξέωσε βίαιος ἐμπεσὼν ἀνεμ

<sup>1</sup> τῇ ἑτέρᾳ χειρὶ Walz.

are griffins in relief. These griffins, Aristæas<sup>1</sup> of Proconnesus says in his poem, fight for the gold with the Arimaspi beyond the Issedones. The gold which the griffins guard, he says, comes out of the earth; the Arimaspi are men all born with one eye; griffins are beasts like lions, but with the beak and wings of an eagle. I will say no more about the griffins. The statue of Athena is upright, with a tunic reaching to the feet, and on her breast the head of Medusa is worked in ivory. She holds a statue of Victory about four cubits high, and in the other hand a spear; at her feet lies a shield and near the spear is a serpent. This serpent would be Erichthonius. On the pedestal is the birth of Pandora in relief. Hesiod and others have sung how this Pandora was the first woman; before Pandora was born there was as yet no womankind. The only portrait statue I remember seeing here is one of the emperor Hadrian, and at the entrance one of Iphicrates,<sup>2</sup> who accomplished many remarkable achievements.

Opposite the temple is a bronze Apollo, said to be the work of Pheidias. They call it the Locust God, because once when locusts were devastating the land the god said that he would drive them from Attica. That he did drive them away they know, but they do not say how. I myself know that locusts have been destroyed three times in the past on Mount Sipylus, and not in the same way. Once a gale arose and swept them away; on another occa-

<sup>1</sup> An early Greek traveller and writer.

<sup>2</sup> A famous Athenian soldier. *B.* 390 B.C.

τοὺς δὲ ὕσαντος τοῦ θεοῦ καῦμα ἰσχυρὸν καθεῖλεν ἐπιλαβόν, οἱ δὲ αἰφνιδίῳ ῥίγῃ καταληφθέντες ἀπώλοντο.

XXV. Τοιαῦτα μὲν αὐτοῖς συμβαίνοντα εἶδον· ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῇ Ἀθηναίων ἀκροπόλει καὶ Περικλῆς ὁ Ξανθίππου καὶ αὐτὸς Ξάνθιππος, ὃς ἐνανμάχησεν ἐπὶ Μυκάλῃ Μήδοις. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν Περικλέους ἀνδριᾶς ἐτέρωθι ἀνάκειται, τοῦ δὲ Ξανθίππου πλησίον ἔστηκεν Ἀνακρέων ὁ Τήσιος, πρῶτος μετὰ Σαπφῶ τὴν Λεσβίαν τὰ πολλὰ ὧν ἔγραψεν ἐρωτικά ποιήσας· καὶ οἱ τὸ σχῆμά ἐστιν οἷον ἄδοντος ἂν ἐν μέθῃ γένοιτο ἀνθρώπου. γυναῖκας δὲ πλησίον Δεινομένης Ἰὼ τὴν Ἰνάχου καὶ Καλλιστῶ τὴν Λυκάονος πεποίηκεν, αἷς ἀμφοτέραις ἐστὶν ἐς ἅπαν ὁμοία διηγήματα ἔρος Διὸς καὶ Ἥρας ὀργὴ καὶ ἀλλαγὴ τῇ μὲν ἐς βοῦν, Καλλιστοῖ δὲ ἐς ἄρκτον.

- 2 Πρὸς δὲ τῷ τείχει τῷ Νοτίῳ γιγάντων, οἱ περὶ Θράκην ποτὲ καὶ τὸν ἰσθμὸν τῆς Παλλήνης ᾤκησαν, τούτων τὸν λεγόμενον πόλεμον καὶ μάχην πρὸς Ἀμαζόνας Ἀθηναίων καὶ τὸ Μαραθῶνι πρὸς Μήδους ἔργον καὶ Γαλατῶν τὴν ἐν Μυσίᾳ φθορὰν ἀνέθηκεν Ἀτταλος, ὅσον τε δύο πηχῶν ἕκαστον. ἔστηκε δὲ καὶ Ὀλυμπιόδωρος, μεγέθει τε ὧν ἔπραξε λαβὼν δόξαν καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα τῷ καιρῷ, φρόνημα ἐν ἀνθρώποις παρασχόμενος συνεχῶς ἐπταικόσι καὶ δι' αὐτὸ οὐδὲ ἐν
- 3 χρηστὸν οὐδὲ ἐς τὰ μέλλοντα ἐλπίζουσι. τὸ γὰρ ἀτύχημα τὸ ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ ἅπασιν τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν ἤρξε κακοῦ καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα δούλους ἐποίησε τοὺς ὑπεριδόντας καὶ ὅσοι μετὰ Μακεδόνων ἐτάχθη-



on violent heat came on after rain and destroyed them; the third time sudden cold caught them and they died.

XXV. Such were the fates I saw befall the locusts. On the Athenian Acropolis is a statue of Pericles, the son of Xanthippus, and one of Xanthippus himself, who fought against the Persians at the naval battle of Mycale. But that of Pericles stands apart, while near Xanthippus stands Anacreon of Teos, the first poet after Sappho of Lesbos to devote himself to love songs, and his posture is as it were that of a man singing when he is drunk. Deinomenes made the two female figures which stand near, Io, the daughter of Inachus, and Callisto, the daughter of Lycaon, of both of whom exactly the same story is told, to wit, love of Zeus, wrath of Hera, and metamorphosis, Io becoming a cow and Callisto a bear.

470 B.C.

fl. 400  
B.C.

By the south wall are represented the legendary war with the giants, who once dwelt about Thrace and on the isthmus of Pallene, the battle between the Athenians and the Amazons, the engagement with the Persians at Marathon and the destruction of the Gauls in Mysia.<sup>1</sup> Each is about two cubits, and all were dedicated by Attalus. There stands too Olympiodorus, who won fame for the greatness of his achievements, especially in the crisis when he displayed a brave confidence among men who had met with continuous reverses, and were therefore in despair of winning a single success in the days to come. For the disaster at Chaeronea was the beginning of misfortune for all the Greeks, and especially it enslave those who had been blind to the

338 B.C.

<sup>1</sup> See p. 23.

σαν. τὰς μὲν δὴ πολλὰς Φίλιππος τῶν πόλεων  
 εἶλεν, Ἀθηναίοις δὲ λόγῳ συνθέμενος ἔργῳ σφᾶς  
 μάλιστα ἐκάκωσε, νήσους τε ἀφελόμενος καὶ τῆς  
 ἐς τὰ ναυτικά παύσας ἀρχῆς. καὶ χρόνον μὲν  
 τινα ἡσύχασαν Ἀθηναῖοι Φιλίππου βασιλεύοντος  
 καὶ ὕστερον Ἀλεξάνδρου· τελευτήσαντος δὲ  
 Ἀλεξάνδρου Μακεδόνες μὲν βασιλεύειν εἶλοντο  
 Ἀριδαῖον, Ἀντιπάτρῳ δὲ ἐπετέτραπτο ἡ πᾶσα  
 ἀρχή, καὶ Ἀθηναίοις οὐκέτι ἀνεκτὰ ἐφαίνετο εἰ  
 τὸν πάντα χρόνον ἔσται ἐπὶ Μακεδόσι τὸ Ἑλ-  
 ληνικόν, ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ τε πολεμεῖν ὥρμητο καὶ  
 4 ἄλλους ἐς τὸ ἔργον ἡγείρου. ἐγένοντο δὲ αἱ  
 μετασχοῦσαι πόλεις Πελοποννησίων μὲν Ἀργεῖς  
 Ἐπίδauρος Σικυῶν Τροιζήν Ἡλείοι Φλιάσαι  
 Μεσσήνη, οἱ δὲ ἔξω τοῦ Κορινθίων ἰσθμοῦ Λοκροὶ  
 Φωκεῖς Θεσσαλοὶ Κάρυστος Ἀκαρνανες ἐς τὸ  
 Αἰτωλικὸν συντελοῦντες· Βοιωτοὶ δὲ Θηβαῖον  
 ἡρμηωμένην τὴν γῆν τὴν Θηβαίδα νεμόμενοι δέει  
 μὴ Θήβας αὖθις Ἀθηναῖοί σφισιν ἐποικίζωσιν  
 οὔτε ἐς τὴν συμμαχίαν ἐτάσσοντο καὶ ἐς ὅσον  
 5 ἦκου δυνάμεως τὰ Μακεδόνων ἠῆξον. τοὺς δὲ ἐς  
 τὸ συμμαχικὸν ταχθέντας κατὰ πόλεις τε ἐκά-  
 στους ἦγον στρατηγοὶ καὶ τοῦ παντὸς ἄρχων  
 ἦρῃτο Ἀθηναῖος Λεωσθένης πόλεώς τε ἀξιώματι  
 καὶ αὐτὸς εἶναι δοκῶν πολέμων ἔμπειρος. ὑπῆρχε  
 δέ οἱ καὶ πρὸς πάντας εὐεργεσία τοὺς Ἕλληνας·  
 ὅπόσοι γὰρ μισθοῦ παρὰ Δαρείῳ καὶ σατράπαις  
 ἐστρατεύοντο Ἕλληνες, ἀνοικίσαι σφᾶς ἐς τὴν  
 Περσίδα θελήσαντος Ἀλεξάνδρου Λεωσθένης

langer and such as had sided with Macedon. Most of their cities Philip captured; with Athens he nominally came to terms, but really imposed the severest penalties upon her, taking away the islands and putting an end to her maritime empire. For a time the Athenians remained passive, during the reign of Philip and subsequently of Alexander. But when on the death of Alexander the Macedonians chose Aridaeus to be their king, though the whole empire had been entrusted to Antipater, the Athenians now thought it intolerable if Greece should be for ever under the Macedonians, and themselves embarked on war besides inciting others to join them. The cities that took part were, of the Peloponnesians, Argos, Epidaurus, Sicyon, Troezen, the Eleans, the Phliasians, Messene; on the other side of the Corinthian isthmus the Locrians, the Phocians, the Thessalians, Carystus, the Acarnanians belonging to the Aetolian League. The Boeotians, who occupied the Thebaid territory now that there were no Thebans left to dwell there, in fear lest the Athenians should injure them by founding a settlement on the site of Thebes, refused to join the alliance and lent all their forces to furthering the Macedonian cause. Each city ranged under the alliance had its own general, but as commander-in-chief was chosen the Athenian Leosthenes, both because of the fame of his city and also because he had the reputation of being an experienced soldier. He had already proved himself a general benefactor of Greece. All the Greeks that were serving as mercenaries in the armies of Darius and his satraps Alexander had wished to report to Persia, but Leosthenes was too quick for

- ἔφθη κομίσας ναυσὶν ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην. καὶ δὴ  
 καὶ τότε ὦν ἐς αὐτὸν ἤλπισαν ἔργα λαμπρό-  
 τερα ἐπιδειξάμενος παρέσχεν ἀποθανὼν ἀθυμῆσαι  
 πᾶσι καὶ δι' αὐτὸ οὐχ ἤκιστα σφαλῆναι· φρουρά  
 τε Μακεδόνων ἐσήλθεν Ἀθηναίοις, οἱ Μουνυχίαν,  
 ὕστερον δὲ καὶ Πειραιᾶ καὶ τείχῃ μακρὰ ἔσχον.  
 6 Ἀντιπάτρου δὲ ἀποθανόντος Ὀλυμπιάς διαβάσα  
 ἐξ Ἡπείρου χρόνον μὲν τινα ἤρξεν ἀποκτείνασα  
 Ἀριδαῖον, οὐ πολλῶ δὲ ὕστερον ἐκπολιορκηθεῖσα  
 ὑπὸ Κασσάνδρου παρεδόθη τῷ πλήθει. Κασσαν-  
 δρος δὲ βασιλεύσας—τὰ δὲ ἐς Ἀθηναίους ἐπέ-  
 εις μοι μόνον ὁ λόγος—Πάνακτον τείχος ἐν τῇ  
 Ἀττικῇ καὶ Σαλαμῖνα εἶλε τύραννόν τε Ἀθηναί-  
 οισις ἔπραξε γενέσθαι Δημήτριον τὸν Φανοστρά-  
 τιν, δόξαν εἰληφότα ἐπὶ σοφία. τοῦτον μὲν δὴ  
 τυραννίδος ἔπαυσε Δημήτριος ὁ Ἀντιγόνην, νέον  
 τε ὦν καὶ φιλοτίμως πρὸς τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν δια-  
 7 κείμενος· Κασσανδρος δὲ—δεινὸν γάρ τι ὑπὴρ  
 οἱ μῖσος ἐς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους—, ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς Λα-  
 χάρην προεστηκότα ἐς ἐκεῖνο τοῦ δήμου, τοῦτον  
 τὸν ἄνδρα οἰκειωσάμενος τυραννίδα ἐπέισε βον-  
 λεύσαι, τυράννων ὦν ἴσμεν τά τε ἐς ἀνθρώπους  
 μάλιστα ἀνήμερον καὶ ἐς τὸ θεῖον ἀφειδέστατον.  
 Δημητρίῳ δὲ τῷ Ἀντιγόνην διαφορά μὲν ἦν ἐς  
 τὸν δῆμον ἤδη τῶν Ἀθηναίων, καθεῖλε δὲ ὅμως  
 καὶ τὴν Λαχάρην τυραννίδα· ἀλισκομένον δὲ τοῦ  
 τείχους ἐκδιδράσκει Λαχάρης ἐς Βοιωτούς, ἅτε  
 δὲ ἀσπίδας ἐξ ἀκροπόλεως καθελὼν χρυσᾶς καὶ  
 αὐτὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τὸ ἄγαλμα τὸν περιαιρετὸν  
 ἀποδύσας κόσμον ὑπωπτεύετο εὐπορεῖν μεγάλως  
 8 χρημάτων. Λαχάρην μὲν οὖν τούτων ἕνεκα



and brought them by sea to Europe. On this too his brilliant actions surpassed expectation, his death produced a general despair which was responsible for the defeat. A Macedonian was set over the Athenians, and occupied first Attica and afterwards Peiraeus also and the Long Walls. On the death of Antipater, Olympias came over to Peiraeus, killed Aridaeus, and for a time occupied the throne; but shortly afterwards she was besieged by Cassander, taken and delivered up to the people. The acts of Cassander when he came to the throne of Macedonia will deal only with such as concern the Athenians. He seized the fort of Panactum in Attica and Salamis, and established as tyrant in Athens Demetrius the son of Phanostratus, a man who had a reputation for wisdom. This tyrant was put down by Demetrius the son of Antigonus, a young man of strong Greek sympathies. But Cassander, driven by a deep hatred of the Athenians, made a use of Lachares, who up to now had been the champion, and induced him also to arrange a tyranny. We know no tyrant who proved so cruel and so impious to the gods. Although Demetrius the son of Antigonus was now at variance with the Athenian people, he notwithstanding deposed Lachares too from his tyranny, who, on the fall of the fortifications, escaped to Boeotia. Lachares took golden shields from the Acropolis, and carried even the statue of Athena of its removable pedestal; he was accordingly suspected of being an unhealthy man, and was murdered by some men of

322 B.C.

κτείνουσιν ἄνδρες Κορωναῖοι· Δημήτριος δὲ ὁ  
 Ἀντιγόνου τυράννων ἐλευθερώσας Ἀθηναίους τὸ  
 τε παραυτίκα μετὰ τὴν Λαχάρους φυγὴν οὐκ  
 ἀπέδωκέ σφίσι τὸν Πειραιᾶ καὶ ὕστερον πολέμῳ  
 κρατήσας ἐσήγαγεν ἐς αὐτὸ φρουρὰν τὸ ἄστυ, τὸ  
 Μουσεῖον καλούμενον τειχίσας. ἔστι δὲ ἐντὸς τοῦ  
 περιβόλου τοῦ ἀρχαίου τὸ Μουσεῖον ἀπαντικρὺ  
 τῆς ἀκροπόλεως λόφος, ἐνθα Μουσαῖον ᾄδειν  
 καὶ ἀποθανόντα γῆρα ταφῆναι λέγουσιν· ὕστερον  
 δὲ καὶ μνῆμα αὐτόθι ἀνδρὶ ᾠκοδομήθη Σύμφ.  
 τότε δὲ Δημήτριος τειχίσας εἶχε· XXVI. χρόνῳ  
 δὲ ὕστερον ἄνδρας ἐσήλθεν οὐ πολλοὺς μνημη-  
 τε προγόνων καὶ ἐς οἷαν μεταβολὴν τὸ ἀξί-  
 ωμα ἦκοι τῶν Ἀθηναίων, αὐτίκα τε ὡς εἶχον  
 αἰρούνται στρατηγὸν Ὀλυμπιόδωρον. ὁ δὲ σφᾶς  
 ἐπὶ τοὺς Μακεδόνας ἦγε καὶ γέροντας καὶ μει-  
 ράκια ὁμοίως, προθυμία πλέον ἢ ῥώμῃ κατορ-  
 θοῦσθαι τὰ ἐς πόλεμον ἐλπίζων· ἐπεξελθόντας δὲ  
 τοὺς Μακεδόνας μάχῃ τε ἐκράτησε καὶ φυγόντων  
 2 ἐς τὸ Μουσεῖον τὸ χωρίον εἶλεν. Ἀθῆναι μὲν  
 οὕτως ἀπὸ Μακεδόνων ἡλευθερώθησαν, Ἀθηναίων  
 δὲ πάντων ἀγωνισαμένων ἀξίως λόγου Λεωκρίτης  
 μάλιστα ὁ Πρωτάρχου λέγεται τόλμῃ χρήσασθαι  
 πρὸς τὸ ἔργον· πρῶτος μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος  
 ἀνέβη, πρῶτος δὲ ἐς τὸ Μουσεῖον ἐσήλατο, καὶ  
 οἱ πεσόντι ἐν τῇ μάχῃ τιμαὶ παρ' Ἀθηναίων καὶ  
 ἄλλαι γεγονῆσιν καὶ τὴν ἀσπίδα ἀνέθεσαν τῷ Δι-  
 τῷ Ἐλευθερίῳ, τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Λεωκρίτου καὶ τὸ  
 3 κατόρθωμα ἐπιγράψαντες. Ὀλυμπιόδωρ δὲ  
 τότε μὲν ἔστιν ἔργον μέγιστον χωρὶς τούτων ὡς  
 ἔπραξε Πειραιᾶ καὶ Μουνυχίαν ἀνασώσάμενος  
 ποιουνέμεν δὲ Μακεδόνων καταδρομὴν ἐς Ἐλε-

Coronea for the sake of this wealth. After freeing the Athenians from tyrants Demetrius the son of Antigonus did not restore the Peiraeus to them immediately after the flight of Lachares, but subsequently overcame them and brought a garrison even into the upper city, fortifying the place called the Museum. This is a hill right opposite the Acropolis within the old city boundaries, where legend says Musaeus used to sing, and, dying of old age, was buried. Afterwards a monument also was erected here to a Syrian. At the time to which I refer Demetrius fortified and held it. XXVI. But afterwards a few men called to mind their forefathers, and the contrast between their present position and the ancient glory of Athens, and without more ado forthwith elected Olympiodorus to be their general. He led them against the Macedonians, both the old men and the youths, and trusted for military success more to enthusiasm than to strength. The Macedonians came out to meet him, but he overcame them, pursued them to the Museum, and captured the position. So Athens was delivered from the Macedonians, and though all the Athenians fought memorably, Leocritus the son of Protarchus is said to have displayed most daring in the engagement. For he was the first to scale the fortification, and the first to rush into the Museum; and when he fell fighting, the Athenians did him great honour, dedicating his shield to Zeus of Freedom and inscribing on it the name of Leocritus and his exploit. This is the greatest achievement of Olympiodorus, not to mention his success in recovering Peiraeus and Munychia; and again, when the Macedonians were

288 B.C.

σίνα Ἐλευσινίους συντάξας ἐνίκα τοὺς Μακε-  
 δόνας. πρότερον δὲ ἐτι τούτων ἐσβαλόντος ἐς τὴν  
 Ἀττικὴν Κασσάνδρου πλεύσας Ὀλυμπιόδωρος  
 ἐς Αἰτωλίαν βοηθεῖν Αἰτωλοὺς ἔπεισε, καὶ τὸ  
 συμμαχικὸν τοῦτο ἐγένετο Ἀθηναίοις αἴτιον  
 μάλιστα διαφυγεῖν τὸν Κασσάνδρου πόλεμον.  
 Ὀλυμπιόδωρ δὲ τοῦτο μὲν ἐν Ἀθήναις εἰσὶν ἐν  
 τε ἀκροπόλει καὶ ἐν πρυτανείῳ τιμαί, τοῦτο δὲ ἐν  
 Ἐλευσίνι γραφή· καὶ Φωκέων οἱ Ἐλάτειαν  
 ἔχοντες χαλκοῦν Ὀλυμπιόδωρον ἐν Δελφοῖς  
 ἀνέθεσαν, ὅτι καὶ τούτοις ἤμυνεν ἀποστάσι  
 Κασσάνδρου.

4 Τῆς δὲ εἰκόνος πλησίον τῆς Ὀλυμπιόδωρον  
 χαλκοῦν Ἀρτέμιδος ἄγαλμα ἔστηκεν ἐπὶ κλησὶν  
 Λευκοφρύνης, ἀνέθεσαν δὲ οἱ παῖδες οἱ Θεμιστο-  
 κλέους· Μάγνητες γάρ, ὧν ἦρχε Θεμιστοκλῆς  
 λαβὼν παρὰ βασιλέως, Λευκοφρύνην Ἀρτεμι  
 ἄγουσιν ἐν τιμῇ.

Δεῖ δέ με ἀφικέσθαι τοῦ λόγου πρόσω, πάντα  
 ὁμοίως ἐπεξιόντα τὰ Ἑλληνικά. Ἐνδοῖος ἦν  
 γένος μὲν Ἀθηναῖος, Δαιδάλου δὲ μαθητής, ὅς  
 καὶ φεύγοντι Δαιδάλῳ διὰ τὸν Κάλῳ θάνατον  
 ἐπηκολούθησεν ἐς Κρήτην· τούτου καθήμενόν  
 ἐστὶν Ἀθηνᾶς ἄγαλμα, ἐπίγραμμα ἔχον ὡς Καλ-  
 5 λίας μὲν ἀναθείη, ποιήσῃ δὲ Ἐνδοῖος.—ἐστὶ δὲ  
 καὶ οἶκημα Ἐρέχθειον καλούμενον· πρὸ δὲ τῆς  
 ἐσόδου Διὸς ἐστὶ βωμὸς Ὑπάτου, ἐνθα ἐμψυχοι  
 θύουσιν οὐδὲν, πέμματα δὲ θέντες οὐδὲν ἐτι οἶνον  
 χρῆσασθαι νομίζουσιν. ἐσελθοῦσι δὲ εἰσι βωμοί.  
 Ποσειδῶνος, ἐφ' οὗ καὶ Ἐρεχθεὶ θύουσιν ἔκ του  
 μαντεύματος, καὶ ἥρωος Βούτου, τρίτος δὲ Ἡφαί-  
 στου· γραφαὶ δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν τοίχων τοῦ γένους εἰσι



aiding Eleusis he collected a force of Eleusinians and defeated the invaders. Still earlier than this, when Cassander had invaded Attica, Olympiodorus sailed to Aetolia and induced the Aetolians to help. This allied force was the main reason why the Athenians escaped war with Cassander. Olympiodorus has not only honours at Athens, both on the Acropolis and in the town hall, but also a portrait at Eleusis. The Phocians too of Elatea dedicated at Delphi a bronze statue of Olympiodorus for help in their revolt from Cassander.

— Near the statue of Olympiodorus stands a bronze image of Artemis surnamed Leucophryne, dedicated by the sons of Themistocles; for the Magnesians, whose city the King had given him to rule, hold Artemis Leucophryne in honour.

But my narrative must not loiter, as my task is a general description of all Greece. Endoeus was an Athenian by birth and a pupil of Daedalus, who also, when Daedalus was in exile because of the death of Calos, followed him to Crete. Made by him is a statue of Athena seated, with an inscription that Callias dedicated the image, but Endoeus made it. There is also a building called the Erechtheum. Before the entrance is an altar of Zeus the Most High, on which they never sacrifice a living creature, but offer cakes, not being wont to use any wine either. Inside the entrance are altars, one to Poseidon, on which in obedience to an oracle they sacrifice also to Erechtheus, the second to the hero Butes, and the third to Hephaestus. On the walls are paintings

A. 540  
B. C.

τοῦ Βουταδῶν καὶ—διπλοῦν γάρ ἐστι τὸ οἶκημα—ὕδωρ ἐστὶν ἐνδον θαλάσσιον ἐν φρέατι. τοῦτο μὲν θαῦμα οὐ μέγα· καὶ γὰρ ὅσοι μεσόγαιαν οἰκοῦσιν, ἄλλοις τε ἔστι καὶ Καρσὶν Ἀφροδισιεύσιν· ἀλλὰ τόδε τὸ φρέαρ ἐς συγγραφὴν παρέχεται κυμάτων ἤχον ἐπὶ νότῳ πνεύσαντι. καὶ τριαίνης ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ πέτρᾳ σχῆμα· ταῦτα δὲ λέγεται Ποσειδῶνι μαρτύρια ἐς τὴν ἀμφισβήτησιν τῆς χώρας φανῆναι.

- 6 Ἰερὰ μὲν τῆς Ἀθηνῶς ἐστὶν ἢ τε ἄλλη πόλις καὶ ἡ πᾶσα ὁμοίως γῇ—καὶ γὰρ ὅσοις θεοὺς καθέστηκεν ἄλλους ἐν τοῖς δήμοις σέβειν, οὐδέν τι ἦσσαν τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν ἄγουσιν ἐν τιμῇ—, τὸ δὲ ἀγιώτατον ἐν κοινῷ πολλοῖς πρότερον νομισθὲν ἔτεσιν ἢ συνῆλθον ἀπὸ τῶν δήμων ἐστὶν Ἀθηνῶς ἄγαλμα ἐν τῇ νῦν ἀκροπόλει, τότε δὲ ὀνομαζομένη πόλει· φήμη δὲ ἐς αὐτὸ ἔχει πεσεῖν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ ἐπέξειμι εἴτε οὕτως εἴτε ἄλλως ἔχει, λύχρον δὲ τῇ θεῷ χρυσοῦν
- 7 Καλλιμάχος ἐποίησεν· ἐμπλήσαντες δὲ ἐλαίου τὸν λύχρον τὴν αὐτὴν τοῦ μέλλοντος ἔτους ἀναμένουσιν ἡμέραν, ἔλαιον δὲ ἐκείνο τὸν μεταξὺ ἐπαρκεῖ χρόνον τῷ λύχνῳ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ καὶ νυκτὶ φαίνονται. καὶ οἱ λίνου Καρπασίου θρυαλλὶς ἔνεστιν, ὃ δὴ πυρὶ λίνου μόνον οὐκ ἔστιν ἀλώσιμον· φοῖνιξ δὲ ὑπὲρ τοῦ λύχνου χαλκοῦς ἀνῆκων ἐς τὸν ὄροφον ἀνασπᾷ τὴν ἀτμίδα. ὁ δὲ Καλλιμάχος ὁ τὸν λύχρον ποιήσας, ἀποδέων τῶν πρώτων ἐς αὐτὴν τὴν τέχνην, οὕτω σοφία πάντων ἐστὶν ἄριστος ὥστε καὶ λίθους πρώτος ἐτρύπησε καὶ ὄνομα ἔθετο κατατηξίτεχρον, ἢ θεμένων ἄλλων κατέστησεν ἐφ' αὐτῷ.

representing members of the clan Butadae ; there is also inside—the building is double—sea-water in a cistern. This is no great marvel, for other inland regions have similar wells, in particular Aphrodisias in Caria. But this cistern is remarkable for the noise of waves it sends forth when a south wind blows. On the rock is the outline of a trident. Legend says that these appeared as evidence in support of Poseidon's claim to the land.

Both the city and the whole of the land are alike sacred to Athena ; for even those who in their parishes have an established worship of other gods nevertheless hold Athena in honour. But the most holy symbol, that was so considered by all many years before the unification of the parishes, is the image of Athena which is on what is now called the Acropolis, but in early days the Polis (*City*). A legend concerning it says that it fell from heaven ; whether this is true or not I shall not discuss. A golden lamp for the goddess was made by Callimachus. Having filled the lamp with oil, they wait until the same day next year, and the oil is sufficient for the lamp during the interval, although it is alight both day and night. The wick in it is of Carpasian flax,<sup>1</sup> the only kind of flax which is fire-proof, and a bronze palm above the lamp reaches to the roof and draws off the smoke. The Callimachus who made the lamp, although not of the first rank of artists, was yet of unparalleled cleverness, so that he was the first to drill holes through stones, and gave himself the title of Refiner of Art, or perhaps others gave the title and he adopted it as his.

A. 400  
B.C. ?

<sup>1</sup> Probably asbestos.

XXVII. Κεῖται δὲ ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῆς Πολιάδος Ἑρμῆς ξύλου, Κέκροπος εἶναι λεγόμενον ἀνάθημα, ὑπὸ κλάδων μυρσίνης οὐ σύνοπτον. ἀναθήματα δὲ ὅποσα ἄξια λόγου, τῶν μὲν ἀρχαίων διήροιο ὀκλαδίας ἐστὶ Δαιδάλου ποίημα, λάφυρα δὲ ἀπὸ Μήδων Μασιστίου θώραξ, ὃς εἶχεν ἐν Πλαταιαῖς τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τῆς ἵππου, καὶ ἀκινάκης Μαρδορίου λεγόμενος εἶναι. Μασίστιον μὲν δὴ τελευτήσαντα ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων οἶδα ἱππέων Μαρδονίου δὲ μαχεσαμένου Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐναντία καὶ ὑπὸ ἀνδρὸς Σπαρτιάτου πεσόντος οὐδ' αὖ ὑπεδέξαντο ἀρχὴν οὐδὲ ἴσως Ἀθηναίοις παρήκαν φέρεσθαι.

2 Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὸν ἀκινάκην. περὶ δὲ τῆς ἐλαίας οὐδὲν ἔχουσιν ἄλλο εἰπεῖν ἢ τῇ θεῷ μαρτύριον γεινέσθαι τοῦτο ἐς τὸν ἀγῶνα τὸν ἐπὶ τῇ χώρᾳ· λέγουσι δὲ καὶ τάδε, κατακαυθῆναι μὲν τὴν ἐλαίαν, ἥνικα ὁ Μῆδος τὴν πόλιν ἐνέπρησεν Ἀθηναίοις, κατακαυθεῖσαν δὲ αὐθημερὸν ὅσον τέ ἐπὶ δύο βλαστῆσαι πῆχεις.

Τῷ ναῷ δὲ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς Πανδρόσου ναὸς συνεχρῆς ἐστὶ καὶ ἐστὶ Πάνδροσος ἐς τὴν παρακατα-

3 θῆκην ἀναίτιος τῶν ἀδελφῶν μόνη. ἃ δέ μοι θαυμάσαι μάλιστα παρέσχεν, ἐστὶ μὲν οὐκ ἐς ἅπαντας γνώριμα, γράψω δὲ οἷα συμβαίνει. παρθένου δύο τοῦ ναοῦ τῆς Πολιάδος οἰκοῦσιν οὐ πόρρω, καλοῦσι δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι σφᾶς ἀρρηφόρους· αὗται χρόνον μὲν τινα δίαιταν ἔχουσι παρὰ τῇ θεῷ, παραγενομένης δὲ τῆς ἐορτῆς δρῶσιν ἐν νυκτὶ τοιάδε. ἀναθεῖσαι σφισιν ἐπὶ τὰς κεφαλὰς ἃ ἢ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἱέρεια δίδωσι φέρειν, οὔτε ἡ διδοῦσα ὁποῖόν τι δίδωσιν εἰδυῖα οὔτε ταῖς φερούσαις ἐπισταμέναις—ἐστὶ δὲ περίβολος ἐν τῇ πόλει τῆς



XXVII. In the temple of Athena Polias (*Of the City*) is a wooden Hermes, said to have been dedicated by Cecrops, but not visible because of myrtle boughs. The votive offerings worth noting are, of the old ones, a folding chair made by Daedalus, Persian spoils, namely the breastplate of Masistius, who commanded the cavalry at Plataea, and a scimitar said to have belonged to Mardonius. Now Masistius I know was killed by the Athenian cavalry. But Mardonius was opposed by the Lacedaemonians and was killed by a Spartan; so the Athenians could not have taken the scimitar to begin with, and furthermore the Lacedaemonians would scarcely have suffered them to carry it off. About the olive they have nothing to say except that it was testimony the goddess produced when she contended for their land. Legend also says that when the Persians fired Athens the olive was burnt down, but on the very day it was burnt it grew again to the height of two cubits. 479 B.C.

Adjoining the temple of Athena is the temple of Pandrosus, the only one of the sisters to be faithful to the trust. I was much amazed at something which is not generally known, and so I will describe the circumstances. Two maidens dwell not far from the temple of Athena Polias, called by the Athenians Bearers of the Sacred Offerings. For a time they live with the goddess, but when the festival comes round they perform at night the following rites. Having placed on their heads what the priestess of Athena gives them to carry—neither she who gives nor they who carry have any knowledge what it is—the maidens descend by the natural underground passage that goes

καλουμένης ἐν Κήποις Ἀφροδίτης οὐ πόρρω καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ κάθοδος ὑπόγειος αὐτομάτη—, ταύτη κατίασιν αἱ παρθένοι. κάτω μὲν δὴ τὰ φερόμενα λείπουσιν, λαβοῦσαι δὲ ἄλλο τι κομίζουσιν ἐν κεκαλυμμένον· καὶ τὰς μὲν ἀφιαῖσιν ἤδη τὸ ἐν-  
 4 τεῦθεν, ἐτέρας δὲ ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν παρθένους ἄγουσιν ἀντ' αὐτῶν. πρὸς δὲ τῷ ναῷ τῆς Ἀθη-  
 νᾶς ἔστι μὲν εὐήρις<sup>1</sup> πρεσβύτις ὅσον τε πῆχυνος μάλιστα, φαμένη διάκονος εἶναι Λυσισμάχης, ἔστι δὲ ἀγάλματα μεγάλα χαλκοῦ διεστῶτες ἄνδρες ἐς μάχην· καὶ τὸν μὲν Ἐρεχθέα καλοῦσι, τὸν δὲ Εὐμόλπον· καίτοι λέληθέ γε οὐδὲ Ἀθηναίων ὅσοι τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἴσασιν, ἱμμάραδον εἶναι παῖδα Εὐ-  
 5 μόλπου τοῦτον τὸν ἀποθανόντα ὑπὸ Ἐρεχθέως· ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ βάθρου καὶ ἀνδριάντες εἰσὶ Θεαίνετος ὃς ἐμαντεύετο Τολμίδῃ καὶ αὐτὸς Τολμίδης, δὲ Ἀθηναίων ναυσὶν ἡγούμενος ἄλλους τε ἐκάκωσε καὶ Πελοποννησίων τὴν χώραν ὅσοι νέμονται τὴν παραλίαν, καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων ἐπὶ Γυθίῳ τὰ νεώρια ἐνέπρησε καὶ τῶν περιόικων Βοιᾶς εἰλὴ καὶ τὴν Κυθηρίων νῆσον· ἐς δὲ τὴν Σικυωνίαν ποιησάμενος ἀπόβασιν, ὥς οἱ δρῶντι τὴν γῆν ἐς μάχην κατέστησαν, τρεψάμενος σφᾶς κατεδίωξε πρὸς τὴν πόλιν. ὕστερον δὲ ὡς ἐπανῆλθεν ἐς Ἀθήνας, ἐσήγαγε μὲν ἐς Εὐβοίαν καὶ Νάξον Ἀθηναίων κληρούχους, ἐσέβαλε δὲ ἐς Βοιωτοὺς στρατῷ· πορθήσας δὲ τῆς γῆς τὴν πολλὴν καὶ παραστησάμενος πολιορκίᾳ Χαιρώνειαν, ὥς ἐς τὴν Ἀλιαρτίαν προῆλθεν, αὐτὸς τε μαχόμενος ἀπέθανε καὶ τὸ πᾶν ἤδη στράτευμα ἡττᾶτο. τὰ  
 6 μὲν ἐς Τολμίδην τοιαῦτα ἐπυνθανόμεν ὄντα. ἔστι

<sup>1</sup> The reading here is corrupt.

across the adjacent precincts, within the city, of Aphrodite in the Gardens. They leave down below what they carry, and receive something else which they bring back covered up. These maidens they henceforth let go free, and take up to the Acropolis others in their place. By the temple of Athena is . . . an old woman about a cubit high, the inscription calling her a handmaid of Lysimache, and large bronze figures of men facing each other for a fight, one of whom they call Erechtheus, the other Eumolpus; and yet those Athenians who are acquainted with antiquity must surely know that this victim of Erechtheus was Immaradus, the son of Eumolpus. On the pedestal are also statues of Theaenetus, who was seer to Tolmides, and of Tolmides himself, who when in command of the Athenian fleet inflicted severe damage upon the enemy, especially upon the Peloponnesians who dwell along the coast, burnt the dock-yards at Gythium and captured Boeae, belonging to the "provincials," and the island of Cythera. He made a descent on Sicynia, and, attacked by the citizens as he was laying waste the country, he put them to flight and chased them to the city. Returning afterwards to Athens, he conducted Athenian colonists to Euboea and Naxos and invaded Boeotia with an army. Having ravaged the greater part of the land and reduced Chaeronea by a siege, he advanced into the territory of Haliartus, where he was killed in battle and all his army worsted. Such was the history of Tolmides that I learnt. There are also old figures of Athena, no

447 B.C.

δὲ Ἀθηναῖς ἀγάλματα ἀρχαῖα· καὶ σφισιν ἀπε-  
τάκη μὲν οὐδέν, μελάντερά δὲ καὶ πληγὴν ἐνεγκύν  
ἐστὶν ἀσθενέστερα· ἐπέλαβε γὰρ καὶ ταῦτα ἡ  
φλόξ, ὅτε ἐσβεβηκότων ἐς τὰς ναῦς Ἀθηναίων  
Βασιλεὺς εἶλεν ἔρημον τῶν ἐν ἡλικίᾳ τὴν πόλιν.  
ἐστὶ δὲ συνὺς τε θήρα, περὶ οὗ σαφὲς οὐδὲν οἶδα εἰ  
τοῦ Καλυδωνίου, καὶ Κύκνος Ἡρακλεῖ μαχό-  
μενος· τοῦτον τὸν Κύκνον φασὶν ἄλλους τε φο-  
νεῦσαι καὶ Λύκον Θράκα προτεθέντων σφίσιν  
μονομαχίας ἄθλων, περὶ δὲ τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν  
Πηνειὸν ἀπέθανεν ὑφ' Ἡρακλέους.

- 7 Τῶν δὲ ἐν Τροίῳ λόγων, οὓς ἐς Θησέα λέ-  
γουσιν, ἐστὶν ὡς Ἡρακλῆς ἐς Τροίῳ ἐλθὼν  
παρὰ Πιτθέα καταθεῖτο<sup>1</sup> ἐπὶ τῷ δειπνῷ τοῦ  
λέοντος τὸ δέρμα, ἐσέλθοιεν δὲ παρ' αὐτὸν ἄλλοι  
τε Τροίῳ παῖδες καὶ Θησεὺς ἑβδομον μά-  
λιστα γεγονώς ἔτος· τοὺς μὲν δὴ λοιποὺς παῖδας,  
ὡς τὸ δέρμα εἶδον, φεύγοντάς φασιν οἴχεσθαι,  
Θησέα δὲ ὑπεξελθόντα οὐκ ἄγαν σὺν φόβῳ παρὰ  
τῶν διακόνων ἀρπάσαι πέλεκυν καὶ αὐτίκα ἐπιέ-  
ναι σπουδῇ,λέοντα εἶναι τὸ δέρμα ἡγούμενον.
- 8 ὁ δὲ μὲν τῶν λόγων πρῶτος ἐς αὐτὸν ἐστὶ Τροι-  
ζηνίσις· ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ τούτῳ, κρηπίδας Αἰγέα ὑπὸ  
πέτρα καὶ ξίφος θεῖναι γνωρίσματα εἶναι τῷ  
παιδί καὶ τὸν μὲν ἐς Ἀθήνας ἀποπλεῖν, Θησέα  
δέ, ὡς ἕκτον καὶ δέκατον ἔτος ἐγεγόνει, τὴν  
πέτραν ἀνώσαντα οἴχεσθαι τὴν παρακαταθήκην  
τὴν Αἰγέως φέροντα. τούτου δὲ εἰκὼν ἐν ἀκρο-  
πόλει πεποιήται τοῦ λόγου, χαλκοῦ πάντα ὁμοίως
- 9 πλὴν τῆς πέτρας· ἀνέθεσαν δὲ καὶ ἄλλο Θησεὺς  
ἔργον, καὶ ὁ λόγος οὕτως ἐς αὐτὸ ἔχει. Κρησι

<sup>1</sup> κατάθαιτο, emended by Porson.



abs of which indeed are missing, but they are rather weak and too fragile to bear a blow. For they too were burnt by the flames when the Athenians had gone on board their ships and the King captured the city emptied of its able-bodied inhabitants. There is also a boar-hunt (I do not know for certain whether it is the Calydonian boar) and Cynus fighting with Heracles. This Cynus is said to have killed, among others, Lycus a Thracian, a prize having been proposed for the winner of the duel, but near the river Peneius he was himself killed by Heracles.

One of the Troezenian legends about Theseus is the following. When Heracles visited Pittheus at Troezen, he laid aside his lion's skin to eat his dinner, and there came in to see him some Troezenian children with Theseus, then about seven years of age. The story goes that when they saw the skin the other children ran away, but Theseus slipped out not much afraid, seized an axe from the servants and straightway attacked the skin in earnest, thinking it to be a lion. This is the first Troezenian legend about Theseus. The next is that Aegeus placed boots and a sword under a rock as tokens for the child, and then sailed away to Athens; Theseus, when sixteen years old, pushed the rock away and departed, taking what Aegeus had deposited. There is a representation of his legend on the Acropolis, everything in bronze except the rock. Another deed of Theseus they have represented in an offering, and the story about it is as follows:—The land of the Cretans and especially that

τὴν τε ἄλλην γῆν καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ ποταμῷ Τει-  
 ταῦρος ἐλυμαίνεται. πάλαι δὲ ἄρα τὰ θ  
 φοβερώτερα ἦν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, ὥς ὅ τ' ἐν Ν  
 λέων καὶ ὁ Παρνάσσιος καὶ δράκοντες τῆς Ἑ  
 δος πολλαχοῦ καὶ ὅς περὶ τε Καλυδῶνα  
 Ἐρύμανθον καὶ τῆς Κορινθίας ἐν Κρομ  
 ὥστε καὶ ἐλέγετο τὰ μὲν ἀνέναι τὴν γῆν, τ  
 ὥς ἱερὰ εἶη θεῶν, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἐς τιμωρίαν ἀνθρ  
 ἀφείσθαι. καὶ τοῦτον οἱ Κρήτες τὸν ταῦρ  
 τὴν γῆν πέμψαι σφίσι Ποσειδῶνά φασι  
 θαλάσσης ἄρχων Μίνως τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς οὐ  
 Ποσειδῶνα ἤγεν ἄλλου θεοῦ μᾶλλον ἐν  
 10 κομισθῆναι μὲν δὴ τὸν ταῦρον τοῦτον φασ  
 Πελοπόννησον ἐκ Κρήτης καὶ Ἡρακλεῖ τῶν  
 δεκα καλουμένων ἓνα καὶ τοῦτον γενέσθαι  
 ἄθλον/ὥς δὲ ἐς τὸ πεδῖον ἀφείθη τὸ Ἄργ  
 φεύγει διὰ τοῦ Κορινθίου ἰσθμοῦ, φεύγει  
 γῆν τὴν Ἀττικὴν καὶ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐς δῆμον  
 Μαραθωνίων, καὶ ἄλλους τε ὁπόσοις ἐπέτυχ  
 Μίνω παῖδα Ἀνδρόγεω ἀπέκτεινε. Μίνω  
 νανσὶν ἐπ' Ἀθήνας πλεύσας—οὐ γὰρ ἐπε  
 ἀναιτίους εἶναι σφᾶς τῆς Ἀνδρόγεω τελευτή  
 τοσοῦτον ἐκάκωσεν, ἐς ὃ συνεχωρήθη οἱ πα  
 οὺς ἐς Κρήτην ἐπτά καὶ παῖδας ἴσους ἀγέ  
 λεγομένῳ Μίνω ταῦρ τὸν ἐν Κνωσσῷ Λ  
 ριθον οἰκῆσαι· τὸν δὲ ἐν τῷ Μαραθῶνι τε  
 ὕστερον Θησεὺς ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἐλάσαι  
 θῦσαι λέγεται τῇ θεῷ, καὶ τὸ ἀνάθημά ἐστι  
 δήμου τοῦ Μαραθωνίων.

XXVIII. Κύλωνα δὲ οὐδὲν ἔχω σαφὲς ε  
 ἐφ' ὅτῳ χαλκοῦν ἀνέθεσαν τυραννίδα ὁμῶς  
 λεύσαντα· τεκμαίρομαι δὲ τῶνδε ἕνεκα, ὅτι

by the river Tethris was ravaged by a bull. It would seem that in the days of old the beasts were much more formidable to men, for example the Nemean lion, the lion of Parnassus, the serpents in many parts of Greece, and the boars of Calydon, Erymanthus and Crommyon in the land of Corinth, so that it was said that some were sent up by the earth, that others were sacred to the gods, while others had been let loose to punish mankind. And so the Cretans say that this bull was sent by Poseidon to their land because, although Minos was lord of the Greek Sea, he did not worship Poseidon more than any other god. They say that this bull crossed from Crete to the Peloponnesus, and came to be one of what are called the Twelve Labours of Heracles. When he was let loose on the Argive plain he fled through the isthmus of Corinth, into the land of Attica as far as the Attic parish of Marathon, killing all he met, including Androgeos, son of Minos. Minos sailed against Athens with a fleet, not believing that the Athenians were innocent of the death of Androgeos, and sorely harassed them until it was agreed that he should take seven maidens and seven boys for the Minotaur that was said to dwell in the Labyrinth at Cnossus. But the bull at Marathon Theseus is said to have driven afterwards to the Acropolis and to have sacrificed to the goddess; the offering commemorating this deed was dedicated by the parish of Marathon.

XXVIII. Why they set up a bronze statue of Cylon, in spite of his plotting a tyranny, I cannot say for certain; but I infer that it was because he

κάλλιστος καὶ τὰ ἐς δόξαν ἐγένετο οὐκ ἀφανὴς  
 ἀνελόμενος διαύλου νίκην Ὀλυμπικὴν καὶ οἱ  
 θυγατέρα ὑπῆρξε γῆμαι Θεαγένους, ὃς Μεγάρων  
 2 ἐτυράννησε. χωρὶς δὲ ἡ ὅσα κατέλεξα δύο μὲν  
 Ἀθηναίους εἰσὶ δεκάται πολεμήσασιν, ἀγάλμα  
 Ἀθηνᾶς χαλκοῦν ἀπὸ Μήδων τῶν ἐς Μαραθῶνα  
 ἀποβάντων τέχνη Φειδίου—καὶ οἱ τὴν ἐπὶ τῇ  
 ἀσπίδος μάχην Λαπιθῶν πρὸς Κενταύρους καὶ  
 ὅσα ἄλλα ἐστὶν ἐπειργασμένα λέγουσι τορεῦσαι  
 Μῦν, τῷ δὲ Μυτ ταυτά τε καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν  
 ἔργων Παρράσιον καταγράφει τὸν Εὐήνορος  
 ταύτης τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἢ τοῦ δόρατος αἰχμὴ καὶ ὁ  
 λόφος τοῦ κράνους ἀπὸ Σουνίου προσπλέουσιν  
 ἐστὶν ἤδη σύνοπτα —, καὶ ἄρμα κεῖται χαλκοῦν  
 ἀπὸ Βοιωτῶν δεκάτη καὶ Χαλκιδέων τῶν ἐν  
 Εὐβοίᾳ. δύο δὲ ἄλλα ἐστὶν ἀναθήματα, Περι-  
 κλῆς ὁ Ξανθίππου καὶ τῶν ἔργων τῶν Φειδίου  
 3 θεᾶς μάλιστα ἄξιον Ἀθηνᾶς ἀγάλμα ἀπὸ τῶν  
 ἀναθέντων καλουμένης Λημνίας. τῇ δὲ ἀκρόπολει,  
 πλὴν ὅσον Κίμων ᾠκοδόμησεν αὐτῆς ὁ Μιλτιάδου,  
 περιβαλεῖν τὸ λοιπὸν λέγεται τοῦ τεύχους Πε-  
 λαγοῦς οἰκήσαντάς ποτε ὑπὸ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν  
 φασὶ γὰρ Ἀγρόλαν καὶ Ὑπέρβιον τοὺς οἰκοδο-  
 μήσαντας εἶναι. πυρθανόμενος δὲ οὔτινες ἦσαν  
 οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἐδυνάμην μαθεῖν ἢ Σικελούς τὸ ἐξ  
 ἀρχῆς ὄντας ἐς Ἀκαρνανίαν μετοικῆσαι.  
 4 Καταβᾶσι δὲ οὐκ ἐς τὴν κάτω πόλιν ἀλλ' ὅσον  
 ὑπὸ τὰ προπύλαια πηγὴ τε ὕδατός ἐστι καὶ  
 πλησίον Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερὸν ἐν σπηλαίῳ· Κρεοῦση  
 δὲ θυγατρὶ Ἐρεχθέως Ἀπόλλωνα ἐνταῦθα συγ-  
 γενέσθαι νομίζουσι.<sup>1</sup> . . . ὥς πεμφθεῖη Φιλιππί-

<sup>1</sup> Here there is a gap in the text.



was very beautiful to look upon, and of no undistinguished fame, having won an Olympian victory in the double foot-race, while he had married the daughter of Theagenes, tyrant of Megara. In addition to the works I have mentioned, there are two tithes dedicated by the Athenians after wars. There is first a bronze Athena, tithe from the Persians who landed at Marathon. It is the work of Pheidias, but the reliefs upon the shield, including the fight between Centaurs and Lapithae, are said to be from the chisel of Mys, for whom they say Parrhasius, the son of Evenor, designed this and the rest of his works. The point of the spear of this Athena and the crest of her helmet are visible to those sailing to Athens, as soon as Sunium is passed. Then there is a bronze chariot, tithe from the Boeotians and the Chalcidians in Euboea. There are two other offerings, a statue of Pericles, the son of Xanthippus, and the best worth seeing of the works of Pheidias, the statue of Athena called Lemnian after those who dedicated it. All the Acropolis is surrounded by a wall; a part was constructed by Cimon, son of Miltiades, but all the rest is said to have been built round it by the Pelasgians, who once lived under the Acropolis. The builders, they say, were Agrolas and Hyperbius. On inquiring who they were I could discover nothing except that they were Sicilians originally who emigrated to Acarnania. X

On descending, not to the lower city, but to just beneath the Gateway, you see a fountain and near it a sanctuary of Apollo in a cave. It is here that Apollo is believed to have met Creüsa, daughter of Erechtheus. . . . when the Persians had landed in

A. 420  
B.C.

C. 507  
B.C.

- δης ἐς Λακεδαίμονα ἄγγελος ἀποβεβηκότων Μή-  
 δων ἐς τὴν γῆν, ἐπανήκων δὲ Λακεδαιμονίους  
 ὑπερβαλέσθαι φαίη τὴν ἔξοδον, εἶναι γὰρ δὴ  
 νόμον αὐτοῖς μὴ πρότερον μαχουμένους ἐξίεναι  
 πρὶν ἢ πλήρη τὸν κύκλον τῆς σελήνης γεnéσθαι  
 τὸν δὲ Πᾶνα ὁ Φιλιππίδης ἔλεγε περὶ τὸ ὅρος  
 ἐντυχόντα οἱ τὸ Παρθένιον φάναι τε ὡς εὖνους  
 Ἀθηναίοις εἶη καὶ ὅτι ἐς Μαραθῶνα ἤξει συμ-  
 μαχήσων. οὗτος μὲν οὖν ὁ θεὸς ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ  
 5 ἀγγελίᾳ τετίμηται. ἔστι δὲ Ἀρείος πάγος καλού-  
 μενος, ὅτι πρῶτος Ἀρης ἐνταῦθα ἐκρίθη, καὶ μοι  
 καὶ ταῦτα δεδήλωκεν ὁ λόγος ὡς Ἀλιρρόθιον  
 ἀνέλοι καὶ ἐφ' ὅτῳ κτείνει. κριθῆναι δὲ καὶ  
 ὕστερον Ὀρέστην λέγουσιν ἐπὶ τῷ φόνῳ τῆς  
 μητρὸς καὶ βωμός ἐστιν Ἀθηναῖς Ἀρείας, ὃν  
 ἀνέθηκεν ἀποφυγῶν τὴν δίκην. τοὺς δὲ ἀργούς  
 λίθους, ἐφ' ὧν ἐστᾶσιν ὅσοι δίκας ὑπέχουσι καὶ  
 οἱ διώκοντες, τὸν μὲν Ὑβρεως τὸν δὲ Ἀναιδείας  
 αὐτῶν ὀνομάζουσι.
- 6 Πλησίον δὲ ἱερὸν θεῶν ἐστὶν ἃς καλοῦσιν Ἀθη-  
 ναῖοι Σεμνάς, Ἡσιόδος δὲ Ἐρινὺς ἐν Θεογονίᾳ.  
 πρῶτος δὲ σφισιν Αἰσχύλος δράκοντας ἐποίησεν  
 ὁμοῦ ταῖς ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ θριξὶν εἶναι· τοῖς δὲ  
 ἀγάλμασιν οὔτε τούτοις ἔπεστιν οὐδὲν φοβερὸν  
 οὔτε ὅσα ἄλλα κεῖται θεῶν τῶν ὑπογαίων. κεῖται  
 - δὲ καὶ Πλούτων καὶ Ἑρμῆς καὶ Γῆς ἀγάλμα-  
 ἐνταῦθα θύουσι μὲν ὅσοις ἐν Ἀρείῳ πάγῳ τὴν  
 αἰτίαν ἐξεγένετο ἀπολύσασθαι, θύουσι δὲ καὶ  
 7 ἄλλως ξένοι τε ὁμοίως καὶ ἀστοί. ἔστι δὲ καὶ  
 ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου μνῆμα Οἰδίποδος, πολυ-  
 πραγμονῶν δὲ εὗρισκον τὰ ὅστ' ἀκ' Θηβῶν  
 κομισθέντα· τὰ γὰρ ἐς τὸν θάνατον Σοφοκλεῖ

Attica Philippides was sent to carry the tidings to Lacedaemon. On his return he said that the Lacedaemonians had postponed their departure, because it was their custom not to go out to fight before the moon was full. Philippides went on to say that near Mount Parthenius he had been met by Pan, who told him that he was friendly to the Athenians and would come to Marathon to fight for them. This deity, then, has been honoured for this announcement. There is also the Hill of Ares, so named because Ares was the first to be tried here; my narrative has already told that he killed Halirrhothius, and what were his grounds for this act. Afterwards, they say, Orestes was tried for killing his mother, and there is an altar to Athena Areia (*Warlike*), which he dedicated on being acquitted. The unhewn stones on which stand the defendants and the prosecutors, they call the stone of Outrage and the stone of Ruthlessness.

Hard by is a sanctuary of the goddesses which the Athenians call the August, but Hesiod in the *Theogony*<sup>1</sup> calls them Erinyes (*Furies*). It was Aeschylus who first represented them with snakes in their hair. But on the images neither of these nor of any of the under-world deities is there anything terrible. There are images of Pluto, Hermes, and Earth, by which sacrifice those who have received an acquittal on the Hill of Ares; sacrifices are also offered on other occasions by both citizens and aliens. Within the precincts is a monument to Oedipus, whose bones, after diligent inquiry, I found were brought from Thebes. The

<sup>1</sup> l. 185.

πεποιημένα τὸν Οἰδίποδος Ὅμηρος οὐκ εἶα μοι  
δόξαι πιστά, ὃς ἔφη Μηκιστέα τελευτήσαντος  
Οἰδίποδος ἐπιτάφιον ἐλθόντα ἐς Θήβας ἀγωνί-  
σασθαι.

- 8 Ἔστι δὲ Ἀθηναίοις καὶ ἄλλα δικαστήρια οὐκ  
ἐς τοσοῦτο δόξης ἦκοντα. τὸ μὲν οὖν καλούμενον  
παράβυστον καὶ τρίγωνον, τὸ μὲν ἐν ἀφανεί τῆς  
πόλεως ὃν καὶ ἐπ' ἐλαχίστοις συνιόντων ἐς  
αὐτό, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ σχήματος ἔχει τὸ ὄνομα·  
βατραχιοῦν δὲ καὶ φοινικιοῦν ἀπὸ χρωμάτων  
καὶ ἐς τόδε διαμεμένηκεν ὀνομάζεσθαι. τὸ δὲ  
μέγιστον καὶ ἐς ὃ πλείστοι συνίασιν, ἡλιαῖαν  
καλοῦσιν. ὅποσα δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς φονεύσιν, ἔστιν  
ἄλλα· καὶ ἐπὶ Παλλαδίῳ καλοῦσι καὶ τοῖς ἀπο-  
κτεῖναισιν ἀκουσίως κρίσις καθέστηκε. καὶ ὅτι  
μὲν Δημοφῶν πρῶτος ἐνταῦθα ὑπέσχεε δίκας,  
ἀμφισβητοῦσιν οὐδένες· ἐφ' ὧν δέ, διάφορα ἐς  
9 τοῦτο εἴρηται. Διομήδην φασὶν ἀλούσης Ἰλίου  
ταῖς ναυσὶν ὀπίσω κομίζεσθαι, καὶ ἤδη τε νύκτα  
ἐπέχειν ὡς κατὰ Φάληρον πλέοντες γίνονται  
καὶ τοὺς Ἀργεῖους ὡς ἐς πολεμίαν ἀποβῆναι  
τὴν γῆν, ἄλλην που δόξαντας ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ καὶ οὐ  
τὴν Ἀττικὴν εἶναι. ἐνταῦθα Δημοφῶντα λέγου-  
σιν ἐκβοηθήσαντα, οὐκ ἐπιστάμενον οὐδὲ τούτων  
τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν ὡς εἰσὶν Ἀργεῖοι, καὶ ἄνδρας  
αὐτῶν ἀποκτεῖναι καὶ τὸ Παλλάδιον ἀρπάσαντα  
οἰχεσθαι, Ἀθηναῖον τε ἄνδρα οὐ προιδόμενον  
ὑπὸ τοῦ ἵππου τοῦ Δημοφῶντος ἀνατραπήναι καὶ  
συμπατηθέντα ἀποθανεῖν· ἐπὶ τούτῳ Δημοφῶντα  
ὑποσχεῖν δίκας οἱ μὲν τοῦ συμπατηθέντος τοῖς  
προσηκουσιν, οἱ δὲ Ἀργεῖων φασὶ τῷ κοινῷ.  
10 ἐπὶ Δελφινίῳ δὲ κρίσις καθέστηκεν ἐργάσασθαι



account of the death of Oedipus in the drama of Sophocles I am prevented from believing by Homer, who says that after the death of Oedipus Mecisteus came to Thebes and took part in the funeral games.

The Athenians have other law courts as well, which are not so famous. We have the Parabystrum (*Thrust aside*) and the Triangle; the former is in an obscure part of the city, and in it the most trivial cases are tried; the latter is named from its shape. The names of Green Court and Red Court, due to their colours, have lasted down to the present day. The largest court, to which the greatest numbers come, is called Heliaca. One of the other courts that deal with bloodshed is called "At Palladium," into which are brought cases of involuntary homicide. All are agreed that Demophon was the first to be tried here, but as to the nature of the charge accounts differ. It is reported that after the capture of Troy Diomedes was returning home with his fleet when night overtook them as in their voyage they were off Phalerum. The Argives landed, under the impression that it was hostile territory, the darkness preventing them from seeing that it was Attica. Thereupon they say that Demophon, he too being unaware of the facts and ignorant that those who had landed were Argives, attacked them and, having killed a number of them, went off with the Palladium. An Athenian, however, not seeing before him in the dark, was knocked over by the horse of Demophon, trampled upon and killed. Whereupon Demophon was brought to trial, some say by the relatives of the man who was trampled upon, others say by the Argive commonwealth. At Delphinium are tried

φόνον σὺν τῷ δικαίῳ φασμένοις, ὁποῖόν τι καὶ  
Θησεὺς παρεχόμενος ἀπέφυγεν, ὅτε Πάλλαντα  
ἐπαναστάντα καὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἔκτεινε· πρότερον  
δὲ πρὶν ἢ Θησεὺς ἀφείθη, καθειστήκει πᾶσι φεύ-  
γειν κτείναντα ἢ κατὰ ταῦτ' ἀνιήσκειν μένοντα.  
τὸ δὲ ἐν πρυτανείῳ καλούμενον, ἔνθα τῷ σιδήρῳ  
καὶ πᾶσιν ὁμοίως τοῖς ἀψύχοις δικάζουσιν, ἐπὶ  
τῷδε ἄρξασθαι νομίζω. Ἀθηναίων βασιλεύοντος  
Ἐρεχθέως, τότε πρῶτον βοῦν ἔκτεινεν ὁ Βουφῶνας  
ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ τοῦ Πολιέως Διός· καὶ ὁ μὲν  
ἀπολιπὼν ταύτῃ τὸν πέλεκυν ἀπῆλθεν ἐκ τῆς  
χωράς φεύγων, ὁ δὲ πέλεκυς παραντίκα ἀφείθη.  
11 κριβεῖς καὶ ἐς τόδε ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος κρίνεται. λέγε-  
ται μὲν δὴ καὶ ἄλλα τῶν ἀψύχων αὐτόματα  
ἐπιθεῖναι σὺν τῷ δικαίῳ τιμωρίαν ἀνθρώπων  
ἔργον δὲ κάλλιστον καὶ δόξῃ φανερώτατον  
Καμβύσου παρέσχετο ἀκινάκης. ἔστι δὲ τοῦ  
Πειραιῶς πρὸς θαλάσσην Φρεαττύς· ἐνταῦθα  
οἱ πεφευγότες, ἦν ἀπελθόντας ἕτερον ἐπιλάβ-  
σφας ἐγκλημα, πρὸς ἀκρωμένους ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἀπ-  
νεῶς ἀπολογούνται· Τεῦκρον πρῶτον λόγος ἔχει  
Τελαμῶνι οὕτως ἀπολογήσασθαι μηδὲν ἐς τὸ  
Αἴαντος θάνατον εἰργάσθαι. τάδε μὲν οὖν εἰρη-  
σθῶ μοι τῶνδε ἕνεκα, ὁπόσοις μέτεστι σπουδῇ  
γινῶναι τὰ ἐς τὰ δικαστήρια· XXIX. τοῦ δὲ  
Ἀρείου πάγου πλησίον δέκνυται ναὺς ποιηθεῖσα  
ἐς τὴν τῶν Παναθηναίων πομπήν. καὶ ταύτην  
μὲν ἤδη πού τις ὑπερεβάλετο· τὸ δὲ ἐν Δῆλῳ  
πλοῖον οὐδένα πω νικήσαντα οἶδα, καθήκον δὲ  
ἐννέα ἐρέτας ἀπὸ τῶν καταστρωμάτων.

<sup>1</sup> ἀφείθη ἐς θάλασσαν Hitzig.

those who claim that they have committed justifiable homicide, the plea put forward by Theseus when he was acquitted, after having killed Pallas, who had risen in revolt against him, and his sons. Before Theseus was acquitted it was the established custom among all men for the shedder of blood to go into exile, or, if he remained, to be put to a similar death. The Court in the Prytaneum, as it is called, where they try iron and all similar inanimate things, had its origin, I believe, in the following incident. It was when Erechtheus was king of Athens that the ox-slayer first killed an ox at the altar of Zeus Polieus. Leaving the axe where it lay he went out of the land into exile, and the axe was forthwith tried and acquitted, and the trial has been repeated year by year down to the present. Furthermore, it is also said that inanimate objects have on occasion of their own accord inflicted righteous retribution upon men, of this the scimitar of Cambyses affords the best and most famous instance.<sup>1</sup> Near the sea at the Peiraeus is Phreattys. Here it is that men in exile, when a further charge has been brought against them in their absence, make their defence on a ship while the judges listen on land. The legend is that Teucer first defended himself in this way before Telamon, urging that he was guiltless in the matter of the death of Ajax. Let this account suffice for those who are interested to learn about the law courts. XXIX. Near the Hill of Ares is shown a ship built for the procession of the Panathenaea. This ship, I suppose, has been surpassed in size by others, but I know of no builder who has beaten the vessel at Delos, with its nine banks of oars below the deck.

<sup>1</sup> See Herodotus iii. 64.

- 2 Ἀθηναίοις δὲ καὶ ἔξω πόλεως ἐν τοῖς δήμοις καὶ κατὰ τὰς ὁδοὺς θεῶν ἔστιν ἱερὰ καὶ ἡρώων καὶ ἀνδρῶν τάφοι· ἐγγυτάτῳ δὲ Ἀκαδημία, χωρίου ποτὲ ἀνδρὸς ἰδιώτου, γυμνάσιον δὲ ἐπ' ἐμοῦ· κατιοῦσι δ' ἐς αὐτὴν περίβολός ἐστιν Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ ξόανα Ἀρίστης καὶ Καλλίστης· ὥς μὲν ἐγὼ δοκῶ καὶ ὁμολογεῖ τὰ ἔπη τὰ Πάμφῳ, τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος εἰσιν ἐπικλήσεις αὐται, λεγόμενον δὲ καὶ ἄλλον ἐς αὐτὰς λόγον εἰδὼς ὑπερβήσομαι. καὶ ναὸς οὐ μέγας ἐστίν, ἐς δὲ τοῦ Διονύσου τοῦ Ἐλευθερέως τὸ ἄγαλμα ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος κομίζουσιν
- 3 ἐν τεταγμέναις ἡμέραις. ἱερὰ μὲν σφισι ταύτη τοσαυτὰ ἔστι, τάφοι δὲ Θρασυβούλου μὲν πρῶτον τοῦ Λύκου, ἀνδρὸς τῶν τε ὕστερον καὶ ὅσοι πρὸ αὐτοῦ γεγονάσιν Ἀθηναίοις λόγιμοι τὰ πάντα ἀρίστου—παρέντι δέ μοι τὰ πλείω τοσάδε ἐς πίστιν ἀρκέσει τοῦ λόγου· τυραννίδα γὰρ ἔπαιψε τῶν τριάκοντα καλουμένων σὺν ἀνδράσιν ἐξήκοντα τὸ κατ' ἀρχὰς ὀρμηθεὶς ἐκ Θηβῶν, καὶ Ἀθηναίους στασιάζοντας διαλλαγῆναι καὶ συνθεμένους ἔπεισε μείναι—, πρῶτος μὲν ἔστιν οὗτος τάφος, ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτῷ Περικλέους τε καὶ Χαβρίου
- 4 καὶ Φορμίωνος. ἔστι δὲ καὶ πᾶσι μνήμα Ἀθηναίοις ὁπόσοις ἀποθανεῖν συνέπεσεν ἐν τε ναυμαχίαις καὶ ἐν μάχαις πεζαῖς πλὴν ὅσοι Μαραθῶνι αὐτῶν ἡγωνίσαντο· τούτοις γὰρ κατὰ χώραν εἰσὶν οἱ τάφοι δι' ἀνδραγαθίαν, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν κεῖνται τὴν ἐς Ἀκαδημίαν, καὶ σφῶν ἐστᾶσιν ἐπὶ τοῖς τάφοις στῆλαι τὰ ὀνόματα καὶ τὸν δῆμον



Outside the city, too, in the parishes and on the roads, the Athenians have sanctuaries of the gods, and graves of heroes and of men. The nearest is the Academy, once the property of a private individual, but in my time a gymnasium. As you go down to it you come to a precinct of Artemis, and wooden images of Ariste (*Best*) and Calliste (*Fairest*). In my opinion, which is supported by the poems of Pamphos, these are surnames of Artemis. There is another account of them, which I know but shall omit. Then there is a small temple, into which every year on fixed days they carry the image of Dionysus Eleuthereus. Such are their sanctuaries here, and of the graves the first is that of Thrasybulus son of Lycus, in all respects the greatest of all famous Athenians, whether they lived before him or after him. The greater number of his achievements I shall pass by, but the following facts will suffice to bear out my assertion. He put down what is known as the tyranny of the Thirty, setting out from Thebes with a force amounting at first to sixty men; he also persuaded the Athenians, who were torn by factions, to be reconciled, and to abide by their compact. His is the first grave, and after it come those of Pericles, Chabrias<sup>1</sup> and Phormio.<sup>2</sup> There is also a monument for all the Athenians whose fate it has been to fall in battle, whether at sea or on land, except such of them as fought at Marathon. These, for their valour, have their graves on the field of battle, but the others lie along the road to the Academy, and on their graves stand slabs bearing

408 B.C.

<sup>1</sup> Died 357 B.C.

<sup>2</sup> A famous Athenian admiral who fought well in the early part of the Peloponnesian War.

ἐκάστου λέγουσαι. πρῶτοι δὲ ἐτάφησαν οὓς ἐν  
Θράκῃ ποτὲ ἐπικρατοῦντας μέχρι Δραβησκού  
τῆς χώρας Ἡδωνοὶ φονεύουσιν ἀνέλπιστοι ἐπι-  
θεμενοι· λέγεται δὲ καὶ ὡς κεραυνοὶ πέσοιεν ἐς  
5 αὐτούς. στρατηγοὶ δὲ ἄλλοι τε ἦσαν καὶ Λέα-  
γρος, ᾧ μάλιστα ἐπετέτραπτο ἡ δύναμις, καὶ  
Δεκελεύς Σωφάνης, ὃς τὸν Ἀργεῖον ποτε πέντ-  
αθλον Νεμείων ἀνηρημένον νίκην ἀπέκτεινεν Εὐ-  
ρυβάτην βοηθοῦντα Αἰγινήταις. στρατὸν δὲ ἔξω  
τῆς Ἑλλάδος Ἀθηναῖοι τρίτον τοῦτον ἔστειλαν.  
Πριάμῳ μὲν γὰρ καὶ Τρωσὶ πάντες Ἕλληνες ἀπὸ  
κοινοῦ λόγου κατέστησαν ἐς πόλεμον, Ἀθηναῖοι  
δὲ ἰδία μετ' Ἰολάου τε ἐς Σαρδῶν καὶ δευτέραν ἐς  
τὴν νῦν Ἰωνίαν ἐστράτευσαν καὶ τρίτον δὴ τότε  
6 ἐς τὴν Θράκην. ἔστι δὲ ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ μνήματος  
στήλη μαχομένους ἔχουσα ἱππεῖς· Μελάνωπός  
σφισὶν ἐστὶ καὶ Μακάρτατος ὀνόματα, οὓς κατέ-  
λαβεν ἀποθανεῖν ἐναντία Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ  
Βοιωτῶν τεταγμένους, ἔνθα τῆς Ἑλεωνίας εἰς  
χώρας πρὸς Ταναγραίους ὄροι. καὶ Θεσσαλῶν  
τάφος ἐστὶν ἱππέων κατὰ παλαιὰν φιλίαν ἐλθόν-  
των, ὅτε σὺν Ἀρχιδάμῳ Πελοποννήσιοι πρῶτον  
ἐσέβαλον ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν στρατιᾷ, καὶ πλησίον  
τοξόταις Κρησί· αὐθις δὲ ἐστὶν Ἀθηναίων μνή-  
ματα Κλεισθένους, ᾧ τὰ ἐς τὰς φυλάς αἱ νῦν  
καθεστᾶσιν εὐρέθη, καὶ ἱππεῦσιν ἀποθανούσιν  
7 ἠνίκά συνεπελάβοντο οἱ Θεσσαλοὶ τοῦ κινδύνου.  
ἐνταῦθα καὶ Κλεωναῖοι κεῖνται, μετὰ Ἀργείων ἐς  
τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐλθόντες· ἐφ' ὅτῳ δέ, γράψω τοῦ  
λόγου μοι κατελθόντος ἐς τοὺς Ἀργεῖους. καὶ

the name and parish of each. First were buried those who in Thrace, after a victorious advance as far as Drabescus, were unexpectedly attacked by the Edonians and slaughtered. There is also a legend that they were struck by lightning. Among the generals were Leagrus, to whom was entrusted chief command of the army, and Sophanes of Decelea, who killed when he came to the help of the Aeginetans Eurybates the Argive, who won the prize in the *pentathlon*<sup>1</sup> at the Nemean games. This was the third expedition which the Athenians dispatched out of Greece. For against Priam and the Trojans war was made with one accord by all the Greeks; but by themselves the Athenians sent armies, first with Iolaus to Sardinia, secondly to what is now Ionia, and thirdly on the present occasion to Thrace. Before the monument is a slab on which are horsemen fighting. Their names are Melanopus and Macartatus, who met their death fighting against the Lacedaemonians and Boeotians on the borders of Eleon and Tanagra. There is also a grave of Thessalian horsemen who, by reason of an old alliance, came when the Peloponnesians with Archidamus invaded Attica with an army for the first time, and hard by that of Cretan bowmen. Again there are monuments to Athenians: to Cleisthenes, who invented the system of the tribes at present existing, and to horsemen who died when the Thessalians shared the fortune of war with the Athenians. Here too lie the men of Cleone, who came with the Argives into Attica; the occasion whereof I shall set forth when in the course of my narrative I come to the Argives. There is also the

c. 465  
B.C.

481 B.C.

608 B.C.

457 B.C.

<sup>1</sup> A group of five contests: leaping, foot-racing, throwing the quoit, throwing the spear, wrestling.

- Ἀθηναίων δ' ἔστι τάφος, οἱ πρὶν ἢ στρατεῦσαι  
 τὸν Μῆδον ἐπολέμησαν πρὸς Αἰγινήτας. ἦν δὲ  
 ἄρα καὶ δῆμον δίκαιον βούλημα, εἰ δὴ καὶ  
 Ἀθηναῖοι μετέδωκαν δούλοις δημοσίᾳ ταφῆναι  
 καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα ἐγγραφῆναι στήλῃ· δηλοῖ δὲ  
 ἀγαθοὺς σφᾶς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ γενέσθαι περὶ τοῖς  
 δεσπότας. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἀνδρῶν μνήματα ἄλλων,  
 διάφορα δὲ σφισι τὰ χωρία τῶν ἀγώνων· καὶ γὰρ  
 τῶν ἐπ' Ὀλυνθον ἐλθόντων οἱ δοκιμώτατοι καὶ  
 Μελήσανδρος ἐς τὴν ἄνω Καρίαν ναυσὶν ἀνα-  
 8 πλεύσας διὰ τοῦ Μαιάνδρου, ἐτάφησαν δὲ καὶ οἱ  
 τελευτήσαντες πολεμοῦντος Κασσάνδρου καὶ οἱ  
 συμμαχήσαντές ποτε Ἀργείων. πραχθῆναι δὲ  
 οὕτω σφίσι τὴν πρὸς Ἀργείους λέγουσι συμ-  
 μαχίαν· Λακεδαιμονίοις τὴν πόλιν τοῦ θεοῦ  
 σείσαντος οἱ εἴλωτες ἐς Ἰθώμην ἀπέστησαν,  
 ἀφεστηκότων δὲ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι βοηθοὺς καὶ  
 ἄλλους καὶ παρὰ Ἀθηναίων μετεπέμποντο· οἱ  
 δὲ σφισιν ἐπιλέκτους ἄνδρας ἀποστέλλουσι καὶ  
 στρατηγὸν Κίμωνα τὸν Μιλτιάδου. τούτους  
 ἀποπέμπουσιν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πρὸς ὑποψίαν·  
 9 Ἀθηναίοις δὲ οὐκ ἀνεκτὰ ἐφαίνετο περιυβρίσθαι,  
 καὶ ὥς ἐκομίζοντο ὀπίσω συμμαχίαν ἐποίησαντο  
 Ἀργείοις Λακεδαιμονίων ἐχθροῖς τὸν ἅπαντα  
 οὖσι χρόνον. ὕστερον δὲ μελλούσης Ἀθηναίων  
 ἐν Τανάγρα γίνεσθαι πρὸς Βοιωτοὺς καὶ Λακε-  
 δαιμονίους μάχης, ἀφίκοντο Ἀθηναίοις Ἀργεῖοι  
 βοηθοῦντες· καὶ παραντίκα μὲν ἔχοντας πλέον  
 τοὺς Ἀργεῖους νύξ ἐπελθούσα ἀφείλετο τὸ σαφὲς  
 τῆς νίκης, ἐς δὲ τὴν ὑστεραίαν ὑπῆρξε κρατῆσαι  
 Λακεδαιμονίους Θεσσαλῶν προδόντων Ἀθηναίους.  
 10 καταλέξαι δέ μοι καὶ τοῦσδε ἐπῆλθεν, Ἀπολ-



grave of the Athenians who fought against the Aeginetans before the Persian invasion. It was surely a just decree even for a democracy when the Athenians actually allowed slaves a public funeral, and to have their names inscribed on a slab, which declares that in the war they proved good men and true to their masters. There are also monuments of other men, their fields of battle lying in various regions. Here lie the most renowned of those who went against Olynthus, and Melesander 349 B.C.  
 who sailed with a fleet along the Macander into 480 B.C.  
 upper Caria; also those who died in the war with Cassander, and the Argives who once fought as the allies of Athens. It is said that the alliance between the two peoples was brought about thus. Sparta was once shaken by an earthquake, and the Helots seceded to Ithome. After the secession the Lacedaemonians sent for help to various places, including Athens, which dispatched picked troops under the command of Cimon, the son of Miltiades. These the Lacedaemonians dismissed, because they suspected them. The Athenians regarded the insult as intolerable, and on their way back made an alliance with the Argives, the immemorial enemies of the Lacedaemonians. Afterwards, when a battle 461 B.C.  
 was imminent at Tanagra, the Athenians opposing 457 B.C.  
 the Boeotians and Lacedaemonians, the Argives reinforced the Athenians. For a time the Argives had the better, but night came on and took from them the assurance of their victory, and on the next day the Lacedaemonians had the better, as the Thessalians betrayed the Athenians. It occurred to me to tell of the following men also, firstly Apollo- 340 B.C.

- λόδωρον ξένων ἡγεμόνα, ὃς Ἀθηναῖος μὲν ἦν, ἐκπεμφθεὶς δὲ ὑπὸ Ἀρσίτου σατράπου τῆς ἐφ' Ἑλλησπόντῳ Φρυγίας διεφύλαξε Περινθίους τὴν πόλιν ἐσβεβληκότος ἐς τὴν Περινθίαν Φιλίππου στρατῷ· οὗτός τε οὖν ἐνταῦθα τέθαιπται καὶ Εὐβουλος ὁ Σπινθάρου καὶ ἄνδρες οἷς ἀγαθοῖς οὖσιν οὐκ ἐπηκολούθησε τύχῃ χρηστή, τοῖς μὲν ἐπιθεμένοις τυραννοῦντι Λαχάρει, οἱ δὲ τοῦ Πειραιῶς κατάληψιν ἐβούλευσαν Μακεδόνων φρουρούντων, πρὶν δὲ εἰργάσθαι τὸ ἔργον ὑπὸ τῶν
- 11 συνειδότην μηνυθέντες ἀπώλοντο. κείνται δὲ καὶ οἱ περὶ Κόρινθον πεσόντες· ἐδήλωσε δὲ οὐχ ἥκιστα ὁ θεὸς ἐνταῦθα καὶ αὐθις ἐν Λεύκτροις τοὺς ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων καλουμένους ἀνδρείους τὸ μηδὲν ἄνευ Τύχης εἶναι, εἰ δὴ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, Κορινθίῳ τότε καὶ Ἀθηναίῳ, ἔτι δὲ καὶ Ἀργείῳ καὶ Βοιωτῶν κρατήσαντες, ὕστερον ὑπὸ Βοιωτῶν μόνων ἐν Λεύκτροις ἐς τοσοῦτον ἐκακώθησαν. μετὰ δὲ τοὺς ἀποθανόντας ἐν Κορίνθῳ στήλην ἐπὶ τοῖσδε ἐστάναι τὴν αὐτὴν σημαίνει τὰ ἐλεγεία, τοῖς μὲν ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ καὶ Χίῳ τελευτήσασιν, τοὺς δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐσχάτοις τῆς Ἀσιανῆς ἡπείρου διαφθαρῆναι δηλοῖ, τοὺς δὲ ἐν Σικελίᾳ.
- 12 γεγραμμένοι δὲ εἰσιν οἳ τε στρατηγοὶ πλὴν Νικίου, καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὁμοῦ τοῖς ἀστοῖς Πλαταιεῖς· Νικίας δὲ ἐπὶ τῷδε παρείθη, γράφῃ δὲ οὐδὲν διάφορα ἢ Φίλιστος, ὃς ἔφη Δημοσθένην μὲν σπονδὰς ποιήσασθαι τοῖς ἄλλοις πλὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ ὥς ἡλίσκετο αὐτὸν ἐπιχειρεῖν ἀποκτείνειν.

dorus, commander of the mercenaries, who was an Athenian dispatched by Arsites, satrap of Phrygia by the Hellespont, and saved their city for the Perinthians when Philip had invaded their territory with an army. He, then, is buried here, and also Eubulus<sup>1</sup> the son of Spintharus, along with men who though brave were not attended by good fortune; some attacked Lachares when he was tyrant, others planned the capture of the Peiraeus when in the hands of a Macedonian garrison, but before the deed could be accomplished were betrayed by their accomplices and put to death. Here also lie those who fell near Corinth. Heaven showed most distinctly here and again at Leuctra that those whom the Greeks call brave are as nothing if Good Fortune be not with them, seeing that the Lacedaemonians, who had on this occasion overcome Corinthians and Athenians, and furthermore Argives and Boeotians, were afterwards at Leuctra so utterly overthrown by the Boeotians alone. After those who were killed at Corinth, we come across elegiac verses declaring that one and the same slab has been erected to those who died in Euboea and Chios, and to those who perished in the remote parts of the continent of Asia, or in Sicily. The names of the generals are inscribed with the exception of Nicias, and among the private soldiers are included the Plataeans along with the Athenians. This is the reason why Nicias was passed over, and my account is identical with that of Philistus, who says that while Demosthenes made a truce for the others and excluded himself, attempting to commit suicide when

394 B.C.

371 B.C.

445 B.C.

413 B.C.

<sup>1</sup> A contemporary of Demosthenes.

- Νικία δὲ τὴν παράδοσιν ἐθελοντῇ γενέσθαι· τούτων ἕνεκα οὐκ ἐνεγράφη Νικίας τῇ στηλῇ, καταγνωσθεὶς αἰχμάλωτος ἐθελοντῆς εἶναι καὶ οὐκ
- 13 ἀνὴρ πολέμῳ πρέπων. εἰσὶ δὲ ἐπ' ἄλλῃ στηλῇ καὶ οἱ μαχεσάμενοι περὶ Θράκην καὶ ἐν Μεγαροῖς καὶ ἠνίκα Ἀρκάδας τοὺς ἐν Μαντινείᾳ καὶ Ἡλείους ἔπεισεν Ἀλκιβιάδης Λακεδαιμονίων ἀποστῆναι καὶ οἱ πρὶν ἐς Σικελίαν ἀφικέσθαι Δημοσθένην Συρακουσίων κρατήσαντες. ἐτάφησαν δὲ καὶ οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ναυμαχίσαντες καὶ ὅσοι Μακεδόνων ἐναντία ἠγωνίσαντο ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ καὶ οἱ μετὰ Κλέωνος ἐς Ἀμφίπολιν στρατεύσαντες, οἱ τε ἐν Δηλίῳ τῷ Ταναγραίων τελετήσαντες καὶ ὅσους ἐς Θεσσαλίαν Λεωσθένης ἤγαγε καὶ οἱ πλεύσαντες ἐς Κύπρον ὁμοῦ Κίμωνι, τῶν τε σὺν Ὀλυμπιοδώρῳ τὴν φρουρὰν ἐκβαλόντων τριῶν καὶ δέκα ἄνδρες οὐ πλείους.
- 14 φασὶ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Ῥωμαίοις ὁμορὸν τινα πολέμοισι πόλεμον στρατιὰν οὐ πολλὴν πέμψαι, καὶ ὕστερον ναυμαχίας Ῥωμαίων πρὸς Καρχηδονίους γινομένης τριήρεις πέντε Ἀττικαὶ παρεγένοντο· ἔστιν οὖν καὶ τούτοις ἐνταῦθα τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ὁ τάφος. Τολμίδου δὲ καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ δεδηλωται μὲν ἤδη μοι τὰ ἔργα καὶ ὃν τρόπον ἐτελεύτησαν· ἴστω δὲ ὅτῳ φίλον κειμένουσιν σφᾶς κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ταύτην. κείνται δὲ καὶ οἱ σὺν Κίμωνι τὸ μέγα ἔργον περὶ καὶ
- 15 ναυσὶν αὐθημερόν κρατήσαντες· τέθαπται δὲ καὶ Κόνων καὶ Τιμόθεος, δεύτεροι μετὰ Μιλτιάδην καὶ Κίμωνα οὗτοι πατήρ καὶ παῖς ἔργα ἀποδειξάμενοι λαμπρά. κείται δὲ καὶ Ζήνων ἐνταῦθα ὁ Μνασέου καὶ Χρύσιππος ὁ Σολεύς, Νικίας τε ὁ



taken prisoner, Nicias voluntarily submitted to the surrender. For this reason Nicias had not his name inscribed on the slab, being condemned as a voluntary prisoner and an unworthy soldier. On another slab are the names of those who fought in the region of Thrace and at Megara, and when Alcibiades persuaded the Arcadians in Mantinea and the Eleans to revolt from the Lacedaemonians, and of those who were victorious over the Syracusans before Demosthenes arrived in Sicily. Here were buried also those who fought in the sea-fights near the Hellespont, those who opposed the Macedonians at Chaeronea, those who marched with Cleon to Amphipolis, those who were killed at Delium in the territory of Tanagra, the men Leosthenes led into Thessaly, those who sailed with Cimon to Cyprus, and of those who with Olympiodorus<sup>1</sup> expelled the garrison not more than thirteen men. The Athenians declare that when the Romans were waging a border war they sent a small force to help them, and later on five Attic warships assisted the Romans in a naval action against the Carthaginians. Accordingly these men also have their grave here. The achievements of Tolmides and his men, and the manner of their death, I have already set forth, and any who are interested may take note that they are buried along this road. Here lie too those who with Cimon achieved the great feat of winning a land and naval victory on one and the same day. Here also are buried Conon and Timotheus, father and son, the second pair thus related to accomplish illustrious deeds, Miltiades and Cimon being the first; Zeno<sup>2</sup> too, the son of Mnaseas and Chrysippus<sup>2</sup> of Soli, Nicias the son of Nicomedes,

<sup>1</sup> See p. 133.      <sup>2</sup> Stoic philosophers.

Νικομήδους ζῆτα ἄριστος γράφαι τῶν ἐφ' αὐ-  
 τοῦ, καὶ Ἀρμόδιος καὶ Ἀριστογείτων οἱ τὸν  
 Πεισιστράτου παῖδα Ἰππαρχον ἀποκτείναντες,  
 ῥήτορες τε Ἐφιάλτης, ὃς τὰ νόμιμα τὰ ἐν Ἀρείῳ  
 πύγῳ μάλιστα ἐλυμήνατο, καὶ Λυκούργος ὁ Λυ-  
 16 κόφρονος. Λυκούργῳ δὲ ἐπορίσθη μὲν τάλαντα  
 ἐς τὸ δημόσιον πεντακοσίοις πλείονα καὶ ἑξα-  
 κισχιλίοις ἢ ὅσα Περικλῆς ὁ Ξανθίππου συνή-  
 γαγε, κατεσκεύασε δὲ πομπεῖα τῇ θεῷ καὶ Νίκῃ  
 χρυσᾶς καὶ παρθένοις κόσμον ἑκατόν, ἐς δὲ πόλε-  
 μον ὅπλα καὶ βέλη καὶ τετρακοσίας ναυμαχοῦσιν  
 εἶναι τριήρεις· οἰκοδομήματα δὲ ἐπετέλεσε μὲν  
 τὸ θέατρον ἐτέρων ὑπαρξαμένων, τὰ δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς  
 αὐτοῦ πολιτείας ἃ ὠκοδόμησεν ἐν Πειραιεὶ νέως  
 εἰσιν οἶκοι καὶ τὸ πρὸς τῷ Λυκείῳ καλούμενον  
 γυμνάσιον. ὅσα μὲν οὖν ἀργύρου πεποιημένα ἦν  
 καὶ χρυσοῦ, Λαχάρης καὶ ταῦτα ἐσύλησε τυραν-  
 νήσας· τὰ δὲ οἰκοδομήματα καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς ἔτι ἦν.

XXX. Πρὸ δὲ τῆς ἐσόδου τῆς ἐς Ἀκαδημίαν  
 ἐστὶ βωμὸς Ἑρωτος ἔχων ἐπίγραμμα ὡς Χάρμος  
 Ἀθηναίων πρῶτος Ἑρωτι ἀναθείη. τὸν δὲ ἐν  
 πόλει βωμὸν καλούμενον Ἀντέρωτος ἀνάθημα  
 εἶναι λέγουσι μετοίκων, ὅτι Μέλης Ἀθηναῖος  
 μέτοικον ἄνδρα Τιμαγόραν ἐρασθέντα ἀτιμάζων  
 ἀφείναι κατὰ τῆς πέτρας αὐτῶν ἐκέλευσεν ἐς τὸ  
 ὑψηλότερον αὐτῆς ἀνελθόντα· Τιμαγόρας δὲ ἄρα  
 καὶ ψυχῆς εἶχεν ἀφειδῶς καὶ πάντα ὁμοίως  
 κελεύοντι ἤθελε χαρίζεσθαι τῷ μειρακίῳ καὶ δὴ  
 καὶ φέρων ἑαυτὸν ἀφῆκε· Μέλητα δέ, ὡς ἀπο-  
 θανόντα εἶδε Τιμαγόραν, ἐς τοσοῦτο μετανοίας  
 ἐλθεῖν ὡς πεσεῖν τε ἀπὸ τῆς πέτρας τῆς αὐτῆς  
 καὶ οὕτως ἀφείς αὐτὸν ἐτελεύτησε. καὶ τὸ

the best painter from life of all his contemporaries, Harmodius and Aristogeiton, who killed Hipparchus, the son of Peisistratus; there are also two orators, Ephialtes, who was chiefly responsible for the abolition of the privileges of the Areopagus, and Lycurgus,<sup>1</sup> the son of Lycophron; Lycurgus provided for the state-treasury six thousand five hundred talents more than Pericles, the son of Xanthippus, collected, and furnished for the procession of the Goddess golden figures of Victory and ornaments for a hundred maidens; for war he provided arms and missiles, besides increasing the fleet to four hundred warships. As for buildings, he completed the theatre that others had begun, while during his political life he built dockyards in the Peiræus and the gymnasium near what is called the Lyceum. Everything made of silver or gold became part of the plunder Lachares made away with when he became tyrant, but the buildings remained to my time.

463-1  
B.C.

XXX. Before the entrance to the Academy is an altar to Love, with an inscription that Charmus was the first Athenian to dedicate an altar to that god. The altar within the city called the altar of Anteros (*Love Avenged*) they say was dedicated by resident aliens, because the Athenian Meles, spurning the love of Timagoras, a resident alien, bade him ascend to the highest point of the rock and cast himself down. Now Timagoras took no account of his life, and was ready to gratify the youth in any of his requests, so he went and cast himself down. When Meles saw that Timagoras was dead, he suffered such pangs of remorse that he threw himself from the same rock and so died. From this time the resident

<sup>1</sup> A contemporary of Demosthenes.

- έντεῦθεν δαίμονα Ἀντέρωτα τὸν ἀλάστορα τὸν  
 2 Τιμαγόρου κατέστη τοῖς μετοίκοις νομίζειν. ἐν  
 Ἀκαδημία δέ ἐστι Προμηθέως βωμός, καὶ θέουσι  
 ἀπ' αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἔχοντες καιομένας  
 λαμπάδας· τὸ δὲ ἀγώνισμα ὁμοῦ τῷ δρόμῳ  
 φυλάξαι τὴν δᾶδα ἔτι καιομένην ἐστίν, ἀπο-  
 σβεσθείσης δὲ οὐδὲν ἔτι τῆς νίκης τῷ πρώτῳ,  
 δευτέρῳ δὲ ἀντ' αὐτοῦ μέτεστιν· εἰ δὲ μηδὲ τοῦτῳ  
 καίτοιτο, ὁ τρίτος ἐστὶν ὁ κρατῶν· εἰ δὲ καὶ πᾶσιν  
 ἀποσβεσθεῖη, οὐδεὶς ἐστὶν ὅτῳ καταλείπεται ἡ  
 νίκη. ἔστι δὲ Μουσῶν τε βωμός καὶ ἕτερος  
 Ἑρμοῦ καὶ ἔνδον Ἀθηνᾶς, τὸν δὲ Ἡρακλέους  
 ἐποίησαν· καὶ φυτὸν ἐστὶν ἐλαίας, δεύτερον τοῦτο  
 λεγόμενον φανῆναι.  
 3 Ἀκαδημίας δὲ οὐ πόρρω Πλάτωνος μνήμᾳ  
 ἐστίν, ᾧ προεσήμεινεν ὁ θεὸς ἄριστον τὰ ἐς  
 φιλοσοφίαν ἔσεσθαι· προεσήμεινε δὲ οὕτω. Σω-  
 κράτης τῇ προτέρᾳ νυκτὶ ἢ Πλάτων ἐμελλεν  
 ἔσεσθαι οἱ μαθητῆς ἐσπτήναί οἱ κύκνον ἐς τὸν  
 κόλπον εἶδεν ὄνειρον· ἔστι δὲ κύκνῳ τῷ ὄρνιθι  
 μουσικῆς δόξα, ὅτι Λιγύων τῶν Ἡριδανοῦ πέραν  
 ὑπὲρ γῆς τῆς Κελτικῆς Κύκνον ἄνδρα μουσικόν  
 γενέσθαι βασιλέα φασί, τελευτήσαντα δὲ Ἀπόλ-  
 λωνος γνώμῃ μεταβαλεῖν λέγουσιν αὐτὸν ἐς τὸν  
 ὄρνιθα. ἐγὼ δὲ βασιλεύσαι μὲν πείθομαι Λί-  
 γυνιν ἄνδρα μουσικόν, γενέσθαι δέ μοι ἄπιστον  
 4 ὄρνιθα ἀπ' ἀνδρός. κατὰ τοῦτο τῆς χώρας  
 φαίνεται πύργος Τίμωνος, ὃς μόνος εἶδε μηδένα  
 τρόπον εὐδαίμονα εἶναι γενέσθαι πλὴν τοὺς  
 ἄλλους φεύγοντα ἀνθρώπους. δείκνυται δὲ καὶ  
 χώρος καλούμενος κολωνὸς ἵππιος, εἶνθα τῆς



aliens worshipped as Anteros the avenging spirit of Timagoras. In the Academy is an altar to Prometheus, and from it they run to the city carrying burning torches. The contest is while running to keep the torch still alight; if the torch of the first runner goes out, he has no longer any claim to victory, but the second runner has. If his torch also goes out, then the third man is the victor. If all the torches go out, no one is left to be winner. There is an altar to the Muses, and another to Hermes, and one within to Athena, and they have built one to Heracles. There is also an olive tree, accounted to be the second that appeared.

Not far from the Academy is the monument of Plato, to whom heaven foretold that he would be the prince of philosophers. The manner of the foretelling was this. On the night before Plato was to become his pupil Socrates in a dream saw a swan fly into his bosom. Now the swan is a bird with a reputation for music, because, they say, a musician of the name of Swan became king of the Ligyes on the other side of the Eridanus beyond the Celtic territory, and after his death by the will of Apollo he was changed into the bird. I am ready to believe that a musician became king of the Ligyes, but I cannot believe that a bird grew out of a man. In this part of the country is seen the tower of Timon, the only man to see that there is no way to be happy except to shun other men. There is also pointed out a place called the Hill of Horses, the first point in Attica, they say, that

Ἀττικῆς πρῶτον ἐλθεῖν λέγουσιν Οἰδίποδα—  
διάφορα μὲν καὶ ταῦτα τῇ Ὀμήρου ποιήσει.  
λέγουσι δ' οὖν—, καὶ βωμὸς Ποσειδῶνος Ἰππίου  
καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς Ἰππίας, ἥρῃον δὲ Πειρίθου καὶ  
Θησέως Οἰδίποδός τε καὶ Ἀδράστου. τὸ δὲ  
ἄλλος τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος καὶ τὸν ναὸν ἐνέπρησεν  
Ἀντίγονος ἐσβαλὼν, καὶ ἄλλοτε στρατιᾷ κακώ-  
σας Ἀθηναίους τὴν γῆν.

XXXI. Δήμοι δὲ οἱ μικροὶ τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ὡς  
ἔτυχεν ἕκαστος, οἰκισθεῖς, τὰδε ἐς μνήμην πα-  
ρεῖχοντο· Ἀλιμονσίους μὲν Θεσμοφόρου Δήμη-  
τρος καὶ Κόρης ἔστιν ἱερόν, ἐν Ζωστήρῃ δὲ ἐπὶ  
θαλάσσης καὶ βωμὸς Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος  
καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ Λητοῦς. τεκεῖν μὲν οὖν Λητώ  
τοὺς παῖδας ἐνταῦθα οὐ φασι, λύσασθαι δὲ τὸν  
ζωστήρα ὡς τεζομένην, καὶ τῷ χωρίῳ διὰ τοῦτο  
γενέσθαι τὸ ὄνομα. Προσπαλτίοις δὲ ἔστι καὶ  
τούτοις Κόρης καὶ Δήμητρος ἱερόν, Ἀναγυραίοις  
δὲ Μητρὸς θεῶν ἱερόν· Κεφάλῃσι δὲ οἱ Διόσ-  
κουροι νομίζονται μάλιστα, Μεγάλους γὰρ σφῶς  
2 οἱ ταύτῃ θεοὺς ὀνομάζουσιν. ἐν δὲ Πρασιεύσει  
Ἀπόλλωνός ἐστι ναός· ἐνταῦθα τὰς Ὑπερβορέων  
ἀπαρχὰς ἵεναι λέγεται, παραδιδόναι δὲ αὐτὰς  
Ὑπερβορέους μὲν Ἀριμασποῖς, Ἀριμασποὺς δ'  
Ἰσσηδόσι, παρὰ δὲ τούτων Σκύθας ἐς Σινώπην  
κομίζειν, ἐντεῦθεν δὲ φέρεσθαι διὰ Ἑλλήνων ἐς  
Πρασιάς, Ἀθηναίους δὲ εἶναι τοὺς ἐς Δῆλον ἄγον-  
τας· τὰς δὲ ἀπαρχὰς κεκρύφθαι μὲν ἐν καλᾷ  
πυρῶν, γινώσκεισθαι δὲ ὑπ' οὐδένων. ἔστι δὲ  
μνήμα ἐπὶ Πρασιαῖς Ἐρυσίχθονος, ὡς ἐκομίζετο  
ὀπίσω μετὰ τὴν θεωρίαν ἐκ Δήλου, γενομένης οἱ  
3 κατὰ τὸν πλοῦν τῆς τελευτῆς. Κραναὸν δὲ τὸν

Oedipus reached—this account too differs from that given by Homer, but it is nevertheless current tradition—and an altar to Poseidon, Horse God, and Athena, Horse Goddess, and a chapel to the heroes Peirithous and Theseus, Oedipus and Adrastus. The grove and temple of Poseidon were burnt by Antigonus<sup>1</sup> when he invaded Attica, who at other times also ravaged the land of the Athenians. ✕

XXXI. The small parishes of Attica, which were founded severally as chance would have it, presented the following noteworthy features. At Alimus is a sanctuary of Demeter Lawgiver and of the Maid, and at Zoster (*Girdle*) on the coast is an altar to Athena, as well as to Apollo, to Artemis and to Leto. The story is that Leto did not give birth to her children here, but loosened her girdle with a dew to her delivery, and the place received its name from this incident. Prospalta has also a sanctuary of the Maid and Demeter, and Anagyrsus a sanctuary of the Mother of the gods. At Cephale the chief cult is that of the Dioscuri, for the inhabitants call them the Great gods. At Prasiae is a temple of Apollo. Hither they say are sent the first-fruits of the Hyperboreans, and the Hyperboreans are said to hand them over to the Arimaspi, the Arimaspi to the Issedones, from these the Scythians bring them to Sinope, thence they are carried by Greeks to Prasiae, and the Athenians take them to Delos. The first-fruits are hidden in wheat straw, and they are known of none. There is at Prasiae a monument to Erysichthon, who died on the voyage home from Delos, after the sacred mission thither. How

<sup>1</sup> See p. 3.

βασιλεύσαντα Ἀθηναίων ὅτι μὲν ἐξέβαλεν Ἀμφικτιῶν κηδεστήν ὄντα, ἔτι πρότερον εἰρηταί μοι  
 —φυγόντα δὲ αὐτὸν σὺν τοῖς στασιώταις ἐς τὸν  
 δῆμον τὸν Λαμπτρέα ἀποθανεῖν τε αὐτοῦ καὶ  
 ταφῆναί φασι, καὶ ἔστι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἐν τοῖς  
 Λαμπτρεῦσι Κραναοῦ μνῆμα. Ἴωνος δὲ τοῦ  
 Εὐόθου—καὶ γὰρ οὗτος ὤκησε παρὰ Ἀθηναίους  
 καὶ Ἀθηναίων ἐπὶ τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ πρὸς Ἐλευ-  
 σινίους ἐπολεμάρχησε—τάφος ἐν Ποταμοῖς ἐστὶ  
 4 τῆς χώρας. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὕτω λέγεται, Φλᾶνθι  
 δὲ εἰσι καὶ Μυρρινουσίους τοῖς μὲν Ἀπόλλωνος  
 Διουνσοδότου καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος Σελασφόρου βωμοὶ  
 Διονύσου τε Ἀνθίου καὶ νυμφῶν Ἰσμηνίδων καὶ  
 Γῆς, ἣν Μεγάλην θεὸν ὀνομάζουσι· ναὸς δὲ ἕτερος  
 ἔχει βωμούς Διμήτρος Ἀνησιδώρας καὶ Διὸς  
 Κτησίου καὶ Τιθρωνῆς Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ Κόρης Πρω-  
 τογόνης καὶ Σεμνῶν ὀνομαζομένων θεῶν· τὸ δὲ ἐν  
 Μυρρινούντι ξόανόν ἐστι Κολαινίδος. Ἀθμονεῖς  
 5 δὲ τιμῶσιν Ἀμαρυσίαν Ἀρτεμιν πυρθανόμενος  
 δὲ σαφές οὐδὲν ἐς αὐτὰς ἐπισταμένους τοὺς ἐξη-  
 γητὰς εὔρον, αὐτὸς δὲ συμβάλλομαι τῇδε. ἔστιν  
 Ἀμάρυνθος ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ· καὶ γὰρ οἱ ταύτῃ τιμῶσιν  
 Ἀμαρυσίαν, ἑορτὴν δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι τῆς Ἀμαρ-  
 σίας ἄγουσιν οὐδὲν τι Εὐβοέων ἀφανέστερον  
 ταύτῃ μὲν γενέσθαι τὸ ὄνομα ἐπὶ τούτῳ παρὰ  
 Ἀθμονεῦσιν ἡγοῦμαι, τὴν δὲ ἐν Μυρρινούντι  
 Κολαιίδα ἀπὸ Κολαίνου καλεῖσθαι. γέγραπται  
 δ' ἤδη μοι τῶν ἐν τοῖς δήμοις φάναι πολλοὺς ὥς  
 καὶ πρὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐβασίλευντο τῆς Κέκροπος  
 ἔστι δὲ ὁ Κόλαινος ἀνδρὸς ὄνομα πρότερον ἢ  
 Κέκροψ ἐβασίλευσεν—ὥς οἱ Μυρρινούσιοι λέ-



Amphietyon banished Cranaus, his kinsman by marriage and king of Athens, I have already related. They say that fleeing with his supporters to the parish of Lamptrae he died and was buried there, and at the present day there is a monument to Cranaus at Lamptrae. At Potami in Attica is also the grave of Ion the son of Xuthus—for he too dwelt among the Athenians and was their commander-in-chief in the war with Eleusis. Such is the legend. Phlya and Myrrhinus have altars of Apollo Dionysodotus, Artemis Light-bearer, Dionysus Flower-god, the Ismenian nymphs and Earth, whom they name the Great goddess; a second temple contains altars of Demeter Anesidora (*Sender-up of Gifts*), Zeus Ctesius (*God of Gain*), Tithrone Athena, the Maid First-born and the goddesses styled August. The wooden image at Myrrhinus is of Colaenis. Athmonia worships Artemis Amarysia. On inquiry I discovered that the guides knew nothing about these deities, so I give my own conjecture. Amarynthus is a town in Euboea, the inhabitants of which worship Amarysia, while the festival of Amarysia which the Athenians celebrate is no less splendid than the Euboean. The name of the goddess, I think, came to Athmonia in this fashion, and the Colaenis in Myrrhinus is called after Colaenus. I have already written that many of the inhabitants of the parishes say that they were ruled by kings even before the reign of Cecrops. Now Colaenus, say the Myrrhinusians, is the name of a man who ruled before Cecrops became king. There

6 γουσιw—ἄρξαντος. ἔστι δὲ Ἀχαρναὶ δῆμος· οὗτοι θεῶν Ἀπόλλωνα τιμῶσιν Ἀγνιέα καὶ Ἡρακλέα, καὶ Ἀθηναῖς βωμός ἐστιν Ὑγείας· τὴν δ' Ἰππίαν Ἀθηναῖν ὀνομάζουσι καὶ Διόνυσον Μελπόμενον καὶ Κισσὸν τὸν αὐτὸν θεόν, τὸν κισσὸν τὸ φυτὸν ἐνταῦθα πρῶτον φανῆναι λέγοντες.

XXXII. Ὅρη δὲ Ἀθηναίοις ἐστὶ Πεντελικὸν ἐνθα λιθοτομῖαι, καὶ Πάρνης παρεχομένη θήραν συνῶν ἀγρίων καὶ ἄρκτων, καὶ Τμηττὸς ὃς φύει νομάς μελίσσαις ἐπιτηδειοτάτας πλὴν τῆς Ἀλαζώνων. Ἀλαζῶσι γὰρ συνήθεις ὁμοῦ τοῖς ἄλλοις<sup>1</sup> ἐς νομάς ἰοῦσιν εἰσὶν ἄφῆτοι καὶ μέλισσαι, οὐδὲ σφᾶς ἐς σίμβλους καθείρξαντες ἔχουσιν· αἱ δὲ ἐργάζονται τε ὡς ἔτυχον τῆς χώρας καὶ συμφυῆς τὸ ἔργον αὐταῖς ἐστίν, ἰδίᾳ δὲ οὔτε κηρὸν οὔτε μέλι ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ποιήσεις. τοῦτο μὲν τοιοῦτον ἐστίν, Ἀθηναίοις δὲ τὰ ὄρη καὶ θεῶν ἀγάλματα ἔχει. Πεντελῆσι μὲν Ἀθηναῖς, ἐν Τμηττῷ δὲ ἀγάλμα ἐστίν Τμηττίου Διός, βωμοὶ δὲ καὶ Ὀμβρίου Διὸς καὶ Ἀπόλλωνός εἰσι Προοψίου. καὶ ἐν Πάρνηθι Παρνηθίος Ζεὺς χαλκοῦς ἐστὶ καὶ βωμός Σημαλέου Διός· ἐστὶ δὲ ἐν τῇ Πάρνηθι καὶ ἄλλος βωμός, θύουσι δὲ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ τότε μὲν Ὀμβριον τότε δὲ Ἀπήμιον καλοῦντες Δία. καὶ Ἀγχεσμός ὅρος ἐστὶν οὐ μέγα καὶ Διὸς ἀγαλμα Ἀγχεσμίον.

3 Πρὶν δὲ ἢ τῶν νήσων ἐς ἀφήγησιν τραπέσθαι, τὰ ἐς τοὺς δῆμους ἔχοντα αὐθις ἐπέξειμι. δῆμος ἐστὶ Μαραθῶν ἴσον τῆς πόλεως τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀπέχων καὶ Καρύστου τῆς ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ· ταύτῃ τῆς

<sup>1</sup> τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, emended by Korais.

is a parish called Acharnae, where they worship Apollo Agyieus (*God of Streets*) and Heracles, and there is an altar of Athena Health. And they call upon the name of Athena Horse-goddess and Dionysus Singer and Dionysus Ivy, saying that the plant ivy first appeared there.

XXXII. The Attic mountains are Pentelicus, where there are quarries, Parnes, where there is hunting of wild boars and of bears, and Hymettus, which grows the most suitable pasture for bees, except that of the Alazones.<sup>1</sup> For these people have actually bees ranging free, tamely following the other creatures when they go to pasture. These bees are not kept shut up in hives, and they work in any part of the land they happen to visit. They produce a solid mass from which you cannot separate either wax or honey. Such then is its nature. The Athenians have also statues of gods on their mountains. On Pentelicus is a statue of Athena, on Hymettus one of Zeus Hymettius. There are altars both of Zeus Rain-god and of Apollo Foreseer. On Parnes is a bronze Zeus Parnethius, and an altar to Zeus Semaleus (*Sign-giving*). There is on Parnes another altar, and on it they make sacrifice, calling Zeus sometimes Rain-god, sometimes Averter of Ills. Anchesmus is a mountain of no great size, with an image of Zeus Anchesmius.

Before turning to a description of the islands, I must again proceed with my account of the parishes. There is a parish called Marathon, equally distant from Athens and Carystus in Euboea. It was at this point

<sup>1</sup> A people of S. Russia.

Ἀττικῆς ἔσχον οἱ βάρβαροι καὶ μάχῃ τε ἐκρατή-  
θησαν καὶ τινες ὥς ἀνήγοντο ἀπώλεσαν τῶν νεῶν.  
τάφος δὲ ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ Ἀθηναίων ἐστίν, ἐπὶ δὲ  
αὐτῷ στήλαι τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν ἀποθανόντων κατὰ  
φυλὰς ἐκάστων ἔχουσαι, καὶ ἕτερος Πλαταιεῦσι  
Βοιωτῶν καὶ δούλοις· ἐμαχέσαντο γὰρ καὶ δούλοι  
4 τότε πρότον. καὶ ἀνδρὸς ἐστὶν ἰδίᾳ μνήμα Μι-  
τιάδου τοῦ Κίμωνος, συμβάσης ὑστερόν οἱ τῆς  
τελευτῆς Πάρου τε ἀμαρτόντι καὶ δι' αὐτὸ ἐς  
κρίσιν Ἀθηναίοις καταστάντι. ἐνταῦθα ἀνὰ πᾶ-  
σαν νύκτα καὶ ἵππων χρεμετιζόντων καὶ ἀνδρῶν  
μαχομένων ἐστὶν αἰσθέσθαι· καταστῆναι δὲ ἐς  
ἐνάργῃ θέαν ἐπίτηδες μὲν οὐκ ἐστὶν ὅτε συνή-  
νεγκεν, ἀνῆκόω δὲ ὄντι καὶ ἄλλως συμβὰν οὐκ  
ἐστὶν ἐκ τῶν δαιμόνων ὀργῇ. σέβονται δὲ οἱ  
Μαραθῶνιοι τούτους τε οἱ παρὰ τὴν μάχην ἀπέ-  
θανον ἥρωας ὀνομάζοντες καὶ Μαραθῶνα ἀφ' οὗ  
τῷ δήμῳ τὸ ὄνομά ἐστι καὶ Ἡρακλέα, φάμενοι  
5 πρώτοις Ἑλλήνων σφίσις Ἡρακλέα θεὸν νομι-  
σθῆναι. συνέβη δὲ ὥς λέγουσιν ἄνδρα ἐν τῇ  
μάχῃ παρεῖναι τὸ εἶδος καὶ τὴν σκευὴν ἀγροικον·  
οὗτος τῶν βαρβάρων πολλοὺς καταφονεύσας ἀρο-  
τρῳ μετὰ τὸ ἔργον ἦν ἀφανής· ἐρομένοις δὲ Ἀθη-  
ναίοις ἄλλο μὲν ὁ θεὸς ἐς αὐτὸν ἔχρησεν οὐδέν,  
τιμᾶν δὲ Ἐχέτλαιον ἐκέλευσεν ἥρωα. πεποίηται  
δὲ καὶ τρόπαιον λίθου λευκοῦ. τοὺς δὲ Μήδους  
Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν θάψαι λέγουσιν ὥς πάντως ὅσιον  
ἀνθρώπου νεκρὸν γῇ κρύψαι, τάφον δὲ οὐδένα  
εὐρεῖν ἐδυνάμην· οὔτε γὰρ χῶμα οὔτε ἄλλο ση-  
μεῖον ἦν ἰδεῖν, ἐς ὄρυγμα δὲ φέροντες σφᾶς ὥς



that the foreigners landed, were defeated  
 e, and lost some of their vessels as they were 490 B.C.  
 off from the land. On the plain is the grave  
 Athenians, and upon it are slabs giving the  
 of the killed according to their tribes; and  
 is another grave for the Bocotian Plataeans  
 the slaves, for slaves fought then for the  
 ne by the side of their masters. There is  
 separate monument to one man, Miltiades,  
 of Cimon, although his end came later, after  
 failed to take Paros and for this reason had  
 ought to trial by the Athenians. At Marathon  
 ight you can hear horses neighing and men  
 g. No one who has expressly set himself to  
 this vision has ever got any good from it, but  
 rits are not wroth with such as in ignorance  
 to be spectators. The Marathonians worship  
 those who died in the fighting, calling them  
 and secondly Marathon, from whom the parish  
 its name, and then Heracles, saying that they  
 he first among the Greeks to acknowledge him  
 l. They say too that there chanced to be present  
 battle a man of rustic appearance and dress.  
 g slaughtered many of the foreigners with a  
 he was seen no more after the engagement.  
 the Athenians made enquiries at the oracle the  
 erely ordered them to honour Echetlaeus (*He*  
*Plough-idil*) as a hero. A trophy too of white  
 has been erected. Although the Athenians  
 that they buried the Persians, because in every  
 he divine law applies that a corpse should be  
 nder the earth, yet I could find no grave.  
 was neither mound nor other trace to be seen,  
 dead were carried to a trench and thrown in

6 τύχοιεν ἐσέβαλον. ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῇ Μαραθῶνι  
 πηγῇ καλουμένη Μακαρία, καὶ τοιαύδε ἐς αὐτὴν  
 λέγουσιν. Ἡρακλῆς ὡς ἐκ Τίρυνθος ἔφηνεν  
 Εὐρυσθέα, παρὰ Κήνκα φίλον ὄντα μετοικίζεται  
 βασιλεύοντα Τραχίνοσ. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπελθόντος ἐξ  
 ἀνθρώπων Ἡρακλέους ἐξήτει τοὺς παῖδας Εὐρυ-  
 σθέους, ἐς Ἀθήνας πέμπει σφᾶς ὁ Τραχίνιος ἀσθέ-  
 νειάν τε λέγων τὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ Θησέα οὐκ ἀδύνατον  
 εἶναι τιμωρεῖν· ἀφικόμενοι δὲ οἱ παῖδες ἰκέται  
 πρῶτον τότε Πελοποννησίοις ποιοῦσι πόλεμον  
 πρὸς Ἀθηναίους, Θησέως σφᾶς οὐκ ἐκδόντος  
 αἰτοῦντι Εὐρυσθεῖ. λέγουσι δὲ Ἀθηναίοις γενέ-  
 σθαι χρησμὸν τῶν παίδων ἀποθανεῖν χρῆναι τῶν  
 Ἡρακλέους τινὰ ἐθελοντήν, ἐπεὶ ἄλλως γε οὐκ  
 εἶναι νίκην σφίσιν· ἐνταῦθα Μακαρία Διανειράς  
 καὶ Ἡρακλέους θυγάτηρ ἀποσφάξασα εαυτὴν  
 ἔδωκεν Ἀθηναίοις τε κρατῆσαι τῷ πολέμῳ καὶ τῇ  
 7 πηγῇ τὸ ὄνομα ἀφ' αὐτῆς. ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῇ Μαρα-  
 θῶνι λίμνῃ τὰ πολλὰ ἐλώδης· ἐς ταύτην ἀπειρία  
 τῶν ὁδῶν φεύγοντες ἐσπίπτουσιν οἱ βάρβαροι,  
 καὶ σφίσι τὸν φόνον τὸν πολὺν ἐπὶ τούτῳ συμ-  
 βῆναι λέγουσιν· ὑπὲρ δὲ τὴν λίμνην φάτναι εἰς  
 λίθου τῶν ἵππων τῶν Ἀρταφέρνης καὶ σημεία  
 ἐν πέτραις σκηνῆς. ρεῖ δὲ καὶ ποταμὸς ἐκ τῆς  
 λίμνης, τὰ μὲν πρὸς αὐτῇ τῇ λίμνῃ βοσκήμασιν  
 ὕδωρ ἐπιτηδεῖον παρεχόμενος, κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐκβο-  
 λὴν τὴν ἐς τὸ πέλαγος ἀλμυρὸς ἤδη γίνεταί καὶ  
 ἰχθύων τῶν θαλασσίων πλήρης. ὀλίγον δὲ ἀπο-  
 τέρῳ τοῦ πεδίου Πανός ἐστιν ὄρος καὶ σπήλαιον  
 θέας ἄξιον· ἔσοδος μὲν ἐς αὐτὸ στενὴ, παρελθούσι  
 δὲ εἰσιν οἴκοι καὶ λουτρὰ καὶ καλούμενον Πανός  
 αἰπόλιον, πέτραι τὰ πολλὰ αἰξίν εἰκασμένα.

anyhow. In Marathon is a spring called Macaria, with the following legend. When Heracles left Tiryns, fleeing from Eurystheus, he went to live with his friend Ceyx, who was king of Trachis. But when Heracles departed this life Eurystheus demanded his children; whereupon the king of Trachis sent them to Athens, saying that he was weak but Theseus had power enough to succour them. The arrival of the children as suppliants caused for the first time war between Peloponnesians and Athenians, Theseus refusing to give up the refugees at the demand of Eurystheus. The story says that an oracle was given the Athenians that one of the children of Heracles must die a voluntary death, or else victory could not be theirs. Thereupon Macaria, daughter of Deianeira and Heracles, slew herself and gave to the Athenians victory in the war and to the spring her own name. There is at Marathon a lake which for the most part is marshy. Into this ignorance of the roads made the foreigners fall in their flight, and it is said that this accident was the cause of their great losses. Above the lake are the stone stables of Artaphernes' horses, and marks of his tent on the rocks. Out of the lake flows a river, affording near the lake itself water suitable for cattle, but near its mouth it becomes salt and full of sea fish. A little beyond the plain is the Hill of Pan and a remarkable Cave of Pan. The entrance to it is narrow, but farther in are chambers and baths and the so-called "Pan's herd of goats," which are rocks shaped in most respects like to goats.

- XXXIII. Μαραθῶνος δὲ ἀπέχει τῇ  
 ρῶν, ἔνθα Ἰφιγένειαν τὴν Ἀγαμέμνονο  
 ρων φεύγουσαν τὸ ἄγαλμα ἀγομένην τὸ  
 ἀποβῆναι λέγουσι, καταλιπούσαν δὲ  
 ταύτῃ καὶ εἰς Ἀθήνας καὶ ὕστερον εἰς  
 κέσθαι· ξόανον μὲν δὴ καὶ αὐτόθι ἐστὶν  
 ἀρχαῖον, τὸ δὲ ἐκ τῶν βαρβάρων οἱ  
 γνωμὴν ἔχουσι τὴν ἐμήν, ἐν ἑτέρῳ λόγῳ  
 2 Μαραθῶνος δὲ σταδίους μάλιστα ἐξήκα  
 ῖρα μνοῦς τὴν παρὰ θάλασσαν ἰοῦσιν  
 καὶ αἱ μὲν οἰκῆσεις ἐπὶ θαλάσῃ τοῖς  
 εἰσί, μικρὸν δὲ ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἄνω Νεμέ  
 ἱερόν, ἢ θεῶν μάλιστα ἀνθρώποις ὕβρι  
 ἀπαραίτητος. δοκεῖ δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἀπὸ  
 Μαραθῶνα τῶν βαρβάρων ἀπαντῆσαι  
 τῆς θεοῦ ταύτης· καταφρονήσαντες  
 σφισιν ἐμποδῶν εἶναι τὰς Ἀθήνας ἐν  
 Πάριον ὡς ἐπ' ἐξειργασμένοις ἦγον ἐν  
 3 ποίησιν. τοῦτον Φειδίας τὸν λίθον  
 ἄγαλμα μὲν εἶναι Νεμέσεως, τῇ κεφαλῇ  
 τῆς θεοῦ στέφανος ἐλάφους ἔχων καὶ Ν  
 ματα οὐ μεγάλα· ταῖς δὲ χερσὶν ἔχει τ  
 δον μηλέας, τῇ δεξιᾷ δὲ φιάλην, Αἰθί  
 τῇ φιάλῃ πεποίηται. συμβαλέσθαι δ.



XXXIII. At some distance from Marathon is Brauron, where, according to the legend, Iphigenia, the daughter of Agamemnon, landed with the image of Artemis when she fled from the Tauri; leaving the image there she came to Athens also and afterwards to Argos. There is indeed an old wooden image of Artemis here, but who in my opinion have the one taken from the foreigners I will set forth in another place. About sixty stades from Marathon as you go along the road by the sea to Oropus stands Rhamnus. The dwelling houses are on the coast, but a little way inland is a sanctuary of Nemesis, the most implacable deity to men of violence. It is thought that the wrath of this goddess fell also upon the foreigners who landed at Marathon. For thinking in their pride that nothing stood in the way of their taking Athens, they were bringing a piece of Parian marble to make a trophy, convinced that their task was already finished. Of this marble Pheidias made a statue of Nemesis, and on the head of the goddess is a crown with deer and small images of Victory. In her left hand she holds an apple branch, in her right hand a cup on which are wrought Aethiopians. As to the Aethiopians, I could hazard no guess myself, nor could I accept the statement of those who are convinced that the Aethiopians have been carved upon the cup because of the river Ocean. For the Aethiopians, they say, dwell near it, and Ocean is the father of Nemesis. It is not the river Ocean, but the farthest part of the sea navigated by man, near which dwell the Iberians and the Celts, and Ocean surrounds the island of

- τὴν Βρεττανῶν Αἰθιοπῶν δὲ τῶν ὑπὲρ Σηήτης ἐπὶ θάλασσαν ἔσχατοι τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν κατοικοῦσιν Ἰχθυοφάγοι, καὶ ὁ κόλπος ὃν περιοικοῦσιν Ἰχθυοφάγων ὀνομάζεται. οἱ δὲ δικαιοτάτοι Μερῶν πόλιν καὶ πεδῖον Αἰθιοπικὸν καλούμενον οἰκοῦσιν· οὗτοι καὶ τὴν ἡλίου τράπεζάν εἰσιν οἱ δεικνύντες, οὐδὲ σφισιν ἔστιν οὔτε θάλασσα οὔτε ποταμός·
- 5 ἄλλος γε ἢ Νεῖλος. εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι πρόσοικοι Μαύροις Αἰθίοπες ἄχρι Νασαμώνων παρήκοντες. Νασαμώνες γάρ, οὓς Ἀτλαντὰς Ἡρόδοτος, οἱ δὲ μέτρα φάμενοι γῆς εἰδέναι Λιξίτας καλοῦσι, Λιβύων οἱ ἔσχατοι πρὸς Ἀτλαντὶ οἰκοῦσι σπεύροντες μὲν οὐδέν, ἀπὸ δὲ ἀμπέλων ζῶντες ἀγρίων. ποταμός δὲ οὐδὲ τούτοις τοῖς Αἰθίοφιν οὐδὲ τοῖς Νασαμώνσιν ἔστιν οὐδεὶς· τὸ γὰρ πρὸς τῇ Ἀτλαντὶ ὕδωρ, τρισὶ παρεχόμενον ἀρχὰς ρεύμασιν, οὐδὲν τῶν ρευμάτων ποιεῖ ποταμόν, ἀλλὰ πᾶν ὁμοίως αὐτίκα ἔχει συλλαβοῦσα ἢ ψάμμος. οὕτως Αἰθίοπες ποταμῷ γε οὐδενὶ προσοικοῦσιν·
- 6 Ὀκεανῷ. τὸ δὲ ὕδωρ τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Ἀτλαντὸς θοερὸν τέ ἐστι καὶ πρὸς τῇ πηγῇ κροκόδειλοι διπήχεων ἦσαν οὐκ ἐλάσσους, προσιόντων δὲ τῶν ἀνθρώπων κατεδύνοντο ἐς τὴν πηγὴν. παρίστατο δὲ οὐκ ὀλίγοις τὸ ὕδωρ τοῦτο ἀναφαίνονμενον αὐθις ἐκ τῆς ψάμμου ποιεῖν τὸν Νεῖλον Αἰγυπτίοις. ὁ δὲ Ἀτλας ὄρος ὑψηλὸν μὲν ἔστιν οὕτως ὥστε καὶ λέγεται ταῖς κορυφαῖς φαίνειν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, ἄβατον δὲ ὑπὸ ὕδατος καὶ δένδρων ἃ διὰ παντὸς πέφυκε· τὰ μὲν δὴ πρὸς τοὺς Νασαμῶνας αὐτοῦ γινώσκεται, τὰ δὲ ἐς τὸ
- 7 πέλαγος οὐδένα πω παραπλεύσαντα ἴσμεν. τὰδε μὲν ἐς τοσοῦτον εἰρήσθω· πτερὰ δ' ἔχον οὔτε

Britain. But of the Aethiopians beyond Syene, those who live farthest in the direction of the Red Sea are the Ichthyophagi (*Fish-eaters*), and the gulf round which they live is called after them. The most righteous of them inhabit the city Meroe and what is called the Aethiopian plain. These are they who show the Table of the Sun,<sup>1</sup> and they have neither sea nor river except the Nile. There are other Aethiopians who are neighbours of the Mauri and extend as far as the Nasamones. For the Nasamones, whom Herodotus calls the Atlantes, and those who profess to know the measurements of the earth name the Lixitae, are the Libyans who live the farthest close to Mount Atlas, and they do not till the ground at all, but live on wild vines. But neither these Aethiopians nor yet the Nasamones have any river. For the water near Atlas, which provides a beginning to three streams, does not make any of the streams a river, as the sand swallows it all up at once. So the Aethiopians dwell near no river Ocean. The water from Atlas is muddy, and near the source were crocodiles of not less than two cubits, which when the men approached dashed down into the spring. The thought has occurred to many that it is the reappearance of this water out of the sand which gives the Nile to Egypt. Mount Atlas is so high that its peaks are said to touch heaven, but is inaccessible because of the water and the presence everywhere of trees. Its region indeed near the Nasamones is known, but we know of nobody yet who has sailed along the parts facing the sea. I must now resume. Neither this nor any other

<sup>1</sup> A meadow near the city of the Aethiopians, in which they dined.

τοῦτο τὸ ἄγαλμα Νεμέσεως οὔτε ἄλλο πεποιήται  
 τῶν ἀρχαίων, ἐπεὶ μηδὲ Σμυρναίοις τὰ ἀγιώτατα  
 ξόανα ἔχει πτερὰ· οἱ δὲ ὕστερον—ἐπιφαίνεσθαι  
 γὰρ τὴν θεὸν μάλιστα ἐπὶ τῷ ἐρᾷ ἐθέλουσιν—  
 ἐπὶ τούτῳ Νεμέσει πτερὰ ὥσπερ Ἐρωτι ποιούσι.  
 νῦν δὲ ἤδη δίδειμι ὅποσα ἐπὶ τῷ βάθρῳ τοῦ ἀγάλ-  
 ματός ἐστιν εἰργασμένα, τοσόνδε ἐς τὸ σαφές  
 προδηλώσας. Ἑλένη Νέμεσιν μητέρα εἶναι λέ-  
 γουσιν Ἕλληνες, Λήδαν δὲ μαστὸν ἐπισχεῖν  
 αὐτῇ καὶ θρέψαι· πατέρα δὲ καὶ οὗτοι καὶ πάντες  
 κατὰ ταῦτα Ἑλένης Δία καὶ οὐ Τυνδάρεων εἶναι  
 8 νομίζουσι. ταῦτα ἀκηκοὺς Φειδίας πεποίηκεν  
 Ἑλένην ὑπὸ Λήδας ἀγομένην παρὰ τὴν Νέμεσιν.  
 πεποίηκε δὲ Τυνδάρεων τε καὶ τοὺς παῖδας καὶ  
 ἄνδρα σὺν ἵππῳ παρεστηκότα Ἰππέα ὄνομα·  
 ἔστι δὲ Ἀγαμέμνων καὶ Μενέλαος καὶ Πύρρος ὁ  
 Ἀχιλλέως, πρῶτος οὗτος Ἑρμιόνην τὴν Ἑλένης  
 γυναικα λαβών· Ὀρέστης δὲ διὰ τὸ ἐς τὴν μητέρα  
 τόλμημα παρείθῃ, παραμεινιάσης τε ἐς ἅπαν Ἑρ-  
 μιονίης αὐτῷ καὶ τεκούσης παῖδα. ἐξῆς δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ  
 βάθρῳ καὶ Ἐποχος καλούμενος καὶ νεανίας ἐστὶν  
 ἕτερος· ἐς τούτους ἄλλο μὲν ἤκουσα οὐδέν, ἀδελ-  
 φους δὲ εἶναι σφᾶς Οἰνός, ἀφ' ἧς ἐστὶ τὸ ὄνομα  
 τῷ δήμῳ.

XXXIV. Τὴν δὲ γῆν τὴν Ὠρωπίαν μεταξὺ τῆς  
 Ἀττικῆς καὶ Ταναγρικῆς, Βοιωτίαν τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς  
 οὖσαν, ἔχουσιν ἐφ' ἡμῶν Ἀθηναῖοι, πολεμήσαντες  
 μὲν τὸν πάντα ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς χρόνον, κτησάμενοι δὲ  
 οὐ πρότερον βεβαίως πρὶν ἢ Φίλιππος Θήβας  
 ἐλὼν ἔδωκε σφισιν. ἡ μὲν οὖν πόλις ἐστὶν ἐπὶ  
 θαλάσσης μέγα οὐδὲν ἐς συγγραφὴν παρεχομένη·  
 ἀπέχει δὲ δώδεκα τῆς πόλεως σταδίους μάλιστα



cient statue of Nemesis has wings, for not even the  
 liest wooden images of the Smyrnaeans have them,  
 at later artists, convinced that the goddess mani-  
 fests herself most as a consequence of love, give wings  
 to Nemesis as they do to Love. I will now go on to  
 describe what is figured on the pedestal of the statue,  
 having made this preface for the sake of clearness.  
 The Greeks say that Nemesis was the mother of Helen,  
 while Leda suckled and nursed her. The father of  
 Helen the Greeks like everybody else hold to be  
 not Tyndareus but Zeus. Having heard this legend  
 Pheidias has represented Helen as being led to Neme-  
 sis by Leda, and he has represented Tyndareus and  
 his children with a man Hippeus by name standing  
 by with a horse. There are Agamemnon and Mene-  
 laus and Pyrrhus, the son of Achilles and first husband  
 of Hermione, the daughter of Helen. Orestes was  
 turned over because of his crime against his mother,  
 and Hermione stayed by his side in everything and  
 bore him a child. Next upon the pedestal is one  
 called Epochus and another youth; the only thing I  
 heard about them was that they were brothers of  
 Epinoë, from whom the parish has its name.

XXXIV. The land of Oropus, between Attica and  
 the land of Tanagra, which originally belonged to  
 Boeotia, in our time belongs to the Athenians,  
 who always fought for it but never won secure pos-  
 session until Philip gave it to them after taking  
 thebes. The city is on the coast and affords nothing  
 remarkable to record. About twelve stades from

- 2 ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀμφιαράου. λέγεται δὲ Ἀμφιαράφ  
 φεύγοντι ἐκ Θηβῶν διαστήναι τὴν γῆν καὶ ὡς  
 αὐτὸν ὁμοῦ καὶ τὸ ἄρμα ὑπεδέξατο· πλὴν οὐ  
 ταύτῃ συμβῆναι φασιν, ἀλλὰ ἐστὶν ἐκ Θηβῶν  
 ἰοῦσιν ἐς Χαλκίδα Ἄρμα καλούμενον. θεὸν δὲ  
 Ἀμφιάραιον πρῶτοις Ὠρωπίοις κατέστη νομίζειν.  
 ὕστερον δὲ καὶ οἱ πάντες Ἕλληνες ἡγνῆται.  
 καταλέξαι δὲ καὶ ἄλλους ἔχω γενομένους τοῖς  
 ἀνθρώποις, οἱ θεῶν παρ' Ἕλλησι τιμὰς ἔχουσι.  
 τοῖς δὲ καὶ ἀνάκεινται πόλεις, Ἐλεοῦς ἐν Χερρο-  
 νήσῳ Πρωτεσιλάῳ, Λεβάδεια Βοιωτῶν Τροφῳνίῳ  
 καὶ Ὠρωπίοις ναὸς τέ ἐστιν Ἀμφιαράου καὶ  
 3 ἀγάλμα λευκοῦ λίθου. παρέχεται δὲ ὁ βωμὸς  
 μέρη· τὸ μὲν Ἡρακλέους καὶ Διὸς καὶ Ἀπόλλω-  
 νός ἐστι Παιῶνος, τὸ δὲ ἥρωσι καὶ ἥρώων ἀνείται  
 γυναιξί, τρίτον δὲ Ἑστίας καὶ Ἑρμοῦ καὶ  
 Ἀμφιαράου καὶ τῶν παίδων Ἀμφιλόχου· Ἀλε-  
 μαίων δὲ διὰ τὸ ἐς Ἐριφύλην ἔργον οὔτε ἐν  
 Ἀμφιαράου τινά, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ παρὰ τῷ Ἀμφι-  
 λόχῳ τιμὴν ἔχει. τετάρτη δὲ ἐστὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ  
 μοῖρα Ἀφροδίτης καὶ Πανακείας, ἔτι δὲ Ἰασοῦ  
 καὶ Τγείας καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς Παιωνίας· πέμπτη δὲ  
 πεποιήται νύμφαις καὶ Πανὶ καὶ ποταμοῖς Ἀχι-  
 λῶφ καὶ Κηφισῷ. τῷ δὲ Ἀμφιλόχῳ καὶ παρ'  
 Ἀθηναίοις ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ πόλει βωμὸς καὶ Κιλικίας  
 ἐν Μαλλῷ μαντεῖον ἀψευδέστατον τῶν ἐπ' ἐμοῦ.  
 4 ἐστὶ δὲ Ὠρωπίοις πηγὴ πλησίον τοῦ ναοῦ, ἣν  
 Ἀμφιαράου καλοῦσιν, οὔτε θύοντες οὐδὲν ἐς  
 αὐτὴν οὔτ' ἐπὶ καθαρσίοις ἢ χέρνιβι χρῆσθαι  
 νομίζοντες· νόσου δὲ ἀκεσθείσης ἀνδρὶ μαντεῖ  
 ματος γενομένου καθέστηκεν ἄργυρον ἀφείναι  
 καὶ χρυσὸν<sup>1</sup> ἐπίσημον ἐς τὴν πηγὴν, ταύτῃ γὰρ

the city is a sanctuary of Amphiaraus. Legend says that when Amphiaraus was exiled from Thebes the earth opened and swallowed both him and his chariot. Only they say that the incident did not happen here, the place called the Chariot being on the road from Thebes to Chalcis. The divinity of Amphiaraus was first established among the Oropians, from whom afterwards all the Greeks received the cult. I can enumerate other men also born at this time who are worshipped among the Greeks as gods; some even have cities dedicated to them, such as Eleüs in Chersonnesus dedicated to Protesilaus, and Lebadea of the Boeotians dedicated to Trophonius. The Oropians have both a temple and a white marble statue of Amphiaraus. The altar shows parts. One part is to Heracles, Zeus, and Apollo Healer, another is given up to heroes and to wives of heroes, the third is to Hestia and Hermes and Amphiaraus and the children of Amphilochus. But Alcmaeon, because of his treatment of Eriphyle, is honoured neither in the temple of Amphiaraus nor yet with Amphilochus. The fourth portion of the altar is to Aphrodite and Panacea, and further to Iaso, Health and Athena Healer. The fifth is dedicated to the nymphs and to Pan, and to the rivers Acheloüs and Cephissus. The Athenians too have an altar to Amphilochus in the city, and there is at Mallus in Cilicia an oracle of his which is the most trustworthy of my day. The Oropians have near the temple a spring, which they call the Spring of Amphiaraus; they neither sacrifice into it nor are wont to use it for purifications or for lustral water. But when a man has been cured of a disease through a response the custom is to throw silver and coined gold into the spring, for

ἀνελθεῖν τὸν Ἀμφιάραον λέγουσιν ἤδη θεόν.  
 Ἰοφῶν δὲ Κνώσσιος τῶν ἐξηγητῶν χρησμούς ἐν  
 ἑξαμέτρῳ παρείχετο, Ἀμφιάραον χρῆσαι φάμενος  
 τοῖς ἐς Θήβας σταλεῖσιν Ἀργείων. ταῦτα τὰ  
 ἔπη τὸ ἐς τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐπαγωγὸν ἀκρατῶς  
 εἶχε· χωρὶς δὲ πλὴν ὅσους ἐξ Ἀπόλλωνος μανῆ-  
 ναι λέγουσι τὸ ἀρχαῖον, μάντεών γ' οὐδεὶς  
 χρησμολόγος ἦν, ἀγαθοὶ δὲ ὄνειράτα ἐξηγήσασθαι  
 καὶ διαγινῶναι πτήσεις ὀρνίθων καὶ σπλάγγνα  
 5 ἱερείων. δοκῶ δὲ Ἀμφιάραον ὄνειράτων δια-  
 κρίσει μάλιστα προσκεῖσθαι· δῆλος δέ, ἥνικα  
 ἐνομίσθη θεός, δι' ὀνειράτων μαντικὴν κατα-  
 στησάμενος. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν καθήρασθαι νομί-  
 ζουσιν ὅστις ἦλθεν Ἀμφιαράῳ χρησόμενος· ἔστι  
 δὲ καθάρσιον τῷ θεῷ θύειν, θύουσι δὲ καὶ αὐτῷ  
 καὶ πᾶσιν ὅσοις ἐστὶν ἐπὶ τῷ βωμῷ τὰ ὀνό-  
 ματα· προεξεργασμένων δὲ τούτων κρινὸν θύ-  
 σαντες καὶ τὸ δέρμα ὑποστρωσόμενοι καθεύδουσιν  
 ἀναμένοντες δῆλωσιν ὄνειρατος.

XXXV. Νῆσοι δὲ Ἀθηναίοις οὐ πόρρω τῆς χώ-  
 ρας εἰσίν, ἥ μὲν Πατρόκλου καλουμένη — τὰ δὲ ἐς  
 αὐτὴν ἤδη μοι δεδήλωται —, ἄλλη δὲ ὑπὲρ Σουνίου  
 τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ παραπλέουσιν· ἐς ταύ-  
 τὴν ἀποβῆναι λέγουσιν Ἑλένην μετὰ τὴν ἄλωσιν  
 2 τὴν Ἰλίου, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὀνομά ἐστιν Ἑλένη τῇ  
 νήσῳ. Σαλαμῖς δὲ κατὰ Ἐλευσίνα κειμένη παρῆ-  
 κει καὶ ἐς τὴν Μεγαρικὴν. πρῶτον δὲ τῇ νήσῳ  
 τὸ ὄνομα θέσθαι τοῦτο Κυχρέα<sup>1</sup> ἀπὸ τῆς μητρὸς  
 Σαλαμῖνος τῆς Ἀσωποῦ, καὶ ὕστερον Αἰγινήτας  
 τοὺς σὺν Τελαμῶνι ἐποικῆσαι· Φίλαιον δὲ τὸν

<sup>1</sup> Κυχρέα added by Sylburg.



by this way they say that Amphiarus rose up after he had become a god. Iophon the Cnossian, a guide, produced responses in hexameter verse, saying that Amphiarus gave them to the Argives who were sent against Thebes. These verses unrestrainedly appealed to popular taste. Except those whom they say Apollo inspired of old none of the seers uttered oracles, but they were good at explaining dreams and interpreting the flights of birds and the entrails of victims. My opinion is that Amphiarus devoted himself most to the exposition of dreams. It is manifest that, when his divinity was established, it was a dream oracle that he set up. One who has come to consult Amphiarus is wont first to purify himself. The mode of purification is to sacrifice to the god, and they sacrifice not only to him but also to all those whose names are on the altar. And when all these things have been first done, they sacrifice a ram, and, spreading the skin under them, go to sleep and await enlightenment in a dream.

XXXV. There are islands not far from Attica. Of the one called the Island of Patroclus I have already given an account.<sup>1</sup> There is another when you have sailed past Sunium with Attica on the left. On this they say that Helen landed after the capture of Troy, and for this reason the name of the island is Helene. Salamis lies over against Eleusis, and stretches as far as the territory of Megara. It is said that the first to give this name to the island was Cychreus, who called it after his mother Salamis, the daughter of Asopus, and afterwards it was colonised by the Aeginetans with Telamon. Philaeus,

<sup>1</sup> See p. 3.

- Εὐρυσάκους τοῦ Αἰάντος παραδοῦναι λέγουσιν Ἀθηναίοις τὴν νῆσον, γενόμενον ὑπ' αὐτῶν Ἀθηναίων. Σαλαμινίους δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι τοῦτων ὕστερον πολλοῖς ἔτεσιν ἀναστάτους ἐποίησαν, καταγρόντες ἐβелоκακῆσαι σφᾶς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τῷ πρὸς Κάσσανδρον καὶ τὴν πόλιν γνώμῃ τὸ πλέον Μακεδόσιν ἐνδούναι· καὶ Αἰσχυτάδου τε κατέγνωσαν θάνατον, ὃς τότε ἤρητο ἐς τὴν Σαλαμῖνα στρατηγός, καὶ ἐς τὸν πάντα ἐπώμοσαν χρόνον Σαλαμινίους ἀπομνημονεύσειν
- 3 προδοσίαν. ἔστι δὲ ἀγορᾶς τε ἔτι ἐρείπια καὶ ναὸς Αἰάντος, ἀγαλμα δὲ ἐξ ἐβένου ξύλου· διαμένουσι δὲ καὶ ἐς τότε τῷ Αἴαντι παρὰ Ἀθηναίοις τιμαὶ αὐτῷ τε καὶ Εὐρυσάκει, καὶ γὰρ Εὐρυσάκους βωμός ἐστιν ἐν Ἀθήναις. δείκνυται δὲ λίθος ἐν Σαλαμῖνι οὐ πόρρω τοῦ λιμένος· ἐπὶ τούτου καθήμενον Τελαμῶνα ὁρᾶν λέγουσιν ἐς τὴν ναῦν ἀποπλεόντων οἱ τῶν παίδων ἐς Αὐλίδα
- 4 ἐπὶ τὸν κοινὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων στόλον. λέγουσι δὲ οἱ περὶ τὴν Σαλαμῖνα οἰκοῦντες ἀποθανόντος Αἰάντος τὸ ἄνθος σφίσιν ἐν τῇ γῇ τότε φανῆναι πρῶτον· λευκὸν ἐστίν, ὑπέρυθρον, κρίνου καὶ αὐτὸ ἔλασσον καὶ τὰ φύλλα· γράμματα δὲ ἔπεστιν οἷα τοῖς ὑακίνθοις καὶ τούτῳ. λόγον δὲ τῶν μὲν Αἰολέων τῶν ὕστερον οἰκησάντων Ἴλιον ἐς τὴν κρίσιν τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς ὅπλοις ἤκουσα, οἱ τῆς ναυαγίας Ὀδυσσεὶ συμβάσης ἐξενεχθῆναι κατὰ τὸν τάφον τὸν Αἰάντος τὰ ὄπλα λέγουσι· τὸ δὲ
- 5 ἐς τὸ μέγεθος αὐτοῦ Μυσὸς ἔλεγεν ἀνὴρ. τοῦ γὰρ τάφου τὰ πρὸς τὸν αἰγιαλὸν ἔφασκεν ἐπικλύσαι τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ τὴν ἔσθον ἐς τὸ μνήμα

the son of Eurysaces, the son of Ajax, is said to have handed the island over to the Athenians, having been made an Athenian by them. Many years afterwards the Athenians drove out all the Salaminians, having discovered that they had been guilty of treachery in the war with Cassander, and mainly of set purpose had surrendered to the Macedonians. They sentenced to death Aeschetades, who on this occasion had been elected general for Salamis, and they swore never to forget the treachery of the Salaminians. There are still the remains of a market-place, a temple of Ajax and his statue in ebony. Even at the present day the Athenians pay honours to Ajax himself and to Eurysaces, for there is an altar of Eurysaces also at Athens. In Salamis is shown a stone not far from the harbour, on which they say that Telamon sat when he gazed at the ship in which his children were sailing away to Aulis to take part in the joint expedition of the Greeks. Those who dwell about Salamis say that it was when Ajax died that the flower first appeared in their country. It is white and tinged with red, both flower and leaves being smaller than those of the lily; there are letters on it like to those on the iris. About the judgment concerning the armour I heard a story of the Aeolians who afterwards settled at Ilium, to the effect that when Odysseus suffered shipwreck the armour was cast ashore near the grave of Ajax. As to the hero's size, a Mysian was my informant. He said that the sea flooded the side of the grave facing the beach and made it easy to enter the tomb,

318 B.C.

οὐ χαλεπὴν ποιῆσαι, καὶ με τοῦ νεκροῦ τὸ μέγεθος τεκμαίρεσθαι τῇδε ἐκέλευε· πεντάθλου γὰρ παιδὸς εἶναι οἱ κατὰ δίσκον μάλιστα τὰ ἐπὶ τοῖς γόνασιν ὅσῳ, καλουμένας δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἰατρῶν μύλας. ἐγὼ δέ, ὅπόσοι μὲν οἰκοῦσιν ἔσχατοι Κελτῶν ἔχοντες ὄμορον τῇ διὰ κρυμὸν ἐρήμῳ, οὓς Καβαρεῖς ὀνομάζουσι, τούτων μὲν οὐκ ἐθαύμασα τὸ μῆκος, οἱ νεκρῶν οὐδέν τι διαφόρων ἔχουσιν Αἰγυπτίων· ὅποσα δὲ ἄξια ἐφαίνετο

6 εἶναι μοι θεάς, διηγῆσομαι. Μάγνησι τοῖς ἐπὶ Ἀθηναίῳ Πρωτοφάνης τῶν ἀστῶν ἀνείλετο ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ νίκας ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ παγκρατίου καὶ πάλης· τούτου λησται κερδανεῖν πού τι δοκοῦντες ἐσήλθον ἐς τὸν τάφον, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς λησταῖς ἐσήεσαν ἤδη θεασόμενοι τὸν νεκρὸν τὰς πλευρὰς οὐκ ἔχοντα διεστώσας, ἀλλὰ οἱ συμφυῆς ἦν ὅσον ἀπ' ὤμων ἐς τὰς ἐλαχίστας πλευράς, καλουμένας δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἰατρῶν νόθας. ἔστι δὲ Μιλησίους πρὸ τῆς πόλεως Λάδη νῆσος, ἀπερρώγασι δὲ ἀπ' αὐτῆς νησίδες· Ἀστερίου τὴν ἐτέραν ὀνομάζουσι καὶ τὸν Ἀστέριον ἐν αὐτῇ ταφῆναι λέγουσιν, εἶναι δὲ Ἀστέριον μὲν Ἀνακτος, Ἀνακτα δὲ Γῆς παῖδα· ἔχει δ' οὖν ὁ νεκρὸς οὐδέν τι μείον πηχῶν

7 δέκα. τὸ δ' ἐμοὶ θαῦμα παρασχόν, Ἀνδίας τῆς ἄνω πόλις ἐστὶν οὐ μεγάλη Τημένου θύραι ἐνταῦθα παραραγέντος λόφου διὰ χειμῶνα ὅστῳ ἐφάνη τὸ σχῆμα παρέχοντα ἐς πίστιν ὥς ἐστιν ἀνθρώπου, ἐπεὶ διὰ μέγεθος οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως ἂν ἔδοξεν. αὐτίκα δὲ λόγος ἦλθεν ἐς τοὺς πολλοὺς Γηρυόνοιο τοῦ Χρυσάορος εἶναι μὲν τὸν νεκρὸν, εἶναι δὲ καὶ τὸν θρόνον· καὶ γὰρ θρόνος ἀνδρὸς ἐστὶν ἐνειργασμένος ὅρους λιθῶδει προβολῇ· καὶ



and he bade me form an estimate of the size of the corpse in the following way. The bones on his knees, called by doctors the knee-pan, were in the case of Ajax as big as the quoit of a boy in the *pentathlon*. I saw nothing to wonder at in the stature of those Celts who live farthest off on the borders of the land which is uninhabited because of the cold; these people, the Cabares, are no bigger than Egyptian corpses. But I will relate all that appeared to me worth seeing. For the Magnesians on the Lethaeus, Protophanes, one of the citizens, won at Olympia in one day victories in the *pancrasion*<sup>1</sup> and in wrestling. Into the grave of this man robbers entered, thinking to gain some advantage, and after the robbers people came in to see the corpse, which had ribs not separated but joined together from the shoulders to the smallest ribs, those called by doctors *bastard*. Before the city of the Milesians is an island called Lade, and from it certain islets are detached. One of these they call the islet of Asterius, and say that Asterius was buried in it, and that Asterius was the son of Anax, and Anax the son of Earth. Now the corpse is not less than ten cubits. But what really caused me surprise is this. There is a small city of upper Lydia called The Doors of Teme-nus. There a crest broke away in a storm, and there appeared bones the shape of which led one to suppose that they were human, but from their size one would never have thought it. At once the story spread among the multitude that it was the corpse of Geryon, the son of Chrysaor, and that the seat also was his. For there is a man's seat carved on a rocky spur of the mountain. And a torrent they

<sup>1</sup> Boxing and wrestling combined.

χείμαρρόν τε ποταμὸν Ὀκεανὸν ἐκάλουν καὶ βοῶν  
 ἤδη κέρασιν ἔφασάν τινες ἐντυχεῖν ἀρούντας,  
 διότι ἔχει λόγος βοῦς ἀρίστας θρέψαι τὸν Γηρυ-  
 8 νην. ἐπεὶ δὲ σφισιν ἐναντιούμενος ἀπέφαινον ἐν  
 Γαδείροις εἶναι Γηρυόνην, οὗ μνῆμα μὲν οὐ, δέν-  
 δρον δὲ παρεχόμενον διαφόρους μορφάς, ἐνταῦθα  
 οἱ τῶν Λυδῶν ἐξηγηταὶ τὸν ὄντα ἐδεικνυν λόγον,  
 ὡς εἶη μὲν ὁ νεκρὸς Ὑλλου, παῖς δὲ Ὑλλος εἴη  
 Γῆς, ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ ὁ ποταμὸς ὠνομάσθη. Ἑρα-  
 κλέα δὲ διὰ τὴν παρ' Ὀμφάλη ποτὲ ἔφασαν  
 δίαιταν Ὑλλον ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ καλέσαι τὸν  
 παῖδα.

XXXVI. Ἐν Σαλαμῖνι δὲ—ἐπάνειμι γὰρ ἐς  
 τὸν προκείμενον λόγον—τοῦτο μὲν Ἀρτέμιδος  
 ἐστὶν ἱερόν, τοῦτο δὲ τρόπαιον ἔστηκεν ἀπὸ τῆς  
 νίκης ἣν Θεμιστοκλῆς ὁ Νεοκλέους αἴτιος ἐγένετο  
 γενέσθαι τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν καὶ Κυχρέως ἐστὶν ἱερόν.  
 ναυμαχούντων δὲ Ἀθηναίων πρὸς Μήδους δρά-  
 κοντα ἐν ταῖς ναυσὶ λέγεται φανῆναι· τούτου ὁ  
 θεὸς ἔχρησεν Ἀθηναίοις Κυχρέα εἶναι τὸν ἥρωα.  
 2 νῆσος δὲ πρὸ Σαλαμῖνός ἐστι καλουμένη Ψυτ-  
 τάλεια· ἐς ταύτην τῶν βαρβάρων ὅσων τετρα-  
 κοσίους ἀποβῆναι λέγουσιν, ἡττωμένους δὲ τοῦ  
 Ξέρξου ναυτικοῦ καὶ τούτους ἀπολέσθαι φασὶν  
 ἐπιδιαβάντων ἐς τὴν Ψυττάλειαν τῶν Ἑλλήνων.  
 ἀγαλμα δὲ ἐν τῇ νήσῳ σὺν τέχνῃ μὲν ἐστὶν οὐδέν,  
 Πανὸς δὲ ὡς ἕκαστον ἐτυχε ξόανα πεποιημένα.  
 3 Ἰούσι δὲ ἐπ' Ἐλευσίνα ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν ἣν Ἀθηναῖοι  
 καλοῦσιν ὁδὸν ἱεράν, Ἀνθεμοκρίτου πεποιήται  
 μνῆμα. ἐς τοῦτον Μεγαρεῦσιν ἐστὶν ἀνοσιώ-  
 τατον ἔργον, οἳ κήρυκα ἐλθόντα, ὡς μὴ τοῦ λοι-

ed the river Ocean, and they said that men  
ghing met with the horns of cattle, for the story  
at Geryon reared excellent cows. And when I  
cised the account and pointed out to them that  
yon is at Gadeira, where there is, not his tomb,  
a tree showing different shapes, the guides of  
Lydians related the true story, that the corpse  
at of Hyllus, a son of Earth, from whom the  
r is named. They also said that Heracles from  
sojourning with Omphale called his son Hyllus  
r the river.

XXVI. But I will return to my subject. In  
mis is a sanctuary of Artemis, and also a trophy  
ted in honour of the victory which Themistocles 480 B.C.  
son of Neocles won for the Greeks. There is also  
ctuary of Cychreus. When the Athenians were  
ting the Persians at sea, a serpent is said to have  
eared in the fleet, and the god in an oracle told  
Athenians that it was Cychreus the hero. Before  
mis there is an island called Psyttalea. Here  
say that about four hundred of the Persians  
ed, and when the fleet of Xerxes was defeated,  
e also were killed after the Greeks had crossed  
to Psyttalea. The island has no artistic statue,  
some roughly carved wooden images of Pan.

s you go to Eleusis from Athens along what the  
enians call the Sacred Way you see the tomb of  
hemocritus.<sup>1</sup> The Megarians committed against  
a most wicked deed, for when he had come as  
erald to forbid them to encroach upon the land in

<sup>1</sup> Just before the Peloponnesian War.

ποῦ τὴν χώραν ἐπεργάζονται, κτείνουσιν Ἀνθε-  
 μόκριτον καὶ σφισι ταῦτα δράσασι παραμένει  
 καὶ ἐς τόδε μῆνιμα ἐκ τοῖν θεοῖν, οἷς οὐδὲ Ἀδριανὸς  
 ὁ βασιλεὺς ὥστε καὶ ἐπαυξηθῆναι μόνοις ἐπὶ  
 4 κέσεν Ἑλλήνων. μετὰ δὲ τοῦ Ἀνθεμοκρίτου τὴν  
 στηλὴν Μολοπτοῦ τε τάφος ἐστὶν ἀξιωθέντος  
 Ἀθηναίων καὶ τούτου στρατηγεῖν, ὅτε Πλου-  
 τάρχῳ βοηθοῦντες διέβησαν ἐς Εὐβοίαν, καὶ  
 χωρίον Σκίρον ἐπὶ τοιῷδε καλούμενον. Ἐλευ-  
 σινίοις πολεμοῦσι πρὸς Ἐρεχθέα ἀνὴρ μάντις  
 ἦλθεν ἐκ Δωδώνης ὄνομα Σκίρος, ὃς καὶ τῆς  
 Σκιράδος ἰδρύσατο Ἀθηναῖς ἐπὶ Φαληρῷ τὸ ἄρ-  
 χαῖον ἱερόν· πεσόντα δὲ αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ θά-  
 πτουσιν Ἐλευσίνιοι πλησίον ποταμοῦ χειμάρρου,  
 καὶ τῷ τε χωρίῳ τὸ ὄνομα ἀπὸ τοῦ ἡρώος ἐστὶ  
 5 καὶ τῷ ποταμῷ. πλησίον δὲ πεποιήται Κηφισο-  
 δώρου μνήμα δήμον προστάντος καὶ Φιλίππῳ τῷ  
 Δημητρίου Μακεδόνων βασιλεύοντι ἐς τὰ μάλιστα  
 ἐναντιωθέντος· συμμάχους δὲ ἐπήγετο Κηφισό-  
 δωρος Ἀθηναίους γενέσθαι βασιλεῖς μὲν Ἀτταλὸν  
 τὸν Μυσὸν καὶ Πτολεμαῖον τὸν Αἰγύπτιον, ἔθνη  
 δὲ αὐτόνομα Αἰτωλοὺς καὶ νησιωτῶν Ροδίους καὶ  
 6 Κρήτας. ὥς δὲ καὶ ἐξ Αἰγύπτου καὶ Μυσίας  
 καὶ παρὰ τῶν Κρητῶν τὰ πολλὰ ὑστέρηζον αἱ  
 βοηθίαι, Ῥόδιοι δὲ μόνοις ναυσὶν ἰσχύοντες  
 πρὸς ὀπλίτας τοὺς Μακεδόνας οὐ μέγιστα ὠφέ-  
 λουν, ἐνταῦθα Κηφισόδωρος ἐς Ἰταλίαν σὺν  
 ἄλλοις Ἀθηναίων πλεύσας ἰκέτευεν ἀμύναν Ῥω-  
 μαίους· οἱ δὲ σφισι δύναμιν καὶ στρατηγὸν πέμ-  
 πουσιν, οἱ τὰ Φιλίππου καὶ Μακεδόνων ἐς το-  
 σοῦτο καθεῖλον ὥς ὕστερον Περσέα τὸν Φιλίππου  
 τὴν τε ἀρχὴν ἀποβαλεῖν καὶ αὐτὸν αἰχμάλωτον  
 ἐς Ἰταλίαν ἀχθῆναι. Φίλιππος δὲ ἦν οὗτος ὁ



future they put him to death. For this act the wrath of the Two Goddesses lies upon them even to this day, for they are the only Greeks that not even the emperor Hadrian could make more prosperous. After the tombstone of Anthemocritus comes the grave of Molottus, who was deemed worthy of commanding the Athenians when they crossed into Euboea to reinforce Plutarch,<sup>1</sup> and also a place called Scirum, which received its name for the following reason. The Eleusinians were making war against Erechtheus when there came from Dodona a seer called Scirus, who also set up at Phalerum the ancient sanctuary of Athena Sciras. When he fell in the fighting the Eleusinians buried him near a torrent, and the hero has given his name to both place and torrent. Hard by is the tomb of Cephisodorus, who was champion of the people and opposed to the utmost Philip, the son of Demetrius, king of Macedon. Cephisodorus induced to become allies of Athens two kings, Attalus the Mysian and Ptolemy the Egyptian, and, of the self-governing peoples, the Aetolians with the Rhodians and the Cretans among the islanders. As the reinforcements from Egypt, Mysia, and Crete were for the most part too late, and the Rhodians, whose strength lay only in their fleet, were of little help against the Macedonian men-at-arms, Cephisodorus sailed with other Athenians to Italy and begged aid of the Romans. They sent a force and a general, who so reduced Philip and the Macedonians that afterwards Perseus, the son of Philip, lost his throne and was himself taken prisoner to Italy. This Philip

<sup>1</sup> Tyrant of Eretria in Euboea.

Δημητρίου· πρῶτος γὰρ ταύτης τῆς οἰκίας ἔσχε Δημήτριος τὴν Μακεδόνων ἀρχὴν ἀποκτείνας Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Κασσάνδρου παῖδα, ὡς τὰ πρότερον ἔχει μοι τοῦ λόγου.

XXXVII. Μετὰ δὲ τοῦ Κηφισοδώρου τὸ μνήμα τέθαιπται μὲν Ἡλιόδωρος Ἀλῆς.<sup>1</sup> τοῦτου γραφὴν ἰδεῖν ἔστι καὶ ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῷ μεγάλῳ τῆς Ἀθηνῶς· τέθαιπται δὲ Θεμιστοκλῆς Πολιάρχου, τρίτος ἀπόγονος Θεμιστοκλέους τοῦ Ξέρξη καὶ Μηδοῖς ἐναντία ναυμαχῆσαντος. τοὺς δὲ κατωτέρω τοῦ γένους πλὴν Ἀκεστίου παρήσω τοὺς ἄλλους· Ἀκεστίῳ δὲ τῇ Ξενοκλέους τοῦ Σοφοκλέους τοῦ Λέοντος τούτους τε ἐς τὸν τέταρτον πρόγονον Λέοντα δαδούχους πάντας ὑπῆρξε γενέσθαι καὶ παρὰ τὸν βίον τὸν αὐτῆς πρῶτον μὲν τὸν ἀδελφὸν Σοφοκλέα εἶδε δαδουχοῦντα, ἐπὶ δὲ τούτῳ τὸν ἄνδρα Θεμιστοκλέα, τελευτήσαντος δὲ καὶ τούτου Θεοφραστον τὸν παῖδα. ταύτῃ μὲν τύχῃ τοιαύτην συμβῆναι λέγουσι·  
<sup>2</sup> προελθοῦσι δὲ ὀλίγον Λακίου τέμενός ἐστιν ἥρωος καὶ δῆμος ὃν Λακιάδας ὀνομάζουσιν ἀπὸ τούτου, καὶ Νικοκλέους Ταραντίνου ἐστὶ μνήμα, ὃς ἐπὶ μέγιστον δόξης καθαρφδῶν ἀπάντων ἦλθεν. ἔστι δὲ καὶ Ζεφύρου τε βωμὸς καὶ Δήμητρος ἱερὸν καὶ τῆς παιδός· σὺν δὲ σφισιν Ἀθηνᾶ καὶ Ποσειδῶν ἔχουσι τιμὰς. ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χωρίῳ Φύταλόν φασιν οἶκω Δήμητρα δέξασθαι, καὶ τὴν θεὸν ἀντὶ τούτων δοῦναι οἱ τὸ φυτὸν τῆς συκῆς· μαρτυρεῖ δέ μοι τῷ λόγῳ τὸ ἐπιγράμμα τὸ ἐπὶ τῷ Φυτάλου τάφῳ·

ἐνθάδ' ἀναξ ἥρωος Φύταλός ποτε δέξατο σεμνὴν  
 Δήμητραν, ὅτε πρῶτον ὑπώρας καρπὸν ἔφηνεν,

<sup>1</sup> Ἀλαεῖος Leuke.

was the son of Demetrius. Demetrius was the first of this house to hold the throne of Macedon, having put to death Alexander, son of Cassander, as I have related in a former part of my account.

XXXVII. After the tomb of Cephisodorus is the grave of Heliodorus Halis.<sup>1</sup> A portrait of this man is also to be seen in the great temple of Athena. Here too is the grave of Themistocles, son of Poliarchus, and grandson of the Themistocles who fought the sea fight against Xerxes and the Persians. Of the later descendants I shall mention none except Acestium. She, her father Xenocles, his father Sophocles, and his father Leon, all of them up to her great-grandfather Leon won the honour of being torch-bearer, and in her own lifetime she saw as torch-bearers, first her brother Sophocles, after him her husband Themistocles, and after his death her son Theophrastus. Such was the fortune, they say, that happened to her. A little way past the grave of Themistocles is a precinct sacred to Lacijs, a hero, a parish called after him Laciadae, and the tomb of Nicocles of Tarentum, who won a unique reputation as a harpist. There is also an altar of Zephyrus and a sanctuary of Demeter and her daughter. With them Athena and Poseidon are worshipped. There is a legend that in this place Phytalus welcomed Demeter in his home, for which act the goddess gave him the fig tree. This story is borne out by the inscription on the grave of Phytalus :—

“ Hero and king, Phytalus here welcome gave to  
Demeter,  
August goddess, when first she created fruit of  
the harvest ;

<sup>1</sup> Nothing more is known of this man.

ἦν ἱερὰν συκὴν θνητῶν γένος ἐξονομάζει·  
ἐξ οὗ δὴ τιμὰς Φυτάλου γένος ἔσχευ ἀγῆρως.

- 3 Πρὶν δὲ ἢ διαβῆναι τὸν Κηφισὸν Θεοδώρου μνημῖά ἐστι τραγωδίαν ὑποκριναμένου τῶν καθ' αὐτὸν ἄριστα. ἀγάλματα δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ ποταμῷ Μνησιμάχης, τὸ δὲ ἕτερον ἀνάθημα κειρομένου οἱ τὴν κόμην τοῦ παιδός ἐστι τῷ Κηφισῷ· καθεστάναι δὲ ἐκ παλαιοῦ καὶ τοῖς πᾶσι τοῦτο Ἕλλησι τῇ Ὀμήρου τις ἂν τεκμαίροιτο ποιήσει, ὃς τὸν Πηλέα εὐξασθαί φησι τῷ Σπερχειῷ κερεῖν ἀνασωθέντος ἐκ Τροίας Ἀχιλλέως τὴν κόμην.
- 4 Διαβάσι δὲ τὸν Κηφισὸν βωμός ἐστιν ἀρχαῖος Μελιχίου Διός· ἐπὶ τούτῳ Θησεὺς ὑπὸ τῶν ἀπογόνων τῶν Φυτάλου καθαρίων ἔτυχε, ληστὰς καὶ ἄλλους ἀποκτείνας καὶ Σίνιν τὰ πρὸς Πιτθέως συγγενῇ. τάφος δὲ ἐστὶ μὲν αὐτόθι Θεοδέκτου τοῦ Φασηλίτου, ἔστι δὲ Μνησιθέου· τοῦτον λέγουσιν ἱατροῦν τε ἀγαθὸν γενέσθαι καὶ ἀναθεῖναι ἀγάλματα, ἐν οἷς καὶ ὁ Ἰακχος πεποιήται. ᾠκοδόμηται δὲ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ναὸς οὐ μέγας καλοῦμενος Κναμίτου· σαφὲς δὲ οὐδὲν ἔχω λέγειν εἴτε πρῶτος κυάμους ἔσπειρεν οὗτος εἴτε τινὰ ἐπεφύησαν ἥρωα, ὅτι τῶν κυάμων ἀνενεγκεῖν οὐκ ἐστὶ σφίσιν ἐς Δήμητρα τὴν εὖρεσιν. ὅστις δὲ ἤδη τελετήν Ἐλευσίνι εἶδεν ἢ τὰ καλούμενα Ὀρφικά
- 5 ἐπελέξατο, οἶδεν ὃ λέγω. μνημάτων δὲ ἂ μάλιστα ἐς μέγεθος καὶ κόσμον ἔχει, τὸ μὲν ἀνδρός ἐστὶ Ῥοδίου μετοικήσαντος ἐς Ἀθήνας, τὸ δὲ Ἀρ-



Sacred fig is the name which mortal men have assigned it.

Whence Phytalus and his race have gotten honours immortal."

Before you cross the Cephissus you come to the tomb of Theodorus, the best tragic actor of his day. By the river is a statue of Mnesimache, and a votive statue of her son cutting his hair as a gift for Cephissus. That this habit has existed from ancient times among all the Greeks may be inferred from the poetry of Homer,<sup>1</sup> who makes Peleus vow that on the safe return of Achilles from Troy he will cut off the young man's hair as a gift for the Spercheüs.

A. C.  
370 B. C.

Across the Cephissus is an ancient altar of Zeus Meilichius (*Gracious*). At this altar Theseus obtained purification at the hands of the descendants of Phytalus after killing brigands, including Sinis who was related to him through Pittheus. Here is the grave of Theodectes<sup>2</sup> of Phaselis, and also that of Mnesitheüs. They say that he was a skilful physician and dedicated statues, among which is a representation of Iacchus. On the road stands a small temple called that of Cyamites.<sup>3</sup> I cannot state for certain whether he was the first to sow beans, or whether they gave this name to a hero because they may not attribute to Demeter the discovery of beans. Whoever has been initiated at Eleusis or has read what are called the Orphica<sup>4</sup> knows what I mean. Of the tombs, the largest and most beautiful are that of a Rhodian who settled at Athens, and the one

<sup>1</sup> *Iliad*, xxiii. 141 f.

<sup>2</sup> A pupil of Isocrates.

<sup>3</sup> *Cyamios* means "bean."

<sup>4</sup> A poem describing certain aspects of Orphic religion.

παλος Μακεδὼν ἐποίησεν, ὃς Ἀλέξανδρον ἀποδρὰς ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας διέβη ναυσὶν ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην, ἀφικόμενος δὲ παρ' Ἀθηναίους ὑπ' αὐτῶν συνελήφθη, διαφθείρας δὲ χρήμασιν ἄλλους τε καὶ τοὺς Ἀλεξάνδρου φίλους ἀπέδρα, πρότερον δὲ ἐπὶ Πυθονίκην ἔγημε, γένος μὲν οὐκ οἶδα ὁπόθεν, ἑταιροῦσαν δὲ ἐν τε Ἀθήναις καὶ ἐν Κορίνθῳ ταύτης ἐς τοσοῦτον ἔρωτος προῆλθεν ὥς καὶ μνήμα ἀποθανούσης ποιῆσαι πάντων ὁπόσα Ἑλληνίσιν ἐστὶν ἀρχαῖα θεάς μάλιστα ἄξιον.

- 6 Ἔστι δὲ ἱερὸν ἐν ᾧ κεῖται Δήμητρος καὶ τῆς παιδὸς ἀγάλματα καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς τε καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος· Ἀπόλλωνι δὲ ἐποιήθη μόνῳ τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς. Κέφαλον γὰρ τὸν Δηϊόνος συνεξελόντα<sup>1</sup> λέγουσιν Ἀμφιτρύωνι Τηλεβόας τὴν νῆσον οἰκῆσαι πρῶτον, ἣ νῦν ἀπ' ἐκείνου Κεφαλληνία καλεῖται· μετοικεῖν δὲ αὐτὸν τέως ἐν Θήβαις φεύγοντα ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν διὰ τὸν Πρόκριδος<sup>2</sup> τῆς γυναικὸς φόνον. δεκάτῃ δὲ ὕστερον γενεᾷ Χαλκίῳ καὶ Δαΐτῳ ἀπὸ γονοὶ Κεφάλου πλεύσαντες ἐς Δελφοὺς ἦσαν  
7 τὸν θεὸν κάθοδον ἐς Ἀθήνας· ὁ δὲ σφισι κελεύει θῦσαι πρῶτον Ἀπόλλωνι ἐνταῦθα τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ἔνθα ἂν ἴδωσιν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς τριήρη θέουσαν. γενομένοις δὲ αὐτοῖς κατὰ τὸ ποικίλον καλούμενον ὄρος δράκων ἐφάνη σπουδῇ κατὰ τὸν φωλεὸν ἰόν· καὶ Ἀπόλλωνί τε θύουσιν ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ τούτῳ καὶ ὕστερον σφᾶς ἐλθόντας ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἄστον ἐποίησαντο Ἀθηναῖοι.—μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο Ἀφροδίτης ναὸς ἐστὶ καὶ πρὸ αὐτοῦ τεῖχος ἀργῶν λίθων θεάς ἄξιον.

<sup>1</sup> συνεξελθόντα, emended by Xylander.

<sup>2</sup> πρόκριδος, emended by Xylander.

made by the Macedonian Harpalus, who ran away from Alexander and crossed with a fleet from Asia to Europe. On his arrival at Athens he was arrested by the citizens, but ran away after bribing among others the friends of Alexander. But before this he married Pythonice, whose family I do not know, but she was a courtesan at Athens and at Corinth. His love for her was so great that when she died he made her a tomb which is the most noteworthy of all the old Greek tombs.

There is a sanctuary in which are set statues of Demeter, her daughter, Athena, and Apollo. At the first it was built in honour of Apollo only. For legend says that Cephalus, the son of Deion, having helped Amphitryon to destroy the Teleboans, was the first to dwell in that island which now is called after him Cephallenia, and that he resided till that time at Thebes, exiled from Athens because he had killed his wife Procris. In the tenth generation afterwards Chalcinus and Daetus, descendants of Cephalus, sailed to Delphi and asked the god for permission to return to Athens. He ordered them first to sacrifice to Apollo in that spot in Attica where they should see a man-of-war running on the land. When they reached the mountain called the Many-coloured Mountain a snake was seen hurrying into its hole. In this place they sacrificed to Apollo; afterwards they came to Athens and the Athenians made them citizens. After this is a temple of Aphrodite, before which is a noteworthy wall of unwrought stones.

- XXXVIII. Οἱ δὲ Ῥεῖτοὶ καλούμενοι ῥεύμα μόνον παρέχονται ποταμῶν, ἐπεὶ τό γε ὕδωρ θάλασσά ἐστί σφισι· πείθεται δὲ ἂν τις καὶ ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ Χαλκιδέων Εὐρίπου ῥέουσιν ὑπὸ τῆς γῆς ἐς θάλασσαν κοιλοτέραν ἐμπίπτοντες. λέγονται δὲ οἱ Ῥεῖτοὶ Κόρης ἱεροὶ καὶ Δημητρος εἶναι, καὶ τοὺς ἰχθύς ἐξ αὐτῶν τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἔστιν αἰρεῖν μόνοις. οὗτοι τὸ ἀρχαῖον, ὡς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, πρὸς Ἀθηναίους τοὺς ἄλλους ὄροι τῆς γῆς
- 2 Ἐλευσινίοις ἦσαν, καὶ διαβᾶσι τοὺς Ῥεῖτους πρῶτος ὤκει Κρόκων, ἔνθα καὶ νῦν ἐτι βασιλεία καλεῖται Κρόκωνος. τοῦτον Ἀθηναῖοι τὸν Κρόκωνα Κελεοῦ θυγατρὶ συνοικῆσαι Σαيسάρα λέγουσι· λέγουσι δὲ οὐ πάντες, ἀλλ' ὅσοι τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Σκαμβωνιδῶν εἰσιν· ἐγὼ δὲ Κρόκωνος μὲν ἀνευρεῖν τάφον οὐχ οἷός τε ἐγενόμην, τὸ δὲ Εὐμόλπου μνῆμα κατὰ ταῦτα Ἐλευσινίοις ἀπέφανον καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι. τοῦτον τὸν Εὐμόλπον ἀφικέσθαι λέγουσιν ἐκ Θράκης Ποσειδῶνος παῖδα ὄντα καὶ Χιόνης· τὴν δὲ Χιόνην Βορέου θυγατέρα τοῦ ἀνέμου καὶ Ὀρειθυίας φασὶν εἶναι. Ὀμήρῳ δὲ ἐς μὲν τὸ γένος ἔστιν οὐδὲν αὐτοῦ πεποιημένον, ἐπονομάζει δὲ ἀγήνορα ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσι τὸν Εὐμόλπον.
- 3 πον. γενομένης δὲ Ἐλευσινίοις μάχης πρὸς Ἀθηναίους ἀπέθανε μὲν Ἐρεχθεὺς Ἀθηναίων βασιλεὺς, ἀπέθανε δὲ Ἰμμύραδος Εὐμόλπου· καταλύονται δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖσδε τὸν πόλεμον, ὡς Ἐλευσινίους ἐς τὰ ἄλλα Ἀθηναίων κατηκόους ὄντας ἰδία τελεῖν τὴν τελετήν. τὰ δὲ ἱερὰ τοῖν θεοῖν Εὐμόλπος καὶ αἱ θυγατέρες δρῶσιν αἱ Κελεοῦ, καλοῦσι δὲ σφᾶς Πάμφως τε κατὰ ταῦτα



XXXVIII. The streams called Rheiti are rivers only in so far as they are currents, for their water is sea water. It is a reasonable belief that they flow beneath the ground from the Euripus of the Chalcidians, and fall into a sea of a lower level. They are said to be sacred to the Maid and to Demeter, and only the priests of these goddesses are permitted to catch the fish in them. Anciently, I learn, these streams were the boundaries between the land of the Eleusinians and that of the other Athenians, and the first to dwell on the other side of the Rheiti was Crocon, where at the present day is what is called the palace of Crocon. This Crocon the Athenians say married Saesara, daughter of Celeüs. Not all of them say this, but only those who belong to the parish of Scambonidae. I could not find the grave of Crocon, but Eleusinians and Athenians agreed in identifying the tomb of Eumolpus. This Eumolpus they say came from Thrace, being the son of Poseidon and Chione. Chione they say was the daughter of the wind Boreas and of Oreithyia. Homer says nothing about the family of Eumolpus, but in his poems styles him "manly." When the Eleusinians fought with the Athenians, Erechtheus, king of the Athenians, was killed, as was also Immaradus, son of Eumolpus. These were the terms on which they concluded the war: the Eleusinians were to have independent control of the mysteries, but in all things else were to be subject to the Athenians. The ministers of the Two Goddesses were Eumolpus and the daughters of Celeüs, whom Pamphos and Homer

- καὶ Ὀμηρος Διογένειαν καὶ Παμμερόπην καὶ  
 τρίτην Σαيسάραν· τελευτήσαντος δὲ Εὐμόλπου  
 Κήρυξ νεώτερος λείπεται τῶν παίδων, ὃν αἰτιῶν  
 Κήρυκες θυγατρὸς Κέκροπος Ἀγλαύρου καὶ Ἐρ-  
 μού παῖδα εἶναι λέγουσιν, ἀλλ' οὐκ Εὐμόλπου.
- 4 Ὅστι δὲ Ἰπποθώωντος ἠρώδων, ἀφ' οὗ τὴν φυλὴν  
 ὀνομάζουσι, καὶ πλησίον Ζάρηκος. τοῦτον μα-  
 θεῖν παρὰ Ἀπόλλωνι μουσικὴν φασιν, ἐγὼ δὲ  
 ξένον μὲν ἀφικόμενον ἐς τὴν γῆν Λακεδαιμονίου  
 τε εἶναι δοκῶ καὶ Ζάρακα ἐν τῇ Λακωνικῇ πόλιν  
 ἀπὸ τούτου πρὸς θαλάσση καλεῖσθαι· εἰ δέ τις  
 Ζάρηξ ἐπιχώριος Ἀθηναίοις ἦρως, οὐδὲν ἐς αὐτὸν
- 5 ἔχω λέγειν.—ρεῖ δὲ Κηφισὸς πρὸς Ἐλευσίνα  
 βιαίότερον παρεχόμενος τοῦ προτέρου ρεῖμα· καὶ  
 παρ' αὐτῷ καλοῦσιν Ἐρινεόν, λέγοντες τὸν Πλού-  
 τωνα ὅτε ἤρπασε τὴν Κόρην καταβῆναι ταύτην  
 πρὸς τούτῳ τῷ Κηφισῷ ληστὴν Πολυτήμονα  
 ὄνομα, Προκρούστην δὲ ἐπὶ κλησιν, Θησεὺς ἀπέ-
- 6 κτεινεν. Ἐλευσινίοις δὲ ἔστι μὲν Τριπτολέμου  
 ναός, ἔστι δὲ Προπυλαίας Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ Ποσει-  
 δώνος Πατρός, φρέαρ τε καλούμενον Καλλίχορον,  
 ἐνθα πρῶτον Ἐλευσινίων αἱ γυναῖκες χορὸν ἔστη-  
 σαν καὶ ἦσαν ἐς τὴν θεόν. τὸ δὲ πεδῖον τὸ  
 Ῥάριον σπαρῆναι πρῶτον λέγουσι καὶ πρῶτον  
 αὐξῆσαι καρπούς, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐλαῖς ἐξ αὐτοῦ  
 χρῆσθαι σφισι καὶ ποιεῖσθαι πέμματα ἐς τὰς  
 θυαῖας καθέστηκεν. ἐνταῦθα ἄλλως καλούμενη
- 7 Τριπτολέμου καὶ βωμὸς δέικνυται· τὰ δὲ ἐντὸς  
 τοῦ τείχους τοῦ ἱεροῦ τό τε ὄνειρον ἀπέειπε γρά-  
 φειν, καὶ τοῖς οὐ τελεσθεῖσιν, ὁπόσων θέας εἰρ-  
 γονται, δῆλα δήπου μηδὲ πυθέσθαι μετεῖναι  
 σφισιν. Ἐλευσίνα δὲ ἦρως, ἀφ' οὗ τὴν πόλιν

agree in naming Diogenia, Pammerope, and the third Saesara. Eumolpus was survived by Ceryx, the younger of his sons, whom the Cerycees themselves say was a son of Aglaurus, daughter of Cecrops, and of Hermes, not of Eumolpus.

There is also a shrine of the hero Hippothoön, after whom the tribe is named, and hard by one of Zarex. The latter they say learned music from Apollo, but my opinion is that he was a Lacedaemonian who came as a stranger to the land, and that after him is named Zarax, a town in the Laconian territory near the sea. If there is a native Athenian hero called Zarex, I have nothing to say concerning him. At Eleusis flows a Cephissus which is more violent than the Cephissus I mentioned above, and by the side of it is the place they call Erineüs, saying that Pluto descended there to the lower world after carrying off the Maid. Near this Cephissus Theseus killed a brigand named Polypëmon and surnamed Procrustes. The Eleusinians have a temple of Triptolemus, of Artemis of the Portal, and of Poseidon Father, and a well called Callichorum (*Lovely dance*), where first the women of the Eleusinians danced and sang in praise of the goddess. They say that the plain called Rharium was the first to be sown and the first to grow crops, and for this reason it is the custom to use sacrificial barley and to make cakes for the sacrifices from its produce. Here there is shown a threshing-floor called that of Triptolemus and an altar. My dream forbade the description of the things within the wall of the sanctuary, and the uninitiated are of course not permitted to learn that which they are prevented from seeing. The hero Eleusis, after whom the city is named, some

ὀνομάζουσιν, οἱ μὲν Ἑρμοῦ παῖδα εἶναι καὶ Δαί-  
ρας Ὠκεανοῦ θυγατρὸς λέγουσι, τοῖς δὲ ἐστὶ  
πεποιημένα Ὠγγυγον εἶναι πατέρα Ἐλευσίνι· οἱ  
γὰρ<sup>1</sup> ἀρχαῖοι τῶν λόγων ἅτε οὐ προσόντων  
σφίσιν ἐπ' αὐτῶν ἄλλα τε πλάσασθαι δεδῶκασιν  
καὶ μάλιστα ἐς τὰ γένη τῶν ἡρώων.

- 8 Ἐκ δὲ Ἐλευσίνος τραπομένοις ἐπὶ Βοιωτῶν,  
ἐστὶν ὁμορος Ἀθηναίοις ἢ Πλαταιῖς. πρότερον  
μὲν γὰρ Ἐλευθερεῦσιν ὄροι πρὸς τὴν Ἀττικὴν  
ἦσαν· προσχωρησάντων δὲ Ἀθηναίοις τούτων,  
οὕτως ἤδη Βοιωτίας ὁ Κιθαιρῶν ἐστὶν ὄρος. προσ-  
εχώρησαν δὲ Ἐλευθερεῖς οὐ πολέμῳ βιασθέντες,  
ἀλλὰ πολιτείας τε ἐπιθυμήσαντες παρὰ Ἀθη-  
ναίων καὶ κατ' ἔχθος τὸ Θηβαίων. ἐν τούτῳ τῷ  
πεδίῳ ναὸς ἐστὶ Διονύσου, καὶ τὸ ξόανον ἐντεῦθεν  
Ἀθηναίοις ἐκομίσθη τὸ ἀρχαῖον· τὸ δὲ ἐν Ἐλευ-  
θεραῖς τὸ ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἐς μίμησιν ἐκείνου πεποίη-  
ται.
- 9 Ἀπωτέρω δὲ ὀλίγον σπήλαιόν ἐστιν οὐ μέγα,  
καὶ παρ' αὐτὸ ὕδατος πηγὴ ψυχροῦ· λέγεται δὲ  
ἐς μὲν τὸ σπήλαιον ὡς Ἀντιόπη τεκούσα κατὰ-  
βοιτο ἐς αὐτὸ τοὺς παῖδας, περὶ δὲ τῆς πηγῆς  
τὸν ποιμένα εὐρόντα τοὺς παῖδας ἐνταῦθα σφά-  
λῃσαι πρῶτον ἀπολύσαντα τῶν σπαργάνων.  
Ἐλευθερῶν δὲ ἦν μὲν ἔτι τοῦ τείχους, ἦν δὲ καὶ  
οἰκῶν ἐρείπια· δῆλη δὲ ταύτοις ἐστὶ πόλις ὀλίγον  
ὑπὲρ τοῦ πεδίου πρὸς τῷ Κιθαιρῶνι οἰκισθεῖσα.

XXXIX. Ἐτέρα δὲ ὁδὸς ἐξ Ἐλευσίνος πρὸς  
Μέγαρα ἄγει· ταύτην ἐρχομένοις τὴν ὁδὸν φρέαρ  
ἐστὶν Ἀνθιον καλούμενον. ἐποίησε δὲ Πάμφως  
ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῷ φρέατι καθῆσθαι Δήμητρα μετὰ  
τὴν ἀρπαγὴν τῆς παιδὸς γλαῖ εἰκασμένην· ἐντεῦ-

<sup>1</sup> Ἐλευσίνοι γὰρ, emended by Schubart.



assert to be a son of Hermes and of Daeira, daughter of Ocean; there are poets, however, who have made Ogygus father of Eleusis. Ancient legends, deprived of the help of poetry, have given rise to many fictions, especially concerning the pedigrees of heroes.

When you have turned from Eleusis to Boeotia you come to the Plataean land, which borders on Attica. Formerly Eleutheræ formed the boundary on the side towards Attica, but when it came over to the Athenians henceforth the boundary of Boeotia was Cithæron. The reason why the people of Eleutheræ came over was not because they were reduced by war, but because they desired to share Athenian citizenship and hated the Thebans. In this plain is a temple of Dionysus, from which the old wooden image was carried off to Athens. The image at Eleutheræ at the present day is a copy of the old one. A little farther on is a small cave, and beside it is a spring of cold water. The legend about the cave is that Antiope after her labour placed her babies into it; as to the spring, it is said that the shepherd who found the babies washed them there for the first time, taking off their swaddling clothes. Of Eleutheræ there were still left the ruins of the wall and of the houses. From these it is clear that the city was built a little above the plain close to Cithæron.

XXXIX. There is another road from Eleusis, which leads to Megara. As you go along this road you come to a well called Anthium (*Flowery Well*). Pamphos in his poems describes how Demeter in the likeness of an old woman sat at this well after the rape of her

- θεν δὲ αὐτὴν ἄτε γυναῖκα Ἀργεῖαν ὑπὸ τῶν  
θυγατέρων τῶν Κελεοῦ κομισθῆναι παρὰ τὴν  
μητέρα καὶ οἱ τὴν Μετάνειραν οὕτω πιστεῦσαι  
2 τοῦ παιδὸς τὴν ἀνατροφὴν. ὀλίγω δὲ ἀπωτέρω  
τοῦ φρέατος ἱερὸν Μετανείρας ἐστὶ καὶ μετ' αὐτὸ  
τάφοι τῶν ἐπὶ Θήβας. Κρέων γάρ, ὃς ἐδυνάστευε  
τότε ἐν Θήβαις Λαοδάμαντα ἐπιτροπεύων τὸν  
Ἑτεοκλέους, οὐ παρῆκε τοῖς προσήκουσιν ἀνελκο-  
μένοις θάψαι· ἰκετεύσαντος δὲ Ἀδράστου Θησέα  
καὶ μάχης Ἀθηναίων γενομένης πρὸς Βοιωτοῦς,  
Θησεὺς ὡς ἐκράτησε τῇ μάχῃ κομίσας ἐς τὴν  
Ἑλευσινίαν τοὺς νεκροὺς ἐνταῦθα ἔθαψε. Θη-  
βαῖοι δὲ τὴν ἀναίρεσιν τῶν νεκρῶν λέγουσιν ἐθε-  
λονταὶ δοῦναι καὶ συνάψαι μάχην οὗ φασι.—  
3 μετὰ δὲ τῶν Ἀργείων τὸς τάφους ἐστὶν Ἀλόπης  
μνήμα, ἣν τεκοῦσαν Ἰπποθόωντα ἐκ Ποσειδῶνος  
ἀποθανεῖν ἐνταῦθά φασι ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς Κερ-  
κυόνοσ. εἶναι δὲ ὁ Κερκυὼν λέγεται καὶ τὰ ἄλλα  
ἄδικος ἐς τοὺς ξένους καὶ παλαίειν οὐ βουλο-  
μένοις· καὶ ὁ τόπος οὗτος παλαιόστρα καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ  
ἐκαλεῖτο Κερκυόνοσ, ὀλίγον τοῦ τάφου τῆς Ἀλό-  
πης ἀπέχων. λέγεται δὲ ὁ Κερκυὼν τοὺς κατα-  
στάντας ἐς πάλιν διαφθεῖραι πλὴν Θησέως,  
Θησεὺς δὲ κατεπάλασεν αὐτὸν σοφία τὸ πλεόν  
παλαιστικὴν γὰρ τέχνην εὖρε Θησεὺς πρώτος  
καὶ πάλης κατέστη ὕστερον ἀπ' ἐκείνου διδα-  
σκαλία· πρότερον δὲ ἐχρῶντο μεγέθει μόνον καὶ  
ῥώμῃ πρὸς τὰς πάλας.

Τοσαῦτα κατὰ γνώμην τὴν ἐμὴν Ἀθηναίοις  
γνωριμώτατα ἦν ἐν τε λόγοις καὶ θεωρήμασιν,  
ἀπέκρινε δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν πολλῶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὁ λόγος  
μοι τὰ ἐς συγγραφὴν ἀνήκοντα.

daughter, how the daughters of Celeüs thence took her as an Argive woman to their mother, and how Metaneira thereupon entrusted to her the rearing of her son. A little farther on from the well is a sanctuary of Metaneira, and after it are graves of those who went against Thebes. For Creon, who at that time ruled in Thebes as guardian of Laodamas the son of Eteocles, refused to allow the relatives to take up and bury their dead. But Adrastus having supplicated Theseus, the Athenians fought with the Boeotians, and Theseus being victorious in the fight carried the dead to the Eleusinian territory and buried them here. The Thebans, however, say that they voluntarily gave up the dead for burial and deny that they engaged in battle. After the graves of the Argives is the tomb of Alope, who, legend says, being mother of Hippothoön by Poseidon was on this spot put to death by her father Cercyon. He is said to have treated strangers wickedly, especially in wrestling with them against their will. So even to my day this place is called the Wrestling Ground of Cercyon, being a little way from the grave of Alope. Cercyon is said to have killed all those who tried a bout with him except Theseus, who out-matched him mainly by his skill. For Theseus was the first to discover the art of wrestling, and through him afterwards was established the teaching of the art. Before him men used in wrestling only size and strength of body.

Such in my opinion are the most famous legends and sights among the Athenians, and from the beginning my narrative has picked out of much material the things that deserve to be recorded.

- 4 Ἐλευσίῃνι δὲ ἤδη πλησιόχωρος ἡ καλουμένη  
 Μεγαρίς· τῆς Ἀθηναίων ἦν καὶ αὕτη τὸ ἀρχαίον.  
 Πύλα τοῦ βασιλέως καταλιπόντος Πανδίων.  
 μαρτύρια δέ μοι τάφος τε Πανδίωνος ἐν τῇ γῇ καὶ  
 Νίσος Αἰγεί μὲν πρεσβυτάτῳ τοῦ παντὸς γένους  
 παραχωρήσας Ἀθηναίων ἄρχειν, αὐτὸς δὲ Μεγα-  
 ρων καὶ τῆς ἄχρι Κορίνθου βασιλεύειν ἀξιωθεὶς.  
 Νίσαιά τε ἔτι καὶ νῦν Μεγαρεῦσιν ἐπίνειον ἀπὸ  
 αὐτοῦ καλεῖται. Κόδρου δὲ ὕστερον βασιλευούτος  
 στρατεύουσιν ἐπὶ Ἀθήνας Πελοποννήσιοι· καὶ ὡς  
 οὐδὲν ἀποδειξάμενοι λαμπρὸν ἐκομίζοντο ὀπίσω.  
 Μέγαρά Ἀθηναίων ἐλόντες Κορινθίων καὶ τῶν  
 ἄλλων συμμάχων τοῖς ἐθέλουσιν ἔδωκαν οἰκῆσαι.
- 5 Μεγαρεῖς μὲν οὕτως ἔθη καὶ φωνὴν μεταβαλόντες  
 Δωριεῖς γεγόνασιν, κληθῆναι δὲ οὕτω τὴν πόλιν  
 φασὶν ἐπὶ Κάρῳ τοῦ Φορωνέως ἐν τῇ γῇ ταύτῃ  
 βασιλευούτος· τότε πρῶτον λέγουσιν ἱερὰ γενέ-  
 σθαι Δήμητρος αὐτοῖς, τότε ἀνθρώπους ὀνομάσαι  
 Μέγαρά. οὕτω μὲν αὐτοὶ περὶ σφῶν Μεγαρεῖς  
 λέγουσι. Βοιωτοὶ δὲ ἐν Ὀγχηστῷ Μεγαρεά τὸν  
 Ποσειδῶνος οἰκοῦντα ἀφικέσθαι στρατιᾷ Βοιωτῶν  
 φασὶ Νίσῳ τὸν πρὸς Μίνῳ πόλεμον συνδιοίσοντα,  
 πεσόντα δὲ αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ ταφῆναί τε αὐτοῦ  
 καὶ τῇ πόλει Μέγαρά ὄνομα ἀπὸ τούτου γενέσθαι,
- 6 πρότερον Νίσᾳ καλουμένη, δωδεκάτῃ δὲ ὕστερον  
 μετὰ Κᾶρα τὸν Φορωνέως γενεᾷ λέγουσιν οἱ  
 Μεγαρεῖς Λέλεγα ἀφικόμενον ἐξ Αἰγύπτου βασι-  
 λεύσαι καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους κληθῆναι Λέλεγας  
 ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτοῦ· Κλήσανος δὲ τοῦ Λέλεγος  
 γενέσθαι Πύλαν, τοῦ Πύλα δὲ Σκίρωνα· τού-  
 τον συνοικῆσαι Πανδίωνος θυγατρί, καὶ ὕστερον



Next to Eleusis is the district called Megaris. This too belonged to Athens in ancient times, Pylas the king having left it to Pandion. My evidence is this; in the land is the grave of Pandion, and Nisus, while giving up the rule over the Athenians to Aegeus, the eldest of all the family, was himself made king of Megara and of the territory as far as Corinth. Even at the present day the port of the Megarians is called Nisaea after him. Subsequently in the reign of Codrus the Peloponnesians made an expedition against Athens. Having accomplished nothing brilliant, on their way home they took Megara from the Athenians, and gave it as a dwelling-place to such of the Corinthians and of their other allies as wished to go there. In this way the Megarians changed their customs and dialect and became Dorians, and they say that the city received its name when Car the son of Phoroneus was king in this land. It was then they say that sanctuaries of Demeter were first made by them, and then that men used the name Megara (*Chambers*). This is their history according to the Megarians themselves. But the Boeotians declare that Megareus, son of Poseidon, who dwelt in Onchestus, came with an army of Boeotians to help Nisus wage the war against Minos; that falling in the battle he was buried on the spot, and the city was named Megara from him, having previously been called Nisa. In the twelfth generation after Car the son of Phoroneus the Megarians say that Lelex arrived from Egypt and became king, and that in his reign the tribe Leleges received its name. Lelex they say begat Cleson, Cleson Pylas and Pylas Sciron, who married the daughter of Pandion and afterwards disputed with

Νίσῳ τῷ Πανδίωνος ἐς ἀμφισβήτησιν ἔλθειν περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς Σκίρωνα καὶ σφισιν Αἰακὸν δικάσαι, βασιλείαν μὲν δίδοντα Νίσῳ καὶ τοῖς ἀπογόνους, Σκίρωνι δὲ ἡγεμονίαν εἶναι πολέμου. Μεγαρία δὲ τὸν Ποσειδῶνος θυγατρὶ Νίσου συνοικήσαντα Ἰφινόῃ διαδέξασθαι τὴν τοῦ Νίσου φασὶν ἀρχήν· τὸν δὲ Κρητικὸν πόλεμον καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ Νίσου βασιλεύοντος ἄλωσιν τῆς πόλεως οὐκ ἐθέλουσιν εἰδέναι.

XL. Ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῇ πόλει κρήνη, ἣν σφισιν ᾠκοδόμησε Θεαγένης, οὗ καὶ πρότερον τούτων ἐπεμνήσθην θυγατέρα αὐτὸν συνοικίσαι Κύλωνι Ἀθηναίῳ. οὗτος ὁ Θεαγένης τυραννήσας ᾠκοδόμησε τὴν κρήνην μεγέθους ἔνεκα καὶ κόσμου καὶ ἐς τὸ πλῆθος τῶν κιόνων θέας ἀξίαν· καὶ ὕδωρ ἐς αὐτὴν ῥεῖ καλούμενον Σιθνίδων νυμφῶν. τὰς δὲ Σιθνίδας νύμφας λέγουσι Μεγαρεῖς εἶναι μὲν σφισιν ἐπιχωρίας, μιᾷ δὲ αὐτῶν συγγενέσθαι Δία, Μέγαρον τε παῖδα ὄντα Διὸς καὶ ταύτης δὴ τῆς νύμφης ἐκφυγεῖν τὴν ἐπὶ Δευκαλίωνός ποτε ἐπομβρίαν, ἐκφυγεῖν δὲ πρὸς τὰ ἄκρα τῆς Γερανίας, οὐκ ἔχοντός πω τοῦ ὄρους τὸ ὄνομα τοῦτο, ἀλλὰ—νῆχεσθαι γὰρ πετομένων γεράνων πρὸς τὴν βοήν τῶν ὀρνίθων αὐτόν—διὰ τοῦτο Γερανίαν  
2 τὸ ὄρος ὀνομασθῆναι. τῆς δὲ κρήνης οὐ πόρρω ταύτης ἀρχαῖον ἐστὶν ἱερόν, εἰκόνες δὲ ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἐστῶσιν ἐν αὐτῷ βασιλέων Ῥωμαίων καὶ ἀγαλμα κείται χαλκοῦν Ἀρτέμιδος ἐπὶ κλησιν Σωτείρας. φασὶ δὲ ἄνδρας τοῦ Μαρδονίου στρατοῦ καταδραμόντας τὴν Μεγαρίδα ἀποχωρεῖν ἐς Θήβας ὀπίσω παρὰ Μαρδόνιον ἐθέλειν, γνώμῃ δὲ Ἀρ-

Nisus, the son of Pandion, about the throne, the dispute being settled by Aeacus, who gave the kingship to Nisus and his descendants, and to Sciron the leadership in war. They say further that Nisus was succeeded by Megareus, the son of Poseidon, who married Iphinoë, the daughter of Nisus, but they ignore altogether the Cretan war and the capture of the city in the reign of Nisus.

XL. There is in the city a fountain, which was built for the citizens by Theagenes,<sup>1</sup> whom I have mentioned previously as having given his daughter in marriage to Cylon the Athenian. This Theagenes upon becoming tyrant built the fountain, which is noteworthy for its size, beauty and the number of its pillars. Water flows into it called the water of the Sithnid nymphs. The Megarians say that the Sithnid nymphs are native, and that one of them mated with Zeus; that Megarus, a son of Zeus and of this nymph, escaped the flood in the time of Deucalion, and made his escape to the heights of Gerania. The mountain had not yet received this name, but was then named Gerania (*Crane Hill*) because cranes were flying and Megarus swam towards the cry of the birds. Not far from this fountain is an ancient sanctuary, and in our day likenesses stand in it of Roman emperors, and a bronze image is there of Artemis surnamed Saviour. There is a story that a detachment of the army of Mardonius, having over-  
run Megaris, wished to return to Mardonius at  
Thebes, but that by the will of Artemis night came

470 R.C

<sup>1</sup> See p. 147.

τέμδος νύκτα τε ὁδοιποροῦσιν ἐπιγενέσθαι καὶ  
 τῆς ὁδοῦ σφᾶς ἀμαρτόντας ἐς τὴν ὀρεινὴν τραπέ-  
 σθαι τῆς χώρας· πειρωμένους δὲ εἰ στρατεύμα  
 ἐγγὺς εἴη πολέμιον ἀφιέναι τῶν βελῶν, καὶ τὴν  
 πλησίον πέτραι στένειν βαλλομένην, τοὺς δὲ  
 3 αὖθις τοξεύειν προθυμία πλέονι. τέλος δὲ αὐτοῖς  
 ἀναλωθῆναι τοὺς ὀιστοὺς ἐς ἄνδρας πολεμίους  
 τοξεύειν νομίζουσιν· ἡμέρα τε ὑπεφαίνεται καὶ οἱ  
 Μεγαρεῖς ἐπήεσαν, μαχόμενοι δὲ ὀπλῖται πρὸς  
 ἀνόπλους καὶ οὐδὲ βελῶν εὐποροῦντας ἔτι φονεύ-  
 ουσιν αὐτῶν τοὺς πολλούς· καὶ ἐπὶ τῷδε Σωτείρας  
 ἄγαλμα ἐποίησαντο Ἀρτέμιδος. ἐνταῦθα καὶ  
 τῶν δώδεκα ὀνομαζομένων θεῶν ἔστιν ἀγάλματα  
 ἔργα εἶναι λεγόμενα Πραξιτέλους· τὴν δὲ Ἀρτε-  
 μιν αὐτὴν Στρογγυλίων ἐποίησε.

4 Μετὰ ταῦτα ἐς τὸ τοῦ Διὸς τέμενος ἐσελθοῦσι  
 καλούμενον Ὀλυμπιεῖον ναός ἐστι θεᾶς ἄξιος· τὸ  
 δὲ ἄγαλμα οὐκ ἐξεργάσθη τοῦ Διὸς, ἐπιλαβόντος  
 τοῦ Πελοποννησίων πολέμου πρὸς Ἀθηναίους, ἐν  
 ᾧ καὶ ναυσὶν ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος καὶ στρατῷ φθειρόντες  
 Μεγαρεῦσιν Ἀθηναῖοι τὴν χώραν τὰ τε κοινὰ  
 ἐκάκωσαν καὶ ἰδίᾳ τοὺς οἴκους ἤγαγον ἐς τὸ  
 ἔσχατον ἀσθενείας. τῷ δὲ ἀγάλματι τοῦ Διὸς  
 πρόσωπον ἐλέφαντος καὶ χρυσοῦ, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ  
 πηλοῦ τέ ἐστι καὶ γύψου· ποιῆσαι δὲ αὐτὸ Θεό-  
 κοσμον λέγουσιν ἐπιχώριον, συνεργιάσασθαι δὲ οἱ  
 Φειδίαν. ὑπὲρ δὲ τῆς κεφαλῆς τοῦ Διὸς εἰσιν  
 Ὠραι καὶ Μοῖραι· δῆλα δὲ πᾶσι τὴν πεπρωμένην  
 μὲν οἱ πείσεσθαι καὶ τὰς ὥρας τὸν θεὸν τοῦτον  
 νέμειν ἐς τὸ δέον. ὅπισθε δὲ τοῦ ναοῦ κεῖται  
 ξύλα ἡμέτερα· ταῦτα ἔμελλεν ὁ Θεόκοσμος ἐλέ-



on them as they marched, and missing their way they turned into the hilly region. Trying to find out whether there was a hostile force near they shot some missiles. The rock near groaned when struck, and they shot again with greater eagerness, until at last they used up all their arrows thinking that they were shooting at the enemy. When the day broke, the Megarians attacked, and being men in armour fighting against men without armour who no longer had even a supply of missiles, they killed the greater number of their opponents. For this reason they had an image made of Artemis Saviour. Here are also images of the gods named the Twelve, said to be the work of Praxiteles. But the image of Artemis herself was made by Strongylion.

After this when you have entered the precinct of Zeus called the Olympieum you see a noteworthy temple. But the image of Zeus was not finished, for the work was interrupted by the war of the Peloponnesians against the Athenians, in which the Athenians every year ravaged the land of the Megarians with a fleet and an army, damaging public revenues and bringing private families to dire distress. The face of the image of Zeus is of ivory and gold, the other parts are of clay and gypsum. The artist is said to have been Theocosmus, a native, helped by Pheidias. Above the head of Zeus are the Seasons and Fates, and all may see that he is the only god obeyed by Destiny, and that he apportions the seasons as is due. Behind the temple lie half-worked pieces of wood, which Theocosmus intended to overlay with ivory

φαντι καὶ χρυσῷ κοσμήσας τὸ ἄγαλμα ἐκτελέσειν  
 5 τοῦ Διός. ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ τῷ ναῷ τριήρους ἀνάκειται  
 χαλκοῦν ἔμβολον· ταύτην τὴν ναῦν λαβεῖν φασὶ  
 περὶ Σαλαμίνα ναυμαχήσαντες πρὸς Ἀθηναίους·  
 ὁμολογοῦσι δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι χρόνον τινὰ Μεγα-  
 ρεῦσιν ἀποστήναι τῆς νήσον, Σόλωνα δὲ ὕστερόν  
 φασιν ἐλεγεία ποιήσαντα προτρέψαι σφᾶς, κατα-  
 στήναι δὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐς ἀμφισβήτησιν· Ἀθηναῖοι,  
 κρατήσαντες δὲ πολέμῳ Σαλαμίνα αὖθις ἔχειν.  
 Μεγαρεῖς δὲ παρὰ σφῶν λέγουσιν ἄνδρας φυγάδας,  
 οὓς Δορυκλείους ὀνομάζουσιν, ἀφικομένους παρὰ  
 τοὺς ἐν Σαλαμῖνι κληρούχους προδοῦναι Σαλαμίνα  
 Ἀθηναίοις.

6 Μετὰ δὲ τοῦ Διὸς τὸ τέμενος ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν  
 ἀνελθοῦσι καλουμένην ἀπὸ Καρὸς τοῦ Φορωνέως  
 καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς ἔτι Καρίαν, ἔστι μὲν Διονύσου ναὸς  
 Νυκτελίου, πεποιήται δὲ Ἀφροδίτης· Ἐπιστρο-  
 φίας ἱερὸν καὶ Νυκτὸς καλούμενόν ἐστι μαντεῖον  
 καὶ Διὸς Κονίου ναὸς οὐκ ἔχων ὄροφον. τοῦ δὲ  
 Ἀσκληπιοῦ τὸ ἄγαλμα Βρύαξις καὶ αὐτὸ καὶ τὴν  
 Ὑγείαν ἐποίησεν. ἐνταῦθα καὶ τῆς Δήμητρος τὸ  
 καλούμενον μέγαρον· ποιῆσαι δὲ αὐτὸ βασιλεύ-  
 οντα Κᾶρα ἔλεγον.

XLI. Ἐκ δὲ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως κατιοῦσιν, ἥ πρὸς  
 ἄρκτον τέτραπται τὸ χωρίον, μνημᾶ ἐστὶν Ἀλκ-  
 μήνης πλησίον τοῦ Ὀλυμπείου. βαδίζουσιν  
 γὰρ ἐς Θήβας ἐξ Ἀργεὺς τελευτῆσαι καθ' ὁδὸν  
 λέγουσιν αὐτὴν ἐν τοῖς Μεγάροις, καὶ τοὺς Ἡρα-  
 κλείδας ἐς ἀμφισβήτησιν ἐλθεῖν, τοὺς μὲν ἐς  
 Ἀργεὺς ἐθέλοντας ὀπίσω κομίσαι τὸν νεκρὸν τῆς  
 Ἀλκμήνης, τοὺς δ' αὐτῶν ἐς Θήβας· καὶ γὰρ τοῖς

and gold in order to complete the image of Zeus. In the temple itself is dedicated a bronze ram of a galley. This ship they say that they captured off Salamis in a naval action with the Athenians. The Athenians too admit that for a time they evacuated the island before the Megarians, saying that afterwards Solon<sup>1</sup> wrote elegiac poems and encouraged them, and that thereupon the Athenians challenged their enemies, won the war and recovered Salamis. But the Megarians say that exiles from themselves, whom they call Dorycleans, reached the colonists in Salamis and betrayed the island to the Athenians.

After the precinct of Zeus, when you have ascended the citadel, which even at the present day is called Caria from Car, son of Phoroneus, you see a temple of Dionysus Nyctelius (*Nocturnal*), a sanctuary built to Aphrodite Epistrophia (*She who turns men to love*), an oracle called that of Night and a temple of Zeus Conius (*Dusty*) without a roof. The image of Asclepius and also that of Health were made by Bryaxis. Here too is what is called the Chamber of Demeter, built, they say, by Car when he was king. X

XLI. On coming down from the citadel, where the ground turns northwards, is the tomb of Alcmena, near the Olympieum. They say that as she was walking from Argos to Thebes she died on the way at Megara, and that the Heracleidae fell to disputing, some wishing to carry the corpse of Alcmena back to Argos, others wishing to take it to Thebes, as in Thebes

<sup>1</sup> The great legislator, who flourished early in the sixth century B.C.

- Ἡρακλέους παισὶ τοῖς ἐκ Μεγάρας τάφον εἶναι  
 καὶ Ἀμφιτρύωνος ἐν Θήβαις. ὁ δὲ ἐν Δελφοῖς  
 θεὸς ἔχρησε θάψαι Ἀλκμήνην ἐν τοῖς Μεγάροις  
 2 ἄμεινον εἶναι σφισιν. ἐντεῦθεν ὁ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων  
 ἡμῖν ἐξηγητὴς ἡγείτο ἐς χωρίον Ῥοῦν ὡς ἔφασκεν  
 ὀνομαζόμενον, ταύτῃ γὰρ ὕδωρ ποτὲ ἐκ τῶν ὀρέων  
 τῶν ὑπὲρ τὴν πόλιν ρυῖναι. Θεαγένης δέ, ὃς τότε  
 ἐτυράννει, τὸ ὕδωρ ἐτέρωσε τρέψας βωμὸν ἐν-  
 ταῦθα Ἀχελῷῳ ἐποίησε, καὶ Ὑλλου πλησίον  
 τοῦ Ἡρακλέους μνήμῃ ἐστὶν ἀνδρὶ Ἀρκάδι Ἐχέ-  
 μῳ τῷ Ἀερόπου μονομαχήσαντος· καὶ ὅστις μὲν  
 Ἐχεμος ὢν ἀπέκτεινεν Ὑλλου, ἐτέρωθι τοῦ  
 λόγου δηλώσω, τέθραπται δὲ καὶ Ὑλλος ἐν τοῖς  
 Μεγάροις. αὕτη καλοῖτο ἂν ὀρθῶς στρατεία τῶν  
 Ἡρακλειδῶν ἐς Πελοπόννησον ἐπὶ Ὀρέστου  
 3 βασιλεύοντος. οὐ πόρρω δὲ τοῦ Ὑλλου μνή-  
 ματος Ἰσίδος ναὸς καὶ παρ' αὐτὸν Ἀπόλλωνος  
 ἐστὶ καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος. Ἀλκάθουν δέ φασι ποιῆσαι  
 ἀποκτείναντα λέοντα τὸν καλούμενον Κιθαιρώ-  
 νιον. ὑπὸ τούτου τοῦ λέοντος διαφθαρῆναι καὶ  
 ἄλλους καὶ Μεγαρέως φασὶ τοῦ σφετέρου βασι-  
 λέως παῖδα Εὐίππου, τὸν δὲ πρεσβύτερον τῶν  
 παίδων αὐτῷ Τίμαλκον ἔτι πρότερον ἀποθανεῖν  
 ὑπὸ Θησέως, στρατεύοντα ἐς Ἀφιδναν σὺν τοῖς  
 Διοσκουροῖς· Μεγαρέα δὲ γάμον τε ὑποσχέσθαι  
 θυγατρὸς καὶ ὡς διάδοχον ἔξει τῆς ἀρχῆς, ὅστις  
 τὸν Κιθαιρώνιον λέοντα ἀποκτείνει· διὰ ταῦτα  
 Ἀλκάθουν τὸν Πέλοπος ἐπιχειρήσαντα τῷ θηρίῳ  
 κρατῆσαι τε καὶ ὡς ἐβασίλευσε τὸ ἱερὸν ποιῆσαι  
 τοῦτο, Ἀγροτέραν Ἀρτεμιν καὶ Ἀπόλλωνα  
 4 Ἀγραιὸν ἐπονομάσαντα. ταῦτα μὲν οὕτω γενέ-  
 σθαι λέγουσιν· ἐγὼ δὲ γράφειν μὲν ἐθέλω Μεγα-



were buried Amphitryon and the children of Heracles by Megara. But the god in Delphi gave them an oracle that it was better for them to bury Alcmena in Megara. From this place the local guide took us to a place which he said was named Rhus (*Stream*), for that water once flowed here from the mountains above the city. But Theagenes, who was tyrant at that time, turned the water into another direction and made here an altar to Acheloüs. Hard by is the tomb of Hyllus, son of Heracles, who fought a duel with an Arcadian, Echemus the son of Aëropus. Who the Echemus was who killed Hyllus I will tell in another part of my narrative, but Hyllus also is buried at Megara. These events might correctly be called an expedition of the Heracleidae into the Peloponnesus in the reign of Orestes. Not far from the tomb of Hyllus is a temple of Isis, and beside it one of Apollo and of Artemis. They say that Alcathous made it after killing the lion called Cithaeronian. By this lion they say many were slain, including Euippus, the son of Megareus their king, whose elder son Timalcus had before this been killed by Theseus while on a campaign with the Dioscuri against Aphidna. Megareus they say promised that he who killed the Cithaeronian lion should marry his daughter and succeed him in the kingdom. Alcathous therefore, son of Pelops, attacked the beast and overcame it, and when he came to the throne he built this sanctuary, surnaming Artemis Agrotera (*Huntress*) and Apollo Agraeüs (*Hunter*). Such is the account of the Megarians; but although I wish my account to

ρεύσιν ὁμολογούντα, οὐκ ἔχω δὲ ὅπως εὐρωμαι  
 πάντα σφίσιν, ἀλλὰ ἀποθανεῖν μὲν λέοντα ἐν τῷ  
 Κιθαιρῶνι ὑπὸ Ἀλκάθου πείθομαι, Μεγαρέως δὲ  
 Τίμαλκον παῖδα τίς μὲν ἐς Ἀφιδναν ἐλθεῖν μετὰ  
 τῶν Διοσκούρων ἔγραψε; πῶς δ' ἂν ἀφικόμενος  
 ἀναιρεθῆναι νομίζοιτο ὑπὸ Θησέως, ὅπου καὶ  
 Ἀλκμὰν ποιήσας ἄσμα ἐς τοὺς Διοσκούρους, ὡς  
 Ἀθήνας ἔλοιεν καὶ τὴν Θησέως ἀγάγοιεν μητέρα  
 αἰχμάλωτον, ὅμως Θησέα φησὶν αὐτὸν ἀπεῖναι·  
 5 Πίνδαρος δὲ τούτοις τε κατὰ ταῦτά ἐποίησε καὶ  
 γαμβρὸν τοῖς Διοσκούροις Θησέα εἶναι βουλόμενον  
 ἄρπασθεῖσαν τὴν Ἑλένην διαφυλάξαι, ἐς  
 ὃ ἀπελθεῖν αὐτὸν Πειρίθω τὸν λεγόμενον γάμον  
 συμπράξοντα. ὅστις δὲ ἐγενεαλόγησε, δηλονότι ὡς  
 πολλὴν τοῖς Μεγαρεῦσι σύννοιδεν εὐήθειαν, εἴ γε  
 Θησεὺς ἦν ἀπόγονος Πέλοπος· ἀλλὰ γὰρ τῶν  
 ὄντα λόγον οἱ Μεγαρεῖς εἰδότες ἐπικρύπτουσιν,  
 οὐ βουλόμενοι δοκεῖν ἁλῶναί σφισιν ἐπὶ τῇ  
 ἀρχῇ τῆς Νίσου τὴν πόλιν, διαδέξασθαι δὲ τὴν  
 βασιλείαν γαμβρὸν Νίσου τε Μεγαρέα καὶ αὐτὸς  
 6 Ἀλκάθου Μεγαρέως. φαίνεται δὲ τελευτήσαντος  
 Νίσου καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων Μεγαρεῦσιν ἐφθαρμένων  
 ὑπὸ τοῦτον Ἀλκάθου ἀφικόμενος τὸν καιρὸν ἐξ  
 Ἡλίδος· μαρτύριον δέ μοι τὸ γὰρ τεῖχος  
 ἔκκοδόμησεν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἅτε τοῦ περιβόλου  
 τοῦ ἀρχαίου καθαιρεθέντος ὑπὸ τῶν Κρητῶν.  
 Ἀλκάθου μὲν καὶ τοῦ λέοντος, εἴτε ἐν τῷ  
 Κιθαιρῶνι αὐτὸν εἴτε καὶ ἐτέρωθι ἀποκτείναν  
 ναὸν Ἀγροτέρας Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος  
 ἐποίησεν Ἀγραίῳ, ἐς τοσόνδε ἔστω μνήμη· ἐκ  
 τούτου δὲ τοῦ ἱεροῦ κατιούσι Πανδίωνός ἐστιν  
 ἡρῶν. καὶ ὅτι μὲν ἐτάφη Πανδίων ἐν Αἰθυΐας

I agree with theirs, yet I cannot accept everything they say. I am ready to believe that a lion was killed by Alcathous on Cithaeron, but what historian has recorded that Timalcus the son of Megareus came with the Dioscouri to Aphidna? And supposing he had gone there, how could one hold that he had been killed by Theseus, when Alcman wrote a poem on the Dioscouri, in which he says that they captured Athens and carried into captivity the mother of Theseus, but Theseus himself was absent? Pindar in his poems agrees with this account, saying that Theseus, wishing to be related to the Dioscouri, carried off Helen and kept her until he departed to carry out with Peirithous the marriage that they tell of. Whoever has studied genealogy finds the Megarians guilty of great silliness, since Theseus was a descendant of Pelops. The fact is that the Megarians know the true story but conceal it, not wishing it to be thought that their city was captured in the reign of Nisus, but that both Megareus, the son-in-law of Nisus, and Alcathous, the son-in-law of Megareus, succeeded their respective fathers-in-law as king. It is evident that Alcathous arrived from Elis just at the time when Nisus had died and the Megarians had lost everything. Witness to the truth of my statement is the fact that he built the wall afresh from the beginning, the old one round the city having been destroyed by the Cretans.

Let so much suffice for Alcathous and for the lion, whether it was on Cithaeron or elsewhere that the killing took place that caused him to make a temple to Artemis Agrotera and Apollo Agraëus. On going down from this sanctuary you see the shrine of the hero Pandion. My narrative has already told how Pandion

c. 640-  
600 B.C.

Ἀθηνᾶς καλουμένην σκοπέλῳ, δεδήλωκεν ὁ λόγος  
ἤδη μοι· τιμὰς δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει παρὰ Μεγα-  
ρέων ἔχει.

- 7 Πλησίον δέ ἐστι τοῦ Πανδίωνος ἡρώου μνήμα  
Ἱππολύτης· γράψω δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐς αὐτὴν ὅποια  
Μεγαρεῖς λέγουσιν, ὅτε Ἀμαζόνες ἐπ' Ἀθηναίους  
στρατεύσασαι δι' Ἀντιόπην ἐκρατήθησαν ὑπὸ  
Θησέως, τὰς μὲν πολλὰς συνέβη μαχομένας αὐ-  
τῶν ἀποθανεῖν, Ἱππολύτην δὲ ἀδελφὴν οὖσαν  
Ἀντιόπης καὶ τότε ἡγουμένην τῶν γυναικῶν  
ἀποφυγεῖν σὺν ὀλίγαις ἐς Μέγαρα, ἅτε δὲ κακῶς  
οὕτω πράξασαν τῷ στρατῷ τοῖς τε παροῦσιν  
ἀθύμως ἔχουσιν καὶ περὶ τῆς οἰκαδὲ ἐς τὴν  
Θεμισκυραν σωτηρίας μᾶλλον ἔτι ἀποροῦσαν  
ὑπὸ λύπῃς τελευτῆσαι· καὶ θύψαι αὐτὴν ἀπο-  
θανοῦσαν, καὶ οἱ τοῦ μνήματος σχῆμά ἐστιν
- 8 Ἀμαζονικῇ ἀσπίδι ἐμφορές· τούτου δέ ἐστιν  
οὐ πόρρω τάφος Τηρέως τοῦ Πρόκνην γήμαντος  
τὴν Πανδίωνος· ἐβασίλευσε δὲ ὁ Τηρεὺς, ὡς μὲν  
λέγουσιν οἱ Μεγαρεῖς, περὶ τὰς Παγὰς τὰς καλου-  
μένας τῆς Μεγαρίδος, ὡς δὲ ἐγὼ τε δοκῶ καὶ  
τεκμήρια ἐς τόδε λείπεται, Δαυλίδος ἦρχε τῆς  
ὑπὲρ Χαιρωνείας· πάλαι γὰρ τῆς νῦν καλουμένης  
Ἑλλάδος βάρβαροι τὰ πολλὰ ᾤκησαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ  
ἦν καὶ Τηρεὺς τὰ ἐς Φιλομήλαν ἐξειργασμένα  
καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν Ἴτυν ὑπὸ τῶν γυναικῶν, ἐλεῖν
- 9 σφᾶς ὁ Τηρεὺς οὐκ ἐδύνατο· καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐτελεύ-  
τησεν ἐν τοῖς Μεγάροις αὐτοχειρία, καὶ οἱ τὰ φον  
αὐτίκα ἔχουσιν καὶ θύουσιν ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος ψη-  
φίσιν ἐν τῇ θυσίᾳ ἀντὶ οὐλῶν χρώμενοι καὶ τὸν  
ἔποπα τὸν ὄρνιθα ἐνταῦθα φανῆναι πρῶτον λέ-  
γουσιν· αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες ἐς μὲν Ἀθήνας ἀφίκοντο,



was buried on what is called the Rock of Athena Aethyia (*Gannet*). He receives honours from the Megarians in the city as well.

Near the shrine of the hero Pandion is the tomb of Hippolyte. I will record the account the Megarians give of her. When the Amazons, having marched against the Athenians because of Antiope, were overcome by Theseus, most of them met their death in the fight, but Hippolyte, the sister of Antiope and on this occasion the leader of the women, escaped with a few others to Megara. Having suffered such a military disaster, being in despair at her present situation and even more hopeless of reaching her home in Themiscyra, she died of a broken heart, and the Megarians gave her burial. The shape of her tomb is like an Amazonian shield. Not far from this is the grave of Tereus, who married Procne the daughter of Pandion. The Megarians say that Tereus was king of the region around what is called Pagae (*Spring*) of Megaris, but my opinion, which is confirmed by extant evidence, is that he ruled over Daulis beyond Chaeronea, for in ancient times the greater part of what is now called Greece was inhabited by foreigners. When Tereus did what he did to Philomela and Itys suffered at the hands of the women, Tereus found himself unable to seize them. He committed suicide in Megara, and the Megarians forthwith raised him a barrow, and every year sacrifice to him, using in the sacrifice gravel instead of barley meal; they say that the bird called the hoopoe appeared here for the first time. The women came to Athens, and while

θρηνοῦσαι δὲ οἷα ἔπαθον καὶ οἷα ἀντέδρασαν ὑπὸ  
δακρύων διαφθείρονται, καὶ σφισι τὴν ἐς ἀηδῶνα  
καὶ χελιδῶνα μεταβολὴν ἐπεφήμισαν ὅτι οἶμαι  
καὶ αὐταὶ αἱ ὄρνιθες ἐλεεινὸν καὶ θρήνην ὁμοίον  
ᾄδουσιν.

XLII. Ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλη Μεγαρεῦσιν ἀκρό-  
πολις ἀπὸ Ἀλκάθου τὸ ὄνομα ἔχουσα· ἐς ταύτην  
τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἀνιοῦσιν ἔστιν ἐν δεξιᾷ Μεγαρέως  
μνημα, ὃς κατὰ τὴν ἐπιστρατείαν τῶν Κρητῶν  
ξυμμαχὸς σφισιν ἦλθεν ἐξ Ὀγχηστοῦ. δέικνυται  
δὲ καὶ ἑστία θεῶν Προδομέων καλουμένων. θῦσαι  
δὲ σφισιν Ἀλκάθου λέγουσι πρῶτον, ὅτε τῆς  
2 οἰκοδομίας τοῦ τείχους ἐμελλεν ἀρχεσθαι. τῆς  
δὲ ἑστίας ἐγγὺς ταύτης ἐστὶ λίθος, ἐφ' οὗ κατα-  
θεῖναι λέγουσιν Ἀπόλλωνα τὴν κιθάραν Ἀλκάθῳ  
τὸ τείχος συνεργαζόμενον. ὧς τε μοι καὶ τότε  
ὡς συνετέλουν ἐς Ἀθηναίους Μεγαρεῖς· φαίνεται  
γὰρ τὴν θυγατέρα Ἀλκάθου Περιβοίαν ἅμα  
Θησεί πέμψαι κατὰ τὸν δασμὸν ἐς Κρήτην. τότε  
δὲ αὐτῷ τειχίζοντι, ὥς φασιν οἱ Μεγαρεῖς, συνερ-  
γάζεται τε Ἀπόλλων καὶ τὴν κιθάραν κατέθηκεν  
ἐπὶ τὸν λίθον· ἣν δὲ τύχη βαλὼν τις ψηφίδι,  
κατὰ ταῦτα οὕτως τε ἤχησε καὶ κιθάρᾳ κρου-  
3 σθεῖσα. ἐμοὶ δὲ παρέσχε μὲν καὶ τοῦτο θανμά-  
σαι, παρέσχε δὲ πολλῷ μάλιστα Αἰγυπτίων ὁ  
κολοσσός. ἐν Θήβαις ταῖς Αἰγυπτίαις, διαβάσι  
τὸν Νεῖλον πρὸς τὰς Σύριγγας καλουμένας,  
εἶδον ἔτι καθήμενον ἄγαλμα ἥχοῦν—Μέμνονα  
ὀνομάζουσιν οἱ πολλοί, τοῦτον γὰρ φασιν ἐξ  
Αἰθιοπίας ὀρμηθῆναι ἐς Αἴγυπτον καὶ τὴν ἄχρῃ  
Σούσων· ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐ Μέμνονα οἱ Θηβαῖοι λέ-  
γουσι, Φαμένωφα δὲ εἶναι τῶν ἐγχωρίων οὐ τοῦτο

lamenting their sufferings and their revenge, perished through their tears; their reported metamorphosis into a nightingale and a swallow is due, I think, to the fact that the note of these birds is plaintive and like a lamentation.

XLII. The Megarians have another citadel, which is named after Alcathous. As you ascend this citadel you see on the right the tomb of Megareus, who at the time of the Cretan invasion came as an ally from Onchestus. There is also shown a hearth of the gods called *Prodomeis* (*Builders before*). They say that Alcathous was the first to sacrifice to them, at the time when he was about to begin the building of the wall. Near this hearth is a stone, on which they say Apollo laid his lyre when he was helping Alcathous in the building. I am confirmed in my view that the Megarians used to be tributary to the Athenians by the fact that Alcathous appears to have sent his daughter Periboea with Theseus to Crete in payment of the tribute. On the occasion of his building the wall, the Megarians say, Apollo helped him and placed his lyre on the stone; and if you happen to hit it with a pebble it sounds just as a lyre does when struck. This made me marvel, but the colossus in Egypt made me marvel far more than anything else. In Egyptian Thebes, on crossing the Nile to the so-called Pipes, I saw a statue, still sitting, which gave out a sound. The many call it Memnon, who they say from Aethiopia overran Egypt and as far as Susa. The Thebans, however, say that it is a statue, not of Memnon, but of a native named Phamenoph, and I

ἄγαλμα ἦν, ἤκουσα δὲ ἤδη καὶ Σέσωστριν φασκόμεναι εἶναι, ὃ Καμβύσης διέκοψε· καὶ νῦν ὅποσον ἐκ κεφαλῆς εἰς μέσον σῶμά ἐστιν ἀπερριμμένον, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν κύθηται τε καὶ ἀνὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέραν ἀνίσχοντος ἡλίου βοᾷ, καὶ τὸν ἤχον μάλιστα εἰκάσει τις κιθάρας ἢ λύρας βαγείσης χορδῆς.

- 4 Μεγαρεῦσι δὲ ἐστὶ μὲν βουλευτήριον, Τιμᾶλκον δὲ ἦν ποτε ὡς λέγουσι τάφος, ὃν πρότερον ὀλίγον τούτων οὐκ ἔφην ὑπὸ Θησέως ἀποθανεῖν. ὠκοδόμηται δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ κορυφῇ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως ναὸς Ἀθηνᾶς, ἄγαλμα δὲ ἐστὶν ἐπίχρυσον πλὴν χειρῶν καὶ ἄκρων ποδῶν· ταῦτα δὲ καὶ τὸ προσωπὸν ἐστὶν ἐλέφαντος. καὶ ἕτερον ἐνταῦθα ἱερὸν Ἀθηνᾶς πεποιήται καλουμένης Νίκης καὶ ἄλλο Αἰαντίδος· τὰ δὲ εἰς αὐτὸ Μεγαρέων μὲν παρέρχεται τοῖς ἐξηγηταῖς, ἐγὼ δὲ ὅποια νομίζω γενέσθαι γράψω. Τελαμὼν ὁ Αἰακοῦ θυγατρὶ Ἀλκᾶθου Περιβοία συνώκησεν· Αἴαντα οὖν τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν Ἀλκᾶθου διαδέξάμενον ποιῆσαι τὸ ἄγαλμα ἡγοῦμαι τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς.

- 5 Τοῦ δὲ Ἀπόλλωνος πλίνθου μὲν ἦν ὁ ἀρχαῖος ναός· ὕστερον δὲ βασιλεὺς ὠκοδόμησεν Ἀδριανὸς λίθον λευκοῦ. ὁ μὲν δὲ Πύθιος καλούμενος καὶ ὁ Δεκατηφόρος τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις μάλιστα εἰκόσσι ξοάνοις, ὃν δὲ Ἀρχηγέτην ἐπονομάζουσιν, Αἰγυπτικοῖς ἔργοις ἐστὶν ὅμοιος· ἐβένου δὲ πάντα ὁμοίως πεποιήται. ἤκουσα δὲ ἀνδρὸς Κυπρίου διακρίναι πῶας ἐς ἀνθρώπων ἴασις εἰδύτος, ὃς τὴν ἐβενον φύλλα οὐκ ἔφη φύειν οὐδὲ εἶναι καρπὸν οὐδένα ἀπ' αὐτῆς οὐδὲ ὁρᾶσθαι τὸ παράπαν αὐτὴν ὑπὸ ἡλίου, ρίζας δὲ ὑπογαίους εἶναι, ταύτας δὲ ὀρύσσειν τοὺς Αἰθίοπας καὶ ἄνδρας εἶναι



have heard some say that it is Sesostris. This statue was broken in two by Cambyses, and at the present day from head to middle it is thrown down; but the rest is seated, and every day at the rising of the sun it makes a noise, and the sound one could best liken to that of a harp or lyre when a string has been broken.

The Megarians have a council chamber which once, they say, was the grave of Timalcus, who just now I said was not killed by Theseus. On the top of the citadel is built a temple of Athena, with an image gilt except the hands and feet; these and the face are of ivory. There is another sanctuary built here, of Athena Victory, and yet a third of Athena Aeantis (*Ajacian*). About the last the Megarian guides have omitted to record anything, but I will write what I take to be the facts. Telamon the son of Aeacus married Periboea the daughter of Alcathous; so my opinion is that Ajax, who succeeded to the throne of Alcathous, made the statue of Athena.

The ancient temple of Apollo was of brick, but the emperor Hadrian afterwards built it of white marble. The Apollo called Pythian and the one called Decatephorus (*Bringer of Tithes*) are very like the Egyptian wooden images, but the one surnamed Archegetes (*Founder*) resembles Aeginetan works. They are all alike made of ebony. I have heard a man of Cyprus, who was skilled at sorting herbs for medicinal purposes, say that the ebony does not grow leaves or bear fruit, or even appear in the sunlight at all, but consists of underground roots which are dug up by the Aethiopians, who have men skilled at finding

6 σφισιν οὐ τὴν ἔβενον ἴσασιν εὐρίσκειν. ἔστι δὲ καὶ Δήμητρος ἱερὸν Θεσμοφόρον. κατιούσι δὲ ἐντεῦθεν Καλλιπόλιδος μνήμᾳ ἔστιν Ἀλκάθου παιδός. ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ ἄλλος Ἀλκάθῳ πρεσβύτερος υἱὸς Ἰσχεπόλις, ὃν ἀπέστειλεν ὁ πατήρ Μελεάγρῳ τὸ ἐν Αἰτωλῖᾳ θηρίον συνεξαιρήσοντα. ἀποθανόντος δὲ ἐνταῦθα πρῶτος τεθνεῶτα ἐπύθετο ὁ Καλλίπολις, ἀναδραμὼν δὲ ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν—τηνικαῦτα δὲ ὁ πατήρ οἱ τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι ἐνέκαεν—ἀπορρίπτει τὰ ξύλα ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ· Ἀλκάθους δὲ ἀνήκοος ὢν ἔτι τῆς Ἰσχεπόλιδος τελευτῆς κατεδίκηκεν οὐ ποιεῖν ὅσια τὸν Καλλίπολιν καὶ εὐθέως ὥς εἶχεν ὀργῆς ἀπέκτεινε παίσας ἐς τὴν κεφαλὴν τῶν ἀπορριφέντων ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ ξύλῳ.

7 Κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐς τὸ πρυτανεῖον ὁδὸν Ἴνους ἔστιν ἡρώων, περὶ δὲ αὐτὸ θριγκὸς λίθων· πεφύκασι δὲ ἐπ' αὐτῷ καὶ ἐλαῖαι. μόνοι δὲ εἰσιν Ἑλλήνων Μεγαρεῖς οἱ λέγοντες τὸν νεκρὸν τῆς Ἴνους ἐς τὰ παραθαλάσσια σφισιν ἐκπεσεῖν τῆς χώρας, Κλησῶ δὲ καὶ Ταυρόπολιν εὐρεῖν τε καὶ θάψαι—θυγατέρας δὲ αὐτὰς εἶναι Κλήσωνος τοῦ Λέλεγος—, καὶ Λευκοθέαν τε ὀνομασθῆναι παρὰ σφίσι πρῶτοις φασὶν αὐτὴν καὶ θυσίαν ἄγειν ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος.

XLIII. Λέγουσι δὲ εἶναι καὶ Ἰφιγενείας ἡρώων· ἀποθανεῖν γὰρ καὶ ταύτην ἐν Μεγάρῳ. ἐγὼ δὲ ἤκουσα μὲν καὶ ἄλλον ἐς Ἰφιγενείαν λόγον ὑπὸ Ἀρκάδων λεγόμενον, οἶδα δὲ Ἡσίοδον ποιήσαντα ἐν καταλόγῳ γυναικῶν Ἰφιγενείαν οὐκ ἀποθανεῖν, γνώμη δὲ Ἀρτέμιδος Ἐκάτην εἶναι· τούτοις δὲ Ἡρόδοτος ὁμολογοῦντα ἔγραψε Ταύρους τοὺς

ebony. There is also a sanctuary of Demeter Thesmophorus (*Largiver*). On going down from it you see the tomb of Callipolis, son of Alcathous. Alcathous had also an elder son, Ischepolis, whom his father sent to help Meleager to destroy the wild beast in Aetolia. There he died, and Callipolis was the first to hear of his death. Running up to the citadel, at the moment when his father was preparing a fire to sacrifice to Apollo, he flung the logs from the altar. Alcathous, who had not yet heard of the fate of Ischepolis, judged that Callipolis was guilty of impiety, and forthwith, angry as he was, killed him by striking his head with one of the logs that had been flung from the altar.

On the road to the Town-hall is the shrine of the heroine Ino, about which is a fencing of stones, and beside it grow olives. The Megarians are the only Greeks who say that the corpse of Ino was cast up on their coast, that Cleso and Tauropolis, the daughters of Cleson, son of Lelex, found and buried it, and they say that among them first was she named Leucothea, and that every year they offer her sacrifice.

XLIII. They say that there is also a shrine of the heroine Iphigenia; for she too according to them died in Megara. Now I have heard another account of Iphigenia that is given by Arcadians, and I know that Hesiod, in his poem *A Catalogue of Women*, says that Iphigenia did not die, but by the will of Artemis is Hecate. With this agrees the account of Herodotus, that the Tauri near

- πρὸς τῇ Σκυθικῇ θύειν παρθένῳ τοὺς ναυαγοίς.  
 φάναι δὲ αὐτοὺς τὴν παρθένον Ἰφιγένειαν εἶναι  
 τὴν Ἀγαμέμνονος. ἔχει δὲ παρὰ Μεγαρεῦσι καὶ  
 Ἄδραστος τιμὰς· φασὶ δὲ ἀποθανεῖν παρὰ σφίσι  
 καὶ τοῦτον, ὅτε ἔλων Θήβας ἀπήγεεν ὀπίσω τὸν  
 στρατόν, αἷτια δὲ οἱ τοῦ θανάτου γήρας καὶ τὴν  
 Αἰγιαλέως γενέσθαι τελευτήν. καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος  
 ἱερὸν ὃ Ἀγαμέμνων ἐποίησεν, ἥνικα ἦλθε Κάλ-  
 χαντα οἰκοῦντα ἐν Μεγάροις ἐς Ἴλιον ἔπεσθαι
- 2 πείσων. ἐν δὲ τῷ πρυτανείῳ τεθάφθαι μὲν  
 Εὐπίππον Μεγαρέως παῖδα, τεθάφθαι δὲ τὸν  
 Ἀλκάθου λέγουσιν Ἰσχύεποιν. ἔστι δὲ τοῦ  
 πρυτανείου πέτρα πλησίον· Ἀνακληθρίδα τὴν  
 πέτραν ὀνομάζουσιν, ὡς Δημήτηρ, εἴ τῳ πιστά,  
 ὅτε τὴν παῖδα ἐπλανᾶτο ζητοῦσα, καὶ ἐνταῦθα  
 ἀνεκάλεσεν αὐτήν. εἰκότα δὲ τῷ λόγῳ δρῶσιν  
 ἐς ἡμᾶς ἔτι αἱ Μεγαρέων γυναῖκες.
- 3 Εἰσὶ δὲ τάφοι Μεγαρεῦσιν ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ  
 τὸν μὲν τοῖς ἀποθανοῦσιν ἐποίησαν κατὰ τὴν  
 ἐπιστρατείαν τοῦ Μήδου, τὸ δὲ Αἰσύμνιον καλού-  
 μενον μνῆμα ἦν καὶ τοῦτο ἡρώων. Ὑπερίορος δὲ  
 τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος—οὗτος γὰρ Μεγαρέων ἐβασί-  
 λευσεν ὑστάτος—τούτου τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀποθανόντος  
 ὑπὸ Σανδρίονος διὰ πλεονεξίαν καὶ ὕβριν, βασι-  
 λεύεσθαι μὲν οὐκέτι ὑπὸ ἐνὸς ἐδόκει σφίσιν, εἶναι  
 δὲ ἄρχοντας αἰρετοὺς καὶ ἀνὰ μέρος ἀκούειν  
 ἀλλήλων. ἐνταῦθα Αἰσυμνος οὐδενὸς τὰ ἐς δόξαν  
 Μεγαρέων δεύτερος παρὰ τὸν θεὸν ἦλθεν ἐς  
 Δελφούς, ἐλθὼν δὲ ἡρώτα τρόπον τίνα εὐδαι-  
 μονήσουσι καὶ οἱ καὶ ἄλλα ὃ θεὸς ἔχρησε καὶ  
 Μεγαρέας εὖ πράξειν, ἣν μετὰ τῶν πλειόνων  
 βουλευσονται. τοῦτο τὸ ἔπος ἐς τοὺς τεθνεώτας



ythia sacrifice castaways to a maiden who they say is Iphigenia, the daughter of Agamemnon. Adrastus also is honoured among the Megarians, who say that he too died among them when he was leading back his army after taking Thebes, and that his death was caused by old age and the fate of Aegialeus. A sanctuary of Artemis was made by Agamemnon when he came to persuade Calchas, who dwelt in Megara, to accompany him to Troy. In the Town-hall are buried, they say, Euippus the son of Megareus and Ischepolis the son of Alcathous. Near the Town-hall is a rock. They name it Analethris (*Recall*), because Demeter (if the story be credible) here too called her daughter back when she was wandering in search of her. Even in our day the Megarian women hold a performance that is a comic representation of the legend.

In the city are graves of Megarians. They made one for those who died in the Persian invasion, and what is called the Aesymnium (*Shrine of Aesymnus*) was also tomb of heroes. When Agamemnon's son Hyperion, the last king of Megara, was killed by Sandon for his greed and violence, they resolved no longer to be led by one king, but to have elected magistrates and to obey one another in turn. Then Aesymnus, who had a reputation second to none among the Argians, came to the god in Delphi and asked in what way they could be prosperous. The oracle simply said that they would fare well if they took counsel with the majority. This attendance they took

ἔχειν νομίζοντες βουλευτήριον ἐνταῦθα ὠκοδόμησαν, ἵνα σφίσιν ὁ τάφος τῶν ἡρώων ἐντὸς τοῦ βουλευτηρίου γένηται.

- 4 Ἐντεῦθεν πρὸς τὸ Ἀλκάθου βαδίζουσιν ἡρῶν, ὃ Μεγαρεῖς ἐς γραμμάτων φυλακὴν ἐχρῶντο ἐπ' ἐμοῦ, μνῆμα ἔλεγον τὸ μὲν Πυργοῦς εἶναι γυναικὸς Ἀλκάθου πρὶν ἢ τὴν Μεγαρέως αὐτὸν λαβεῖν Εὐαίχμην, τὸ δὲ Ἰφινόης Ἀλκάθου θυγατρός· ἀποθανεῖν δὲ αὐτὴν φασιν ἔτι παρθένον. καθέστηκε δὲ ταῖς κόραις χοὰς πρὸς τὸ τῆς Ἰφινόης μνῆμα προσφέρειν πρὸ γάμου καὶ ἀπάρχεσθαι τῶν τριχῶν, καθὰ καὶ τῇ Ἐκαέρῃ καὶ Ὠπιδίαι αἱ θυγατέρες ποτὲ ἀπεκείροντο αἱ Δηλίων.
- 5 παρὰ δὲ τὴν ἔσοδον τὴν ἐς τὸ Διούσιον τάφος ἐστὶν Ἀστυκρατείας καὶ Μαντοῦς· θυγατέρες δὲ ἦσαν Πολυίδου τοῦ Κοιράνου τοῦ Ἀβαντος τοῦ Μελάμποδος ἐς Μέγαρα ἐλθόντος Ἀλκάθου ἐπὶ τῷ φόνῳ τῷ Καλλιπόλιδος καθῆραι τοῦ παιδός. ὠκοδόμησε δὴ καὶ τῷ Διόνυσῳ τὸ ἱερόν· Πολυίδος καὶ ξόανον ἀνέθηκεν ἀποκεκρυμμένον ἐφ' ἡμῶν πλὴν τοῦ προσώπου· τοῦτο δὲ ἐστὶ τὸ φανερόν. Σάτυρος δὲ παρέστηκεν αὐτῷ Πραξιτέλους ἔργον Παρίου λίθου. τοῦτον μὲν δὴ Πατρῶν καλοῦσιν· ἕτερον δὲ Διόνυσον Δασύλλιον ἐπωνομάζοντες Εὐχήνορα τὸν Κοιράνου τοῦ
- 6 Πολυίδου τὸ ἄγαλμα ἀναθεῖναι λέγουσι. μετὰ δὲ τοῦ Διόνυσου τὸ ἱερόν ἐστὶν Ἀφροδίτης ναός, ἄγαλμα δὲ ἐλέφαντος Ἀφροδίτῃ πεποιημένον Πράξις ἐπὶ κλησιν. τοῦτό ἐστιν ἀρχαιότατον ἐν τῷ ναῷ· Πειθῷ δὲ καὶ ἐτέρα θεός, ἣν Παρήγορον ὀνομάζουσιν, ἔργα Πραξιτέλους· Σκόπᾳ δὲ Ἐρως καὶ Ἰμερος καὶ Πόθος, εἰ δὴ διάφορά

refer to the dead, and built a council chamber in this place in order that the grave of their heroes might be within it.

Between this and the hero-shrine of Alcathous, which in my day the Megarians used as a record, was the tomb, they said, of Pyrgo, the wife of Alcathous before he married Euacchme, the daughter of Megareus, and the tomb of Iphinoë, the daughter of Alcathous; she died, they say, a maid. It is customary for the girls to bring libations to the tomb of Iphinoë to offer a lock of their hair before their wedding, as the daughters of the Delians once cut their hair for Hecæerge and Opis. Beside the entrance to the sanctuary of Dionysus is the grave of Astycratea Manto. They were daughters of Polyidus, son of Erichonius, son of Abas, son of Melampus, who came to Megara to purify Alcathous when he had killed Erichonius on Callipolis. Polyidus also built the sanctuary of Dionysus, and dedicated a wooden image that in my day is covered up except the face, which alone is exposed. By the side of it is a Satyr of Parian marble made by Praxiteles. This Dionysus they call *Paternal* (*Paternal*); but the image of another, that has the surname Dasyllius, they say was dedicated by Euchenor, son of Coeranus, son of Polyidus. Near the sanctuary of Dionysus is a temple of Eros, with an ivory image of Aphrodite surmounted by Praxiphanes (*Action*). This is the oldest object in the temple. There is also Persuasion and another goddess, whom they name Consoler, works of Praxiteles. By Scopas are Love and Desire and Yearning,

ἐστὶ κατὰ ταὐτὸ τοῖς ὀνόμασι καὶ τὰ ἔργα σφίσι.  
πλησίον δὲ τοῦ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ναοῦ Τύχης ἐστὶν  
ἱερόν, Πραξιτέλους καὶ αὐτῇ τέχνη· καὶ ἐν τῷ  
ναῷ τῷ πλησίον Μούσας καὶ χαλκοῦν Δία  
ἐποίησε Λύσιππος.

- 7 Ἔστι δὲ Μεγαρεῦσι καὶ Κοροίβον τάφος· τὰ  
δὲ ἐς αὐτὸν ἔπη κοινὰ ὅμως ὄντα τοῖς Ἀργείοις  
ἐνταῦθα δηλώσω. ἐπὶ Κροτώπου λέγουσιν ἐν  
Ἀργεὶ βασιλεύοντος Ψαμάθην τὴν Κροτώπου  
τεκεῖν παῖδα ἐξ Ἀπόλλωνος, ἐχομένην δὲ ἰσχυρῶς  
τοῦ πατρὸς δείματι τὸν παῖδα ἐκθεῖναι· καὶ τὸν  
μὲν διαφθείρουσιν ἐπιτυγχόντες ἐκ τῆς ποιμνης  
κύνες τῆς Κροτώπου, Ἀπόλλων δὲ Ἀργείοις ἐς  
τὴν πόλιν πέμπει Ποινὴν. ταύτην τοὺς παῖδας  
ἀπὸ τῶν μητέρων φασὶν ἀρπάζειν, ἐς ὃ Κόροιβος  
ἐς χάριν Ἀργείοις φονεύει τὴν Ποινὴν. φονεύσας  
δὲ — οὐ γὰρ ἀνίει σφᾶς δεύτερα ἐπιπεσοῦσα  
νόσος λοιμώδης — Κόροιβος ἐκὼν ἦλθεν ἐς  
Δελφοὺς ὑφέξων δίκας τῷ θεῷ τοῦ φόνου τῆς  
8 Ποινῆς. ἐς μὲν δὴ τὸ Ἄργος ἀναστρέφειν οὐκ  
εἶα Κόροιβον ἢ Πυθίαν, τρίποδα δὲ ἀράμενον  
φέρειν ἐκέλευεν ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ, καὶ ἐνθα ἂν ἐκπέσῃ  
οἱ φέροντι ὁ τρίπους, ἐνταῦθα Ἀπόλλωνος  
οἰκοδομῆσαι ναὸν καὶ αὐτὸν οἰκῆσαι. καὶ ὁ  
τρίπους κατὰ τὸ ὄρος τὴν Γερανίαν ἀπολισθὼν  
ἔλαθεν αὐτοῦ<sup>1</sup> ἐκπεσὼν· καὶ Τριποδίσκους κώμην  
ἐνταῦθα οἰκῆσαι. Κοροίβῳ δὲ ἐστὶ τάφος ἐν τῇ  
Μεγαρῶν ἀγορᾷ· γέγραπται δὲ ἐλεγεία τὰ ἐς  
Ψαμάθην καὶ τὰ ἐς αὐτὸν ἔχοντα Κόροιβον, καὶ  
δὴ καὶ ἐπίθμᾶ ἐστὶ τῷ τάφῳ Κόροιβος φονεύου  
τὴν Ποινὴν. ταῦτα ἀγάλματα παλαιότατα,

<sup>1</sup> αὐτὸν?



Indeed their functions are as different as their names. Near the temple of Aphrodite is a sanctuary of Fortune, the image being one of the works of Praxiteles. In the temple hard by are Muses and a bronze Zeus by Lysippus.

The Megarians have also the grave of Coroebus. The poetical story of him, although it equally concerns Argos, I will relate here. They say that in the reign of Crotopus at Argos, Psamathe, the daughter of Crotopus, bore a son to Apollo, and being in dire terror of her father, exposed the child. He was found and destroyed by sheepdogs of Crotopus, and Apollo sent Vengeance to the city to punish the Argives. They say that she used to snatch the children from their mothers, until Coroebus to please the Argives slew Vengeance. Whereat as a second punishment plague fell upon them and stayed not. Coroebus of his own accord went to Delphi to submit to the punishment of the god for having slain Vengeance. The Pythia would not allow Coroebus to return to Argos, but ordered him to take up a tripod and carry it out of the sanctuary, and where the tripod should fall from his hands, there he was to build a temple of Apollo and to dwell himself. At Mount Gerania the tripod slipped and fell unawares. Here he dwelt in the village called the Little Tripods. The grave of Coroebus is in the market-place of the Megarians. The story of Psamathe and of Coroebus himself is carved on it in elegiac verses, and further, upon the top of the grave is represented Coroebus slaying Vengeance. These are the oldest

ὅποσα λίθου πεποιημένα ἐστὶν Ἑλλήσιν, ἰδὼν οἶδα.

XLIV. Κοροΐβου δὲ τέθραπται πλησίον Ὀρσιππος, ὃς περιεζωσμένων ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι κατὰ δὴ παλαιὸν ἔθος τῶν ἀθλητῶν Ὀλύμπια ἐνικαστάδιον δραμὼν γυμνός. φασὶ δὲ καὶ στρατηγούντα ὕστερον τὸν Ὀρσιππον ἀποτεμεῖσθαι χώραν τῶν προσοίκων· δοκῶ δὲ οἱ καὶ ἐν Ὀλυμπία τὸ περιζῶμα ἐκόντι περιρρυῆναι, γνόντι ὡς ἀνδρὸς περιεζωσμένου δραμεῖν ῥάων ἐστὶν ἀνὴρ  
 2 γυμνός, ἐκ δὲ τῆς ἀγορᾶς κατιούσι τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς Εὐθείας καλουμένης Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερόν ἐστιν ἐν δεξιᾷ Προστατηρίου· τοῦτο ὀλίγον ἐκτραπέντα ἐστὶν ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ ἀνευρεῖν. Ἀπόλλων δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ κεῖται θεᾶς ἄξιος καὶ Ἄρτεμις καὶ Λητώ καὶ ἄλλα ἀγάλματά ἐστι Πραξιτέλους ποιησαντος. ἐστὶ δὲ ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ τῷ ἀρχαίῳ πλησίον πυλῶν καλουμένων Νυμφάδων λίθος παρεχόμενος πυραμίδος σχῆμα οὐ μεγάλης· τοῦτον Ἀπόλλωνα ὀνομάζουσι Καρινόν, καὶ Εἰλειθυῶν ἐστὶν ἐνταῦθα ἱερόν.

Τοσαῦτά σφισιν ἐς ἐπίδειξιν παρείχετο ἡ  
 3 πόλις· ἐς δὲ τὸ ἐπίνειον, καλούμενον καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς ἔτι Νίσαιαν, ἐς τοῦτο κατελθοῦσιν ἱερόν Δήμητρός ἐστι Μαλοφόρον· λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ἐς τὴν ἐπὶ κλησὶν καὶ τοὺς πρώτους πρόβατα ἐν τῇ γῇ θρέψαντας Δήμητρα ὀνομάσαι Μαλοφόρον, καταρρυῆναι δὲ τῷ ἱερῷ τὸν ὄροφον τεκμαίροιτο ἂν τις ὑπὸ τοῦ χρόνου. καὶ ἀκρόπολὶς ἐστὶν ἐνταῦθα ὀνομαζομένη καὶ αὐτὴ Νίσαια· καταβᾶσι δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως μνημά ἐστι πρὸς θαλάσσην Λέλεγος, ὃν ἀφικόμενον βασιλεῦσαι

stone images I am aware of having seen among the Greeks.

XLIV. Near Coroebus is buried Orsippus, who won the foot-race at Olympia by running naked when all his competitors wore girdles according to ancient custom. They say also that Orsippus when general afterwards annexed some of the neighbouring territory. My own opinion is that at Olympia he intentionally let the girdle slip off him, realizing that a naked man can run more easily than one girt. As you go down from the market-place you see on the right of the street called Straight a sanctuary of Apollo Prostaterius (*Protecting*). You must turn a little aside from the road to discover it. In it is a noteworthy Apollo, Artemis also, and Leto, and other statues, made by Praxiteles. In the old gymnasium near the gate called the Gate of the Nymphs is a stone of the shape of a small pyramid. This they name Apollo Carinus, and here there is a sanctuary of the Eileithyiae.

Such are the sights that the city had to show. When you have gone down to the port, which to the present day is called Nisaea, you see a sanctuary of Demeter Malophorus (*Sheep-bearer* or *Apple-bearer*). One of the accounts given of the surname is that those who first reared sheep in the land named Demeter Malophorus. The roof of the temple one might conclude has fallen in through age. There is a citadel here, which also is called Nisaea. Below the citadel near the sea is the tomb of Lelex, who they say arrived from Egypt and became king, being the son

- λέγουσιν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου, παῖδα δὲ εἶναι Ποσειδῶνος  
 καὶ Λιβύης τῆς Ἐπάφου. παρήκει δὲ παρὰ  
 τὴν Νίσαιαν νῆσος οὐ μεγάλη Μινῶα· ἐνταῦθα  
 ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τῷ πρὸς Νίσον παρώρμει τὸ ναυ-  
 4 τικὸν τῶν Κρητῶν. ἡ δὲ ὄρεινὴ τῆς Μεγαρίδος  
 τῆς Βοιωτῶν ἐστὶν ὁμαρος, ἐν ἣ Μεγαρεῦσι Παγαὶ  
 πόλις, ἑτέρα δὲ Αἰγιοσθένα ὠκισται. ἰοῦσι δὲ  
 ἐς τὰς Παγὰς ἐκτραπομένοις ὀλίγον τῆς λεωφόρου  
 πέτρα δέικνται διὰ πάσης ἔχουσα ἐμπεπηγότας  
 οἰστούς, ἐς ἣν οἱ Μῆδοί ποτε ἐτόξευον ἐν τῇ  
 νυκτί. ἐν δὲ ταῖς Παγαῖς θεὰς ὑπελείπετο ἄξιον  
 Ἀρτέμιδος Σωτεῖρας ἐπὶ κλησὶν χαλκοῦν ἄγαλμα,  
 μεγέθει τῷ παρὰ Μεγαρεῦσιν ἴσον καὶ σχῆμα  
 οὐδὲν διαφόρως ἔχον. καὶ Αἰγιαλέως ἐνταῦθα  
 ἐστὶν ἡρώον τοῦ Ἀδράστου· τοῦτον γάρ, ὅτε  
 Ἀργεῖοι τὸ δεύτερον ἐς Θήβας ἐστράτευσαν, ὑπὸ  
 τὴν πρώτην μάχην πρὸς Γλισῶντι ἀποθανόντα  
 οἱ προσήκοντες ἐς Παγὰς τῆς Μεγαρίδος κομ-  
 5 σαντες θύπτουσι, καὶ Αἰγιαλείον ἐτι καλεῖται  
 τὸ ἡρώον. ἐν Αἰγιοσθένοισι δὲ Μελάμποδος τοῦ  
 Ἀμφυθιόνος ἐστὶν ἱερὸν καὶ ἀνὴρ οὐ μέγας  
 ἐπειργασμένος ἐν στήλῃ· καὶ θύουσι τῷ Μελάμ-  
 ποδι καὶ ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος ἑορτὴν ἄγουσι. μαντεύ-  
 εσθαι δὲ οὔτε δι' ὄνειράτων αὐτὸν οὔτε ἄλλως  
 λέγουσι. καὶ τούδε ἄλλο ἤκουσα ἐν Ἐρενείᾳ τῇ  
 Μεγαρέων κώμῃ, Ἀυτονόῃν τὴν Κάδμου τῷ τε  
 Ἀκταίωνα θανάτῳ, συμβάντι ὥς λέγεται, καὶ  
 τῇ πάσῃ τοῦ οἴκου τοῦ πατρῴου τύχῃ περισσύτε-  
 ρον ἀλγοῦσαν ἐνταῦθα ἐκ Θηβῶν μετοικῆσαι  
 καὶ Ἀυτονόης μνήμᾳ ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ κώμῃ ταύτῃ.  
 6 Ἰοῦσι δὲ ἐκ Μεγάρων ἐς Κόρινθον ἄλλοι τέ  
 εἰσι τάφοι καὶ αὐλητοῦ Σαρμίου Τηλεφάνους



Poseidon and of Libya, daughter of Epaphus. Parallel to Nisaea lies the small island of Minoa, here in the war against Nisus anchored the fleet of the Cretans. The hilly part of Megaris borders upon Boeotia, and in it the Megarians have built the city of Pagae and another one called Aegosthena. As you go to Pagae, on turning a little aside from the highway, you are shown a rock with arrows stuck all over it, into which the Persians once shot in the night. In Pagae a noteworthy relic is a bronze image of Artemis surnamed Saviour, in size equal to that at Megara and exactly like it in shape. There is also a hero-shrine of Aegialeus, son of Adrastus. When the Argives made their second attack on Thebes he died at Glisas early in the first battle, and his relatives carried him to Pagae in Megaris and buried him, the shrine being still called the Aegialeion. In Aegosthena is a sanctuary of Melampus, son of Amythaon, and a small figure of a man carved upon a slab. To Melampus they sacrifice and hold a festival every year. They say that he lives neither by dreams nor in any other way. There is something else that I heard in Ereneá, a village of the Megarians. Autonoe, daughter of Cadmus, left Thebes to live here owing to her great grief at the death of Actaeon, the manner of which is told in legend, and at the general misfortune of her father's house. The tomb of Autonoe is in this village.

On the road from Megara to Corinth are graves, including that of the Samian flute-player Telephanes,<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A contemporary of Demosthenes.

ποιῆσαι δὲ τὸν τάφον Κλεοπάτραν τὴν Φιλίππου τοῦ Ἀμύντου λέγουσι. καὶ Καρὸς τοῦ Φορωνέως μνημῖ ἐστι, τὸ μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς χῶμα γῆς, ὕστερον δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ χρήσαντος ἐκοσμήθη λίθῳ κογχίτῃ. μόνοις δὲ Ἑλλήνων Μεγαρεῦσιν ὁ κογχίτης οὗτος ἐστι, καὶ σφισι καὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει πεποιήται πολλὰ ἐξ αὐτοῦ. ἐστὶ δὲ ἄγαν λευκὸς καὶ ἄλλου λίθου μαλακώτερος· κόγχοι δὲ αἱ θαλάσσιαι διὰ παντὸς ἐνεῖσιν οἱ. αὐτὸς μὲν τοιοῦτός ἐστιν ὁ λίθος· τὴν δὲ ὀνομαζομένην ἀπὸ Σκίρωνος καὶ ἐς τούδε Σκιρωνίδα Σκίρων, ἥνικα Μεγαρεῦσιν ἐπολεμάρχει, πρῶτος ὡς λέγουσιν ἐποίησεν ἀνδράσιν ὁδεύειν εὐζώνοις· Ἀδριανὸς δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ οὕτως ὡς καὶ ἄρματα ἐναντία ἐλαύνεσθαι κατέστησεν εὐρυχωρῇ τε καὶ ἐπιτηδεῖαν εἶναι.

- 7 Λόγοι δὲ εἰσιν ἐς τὰς πέτρας, αἱ κατὰ τὸ στενὸν τῆς ὁδοῦ μάλιστα ἀνέχουσιν, ἐς μὲν τὴν Μολουρίδα, ὡς ἀπὸ ταύτης αὐτὴν ἐς θάλασσαν Ἰνὼ ρίψαι Μελικέρτην ἔχουσα τῶν παίδων τὸν νεώτερον· τὸν γὰρ δὴ πρεσβύτερον αὐτῶν Λέαρχον ἀπέκτεινεν ὁ πατήρ. λέγεται μὲν δὴ καὶ μανέντα δράσαι ταῦτα Ἀθάμαντα, λέγεται δὲ καὶ ὡς ἐς τὴν Ἰνὼ καὶ τοὺς ἐξ αὐτῆς παῖδας χρῆσαιτο ἀκρατεῖ τῷ θυμῷ τὸν συμβάντα Ὀρχομενίοις λιμὸν καὶ τὸν δοκοῦντα Φρίξον θάνατον αἰσθόμενος, οὗ τὸ θεῖον αἷτιον οὐ γενέσθαι, βουλεύσαι δὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις πᾶσιν Ἰνὼ μητριαν οὔσαν
- 8 τότε δὲ φεύγουσα ἐς θάλασσαν αὐτὴν καὶ τὸν παῖδα ἀπὸ τῆς πέτρας τῆς Μολουρίδος ἀφήσιν. ἐξενεχθέντος δὲ ἐς τὸν Κορινθίων ἰσθμὸν ὑπὸ δελφίνος ὡς λέγεται τοῦ παιδός, τιμαὶ καὶ ἄλλαι τῷ Μελικέρτῃ δίδονται μετονομασθέντι Παλαί-

said to have been made by Cleopatra, daughter of Philip, son of Amyntas. There is also the tomb of Car, son of Phoroneus, which was originally a mound of earth, but afterwards, at the command of the oracle, it was adorned with mussel stone. The Megarians are the only Greeks to possess this stone, and in the city also they have made many things out of it. It is very white, and softer than other stone; in it throughout are sea mussels. Such is the nature of the stone. The road called Scironian to this day and named after Sciron, was made by him when he was war minister of the Megarians, and originally they say was constructed for the use of active men. But the emperor Hadrian broadened it, and made it suitable even for chariots to pass each other in opposite directions.

There are legends about the rocks, which rise especially at the narrow part of the road. As to the Molurian, it is said that from it Ino flung herself into the sea with Melicertes, the younger of her children. Learchus, the elder of them, had been killed by his father. One account is that Athamas did this in a fit of madness; another is that he vented on Ino and her children unbridled rage when he learned that the famine which befell the Orchomenians and the supposed death of Phrixus were not accidents from heaven, but that Ino, the step-mother, had intrigued for all these things. Then it was that she fled to the sea and cast herself and her son from the Molurian Rock. The son, they say, was landed on the Corinthian Isthmus by a dolphin, and honours were offered to Melicertes, then renamed Palaemon, including the

ποιῆσαι δὲ τὸν τῶν ἁγῶν ἐπ' αὐτῷ τὸν ἀγῶνα  
 τοῦ Ἀμύντου· Μολουρίδα πέτραν Λευκο-  
 μνήμῃ ἐστι· ἡ δὲ παλαιὰ ἱερὰν ἤγνητο· τὰς δὲ μετὰ  
 δὲ τοῦ Θ. ἐναγεῖς, ὅτι παροικῶν σφισιν  
 μόνοις δ' ἐστὶ, καὶ τῶν ξένων ἐπετύγχανεν, ἥφι  
 ἐξ αὐτῆς θάλασσαν. χελώνη δὲ ὑπενήχето  
 μαλ' ἐν τούτοις τοὺς ἐσβληθέντας ἀρπάζειν· εἰς  
 τὴν θάλασσαν πλην μεγέθους καὶ ποδῶν  
 καὶ χερσαῖαις, πόδας δὲ εἰκότας ἔχουσι  
 τοῦτον περιῆλθεν ἡ δίκη Σκίρωνα  
 ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ ὄρους τῇ ἄκρᾳ Διὸς ἐστὶν Ἀφείσιον  
 καλουμένον ναὸς· φασὶ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ συμβάντος  
 ποτὲ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν αὐχμοῦ θύσαντος Αἰακοῦ  
 κατὰ τι δὴ λόγιον τῷ Πανελληνίῳ Διὶ ἐν Αἰγίνῃ  
 ὕσαντά τε<sup>1</sup> ἀφεῖναι καὶ διὰ τοῦτο Ἀφείσιον  
 καλεῖσθαι τὸν Δία. ἐνταῦθα καὶ Ἀφροδίτης  
 10 ἄγαλμα καὶ Ἀπόλλωνός ἐστι καὶ Πανός. προ-  
 ελθοῦσι δὲ ἐς τὸ πρόσω μνήμῃ ἐστὶν Εὐρυσθέως·  
 φεύγοντά δὲ ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς μετὰ τὴν πρὸς  
 Ἡρακλείδης μάχην ἐνταῦθα ἀποθανεῖν αὐτὸν  
 ὑπὸ Ἰολάου λέγουσιν. ἐκ ταύτης τῆς οδοῦ κατα-  
 βᾶσιν Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερόν ἐστι Λατφίου καὶ μετ'  
 αὐτὸ Μεγαρεῦσιν ὄροι πρὸς τὴν Κορινθίαν, ἐνθα  
 Ἄλλον τὸν Ἡρακλέους μονομαχήσαι πρὸς τὸν  
 Ἀρκάδα ἔχουσαν λέγουσιν.

<sup>1</sup> ὕσαντά τε Facius.



celebration of the Isthmian games. The Molurian rock they thought sacred to Leucothea and Palaemon; but those after it they consider accursed, in that Sciron, who dwelt by them, used to cast into the sea all the strangers he met. A tortoise used to swim under the rocks to seize those that fell in. Sea tortoises are like land tortoises except in size and in their feet, which are like those of seals. Retribution for these deeds overtook Sciron, for he was cast into the same sea by Theseus. On the top of the mountain is a temple of Zeus surnamed Aphesius (*Releaser*). It is said that on the occasion of the drought that once afflicted the Greeks Aeacus in obedience to an oracular utterance sacrificed in Aegina to Zeus God of all the Greeks, and Zeus rained and ended the drought, gaining thus the name Aphesius. Here there are also images of Aphrodite, Apollo, and Pan. Farther on is the tomb of Eurysheus. The story is that he fled from Attica after the battle with the Heracleidae and was killed here by Iolaus. When you have gone down from this road you see a sanctuary of Apollo Latoüs, after which is the boundary between Megara and Corinth, where legend says that Hyllus, son of Heracles, fought a duel with the Arcadian Echemus.



## BOOK II—CORINTH

## . KOPINΘΙΑΚΑ

Ι. Ἡ δὲ Κορινθία χώρα μοῖρα οὐσα τῆς Ἀργείας ἀπὸ Κορίνθου τὸ ὄνομα ἔσχηκε. Διὸς δὲ εἶναι Κόρινθον οὐδένα οἶδα εἰπόντα πω σπουδῇ πλὴν Κορινθίων τῶν πολλῶν· Εὐμηλος δὲ ὁ Ἀμφιλύτου τῶν Βακχιδῶν καλουμένον, ὃς καὶ τὰ ἔπη λέγεται ποιῆσαι, φησὶν ἐν τῇ Κορινθία συγγραφῇ—εἰ δὴ Εὐμήλου γε ἡ συγγραφὴ—Ἐφύραν Ὀκεανοῦ θυγατέρα οἰκῆσαι πρῶτον ἐν τῇ γῇ ταύτῃ, Μαραθῶνα δὲ ὕστερον τὸν Ἐπωπέως τοῦ Ἀλφείως τοῦ Ἡλίου φεύγοντα ἀνομίαν καὶ ὕβριν τοῦ πατρὸς ἐς τὰ παραθαλάσσια μετοικῆσαι τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ἀποθανόντος δὲ Ἐπωπέως ἀφικόμενον ἐς Πελοπόννησον καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν διανείμαντα τοῖς παισὶν αὐτὸν ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν αὐθις ἀναχωρῆσαι, καὶ ἀπὸ μὲν Σικυῶνος τὴν Ἀσωπίαν, ἀπὸ δὲ Κορίνθου τὴν Ἐφυραίαν μετονομασθῆναι.

- 2 Κόρινθον δὲ οἰκοῦσι Κορινθίων μὲν οὐδεὶς ἐτι τῶν ἀρχαίων, ἔποικοι δὲ ἀποσταλέντες ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων. αἴτιον δὲ τὸ συνέδριον τὸ Ἀχαιῶν συντελούντες γὰρ ἐς αὐτὸ καὶ οἱ Κορίνθιοι μετέσχον τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους, ὃν Κριτόλαος στρατηγεῖν Ἀχαιῶν ἀποδειχθεὶς παρεσκεύασε



## BOOK ' II

### CORINTH

I. THE Corinthian land is a portion of the Argive, and is named after Corinthus. That Corinthus was a son of Zeus I have never known anybody say seriously except the majority of the Corinthians. Eumelus, the son of Amphilytus, of the family called Bacchidae, who is said to have composed the epic poem, says in his Corinthian History (if indeed the history be his) that Ephyra, the daughter of Oceanus, dwelt first in this land; that afterwards Marathon, the son of Epopeus, the son of Aloeus, the son of Helius (*Sun*), fleeing from the lawless violence of his father migrated to the sea coast of Attica; that on the death of Epopeus he came to Peloponnesus, divided his kingdom among his sons, and returned to Attica; and that Asopia was renamed after Sicyon, and Ephyraea after Corinthus.

5th cent.  
B.C.

Corinth is no longer inhabited by any of the old Corinthians, but by colonists sent out by the Romans. This change is due to the Achaean League.<sup>1</sup> The Corinthians, being members of it, joined in the war against the Romans, which Critolaus, when appointed general of the Achaeans, brought about by persuad-

<sup>1</sup> A league of states in the northern Peloponnesus. It was most influential in the second half of the third century B.C. Founded 280 B.C.

γενέσθαι τοῖς τε Ἀχαιοῖς ἀναπείσας ἀποστήναι  
καὶ τῶν ἔξω Πελοποννήσου τοὺς πολλοὺς. Ῥω-  
μαῖοι δὲ ὡς ἐκράτησαν τῷ πολέμῳ, παρείλοντο  
μὲν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων τὰ ὄπλα καὶ τείχη  
περιείλον ὅσαι τετειχισμέναι πόλεις ἦσαν. Κό-  
ρινθον δὲ ἀνάστατον Μορμίου ποιήσαντος τοῦ  
τότε ἡγουμένου τῶν ἐπὶ στρατοπέδῳ Ῥωμαίων,  
ὕστερον λέγουσιν ἀνοικίσαι Καίσαρα, ὃς πολι-  
τείαν ἐν Ῥώμῃ πρῶτος τὴν ἐφ' ἡμῶν κατεστήσατο  
ἀνοικίσαι δὲ καὶ Καρχηδόνα ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς  
αὐτοῦ.

- 3 Τῆς δὲ Κορινθίας ἐστὶ γῆς καὶ ὁ καλούμενος  
Κρομυῶν ἀπὸ Κρόμου τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος. ἐνταῦθα  
τραφήναι φασὶ Φαίαν,<sup>1</sup> καὶ τῶν λεγομένων  
Θησέως καὶ τὸ ἐς τὴν ὕν ταύτην ἐστὶν ἔργον.  
προϊοῦσι δὲ ἡ πύτυς ἄχρι γε ἐμοῦ πεφύκει παρὰ  
τὸν αἰγιαλὸν καὶ Μελικέρτου βωμὸς ἦν. ἐς τοῦ-  
τον τὸν τόπον ἐκκομισθῆναι τὸν παῖδα ὑπὸ δελ-  
φίνος λέγουσι· κειμένῳ δὲ ἐπιτυχόντα Σίσυφον  
θάψαι τε ἐν τῷ ἰσθμῷ καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐπ' αὐτῷ  
4 ποιῆσαι τῶν Ἰσθμίων. ἔστι δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἰσθμοῦ  
τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἐνθα ὁ ληστής Σίνις λαμβανόμενος  
πιτύων ἤγεν ἐς τὸ κάτω σφᾶς· ὁπόσων δὲ μάχῃ  
κρατήσειεν, ἀπ' αὐτῶν δῆσας ἀφήκεν ἂν τὰ δέν-  
δρα ἄνω φέρεσθαι· ἐνταῦθα ἑκατέρα τῶν πιτύων  
τὸν δεθέντα ἐφ' αὐτὴν εἴλκε, καὶ τοῦ δεσμοῦ μη-  
δετέρωσσε εἰκοντος ἄλλ' ἀμφοτέρωθεν ἐπ' ἰσθ-  
μῷ βιαζομένου διεσπᾶτο ὁ δεδεμένος. τοιοῦτον διε-  
φθάρη τρόπῳ καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπὸ Θησέως ὁ Σίνις·  
ἐκάθηρε γὰρ Θησεὺς τῶν κακούργων τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν  
ἐς Ἀθήνας ἐκ Τροιζῆνος, οὗς τε πρότερον κατη-

<sup>1</sup> φαίαν added by Clavier.

# CORINTH, I. 2-4

g to revolt both the Achaeans and the majority of the Greeks outside the Peloponnesus. When the Romans won the war, they carried out a general disarmament of the Greeks and dismantled the walls of such cities as were fortified. Corinth was laid waste by Mummius, who at that time commanded the Romans in the field, and it is said that it was afterwards refounded by Caesar, who was the author of the present constitution of Rome. Carthage, too, they say, was refounded in his reign.

In the Corinthian territory is also the place called Cromyon from Cromus the son of Poseidon. Here they say that Phaea was bred; overcoming this sow was one of the traditional achievements of Theseus. Farther on the pine still grew by the shore at the time of my visit, and there was an altar of Melicertes. At this place, they say, the boy was brought ashore by a dolphin; Sisyphus found him lying and gave him burial on the Isthmus, establishing the Isthmian games in his honour. At the beginning of the Isthmus is the place where the brigand Sinis used to take hold of pine trees and draw them down. All those whom he overcame in fight he used to tie to the trees, and then allow them to swing up again. Hereupon each of the pines used to drag to itself the bound man, and as the bond gave way in neither direction but was stretched equally in both, he was torn in two. This was the way in which Sinis himself was slain by Theseus. For Theseus rid of evil-doers the road from Troezen to Athens, killing those

146 B.C.

44 B.C.

*See  
Darius*

ρίθμησα ἀνελών καὶ ἐν Ἐπιδαύρῳ τῇ ἱερᾷ Περι-  
 φήτην Ἡφαίστου νομιζόμενον, κορίνῃ χαλκῇ  
 5 χρώμενον ἐς τὰς μάχας. καθήκει δὲ ὁ τῶν Κοριν-  
 θίων ἰσθμὸς τῇ μὲν ἐς τὴν ἐπὶ Κεγχρέαις, τῇ δὲ  
 ἐς τὴν ἐπὶ Δεχαίῳ θάλασσαν· τοῦτο γὰρ ἡπειρον  
 ποιεῖ τὴν ἐντὸς χώραν. ὅς δὲ ἐπεχείρησε Πελο-  
 πόννησον ἐργάσασθαι νῆσον, προαπέλιπε διορύσ-  
 σων ἰσθμόν· καὶ ὅθεν μὲν διορύσσειν ἤρξαντο  
 δῆλόν ἐστιν, ἐς δὲ τὸ πετρῶδες οὐ προεχώρησαν  
 ἀρχήν· μένει δὲ ὡς πεφύκει καὶ νῦν ἡπειρος ὤν.  
 Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τε τῷ Φιλίππου διασκάψαι Μί-  
 μαντα ἐβελήσαντι μόνον τοῦτο οὐ προεχώρησε τὸ  
 ἔργον· Κνιδίους δὲ ἡ Πυθία τὸν ἰσθμὸν ὀρύσσον-  
 τας ἔπαυσε. οὕτω χαλεπὸν ἀνθρώπῳ τὰ θεία  
 6 βιάσασθαι. τὸ δὲ οὐ Κορινθίοις μόνον περὶ τῆς  
 χώρας ἐστὶν εἰρημένον, ἀλλὰ ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν Ἀθη-  
 ναῖοι πρῶτοι περὶ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐσεμνολόγησαν  
 λέγουσι δὲ καὶ οἱ Κορίνθιοι Ποσειδῶνα ἐλθεῖν  
 Ἠλίῳ περὶ τῆς γῆς ἐς ἀμφισβήτησιν, Βριάρεων  
 δὲ διαλλακτὴν γενέσθαι σφίσιν, ἰσθμὸν μὲν καὶ  
 ὅσα ταύτῃ δικάσαντα εἶναι Ποσειδῶνος, τὴν δὲ  
 ἄκραν Ἠλίῳ δόντα τὴν ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως.

Ἀπὸ μὲν τούτου λέγουσιν εἶναι τὸν ἰσθμὸν  
 7 Ποσειδῶνος· θέας δὲ αὐτόθι ἄξια ἔστι μὲν θέα-  
 τρον, ἔστι δὲ στάδιον λίθου λευκοῦ. ἐλθόντι δὲ  
 ἐς τοῦ θεοῦ τὸ ἱερόν τοῦτο μὲν ἀθλητῶν νικησάν-  
 των τὰ Ἴσθμια ἐστήκασιν εἰκόνες, τοῦτο δὲ πτυῶν  
 δένδρα ἐστὶ πεφυτευμένα ἐπὶ στοίχῳ, τὰ πολλὰ  
 ἐς εὐθὺ αὐτῶν ἀνήκοντα. τῷ ναῷ δὲ ὄντι μέγεθος  
 οὐ μείζονι ἐφεστήκασι Τρίτωνες χαλκοῖ. καὶ  
 ἀγάλματά ἐστιν ἐν τῷ προνάῳ δύο μὲν Ποσειδῶ-  
 νος, τρίτον δὲ Ἀμφιτρίτης, καὶ Θάλασσα καὶ



whom I have enumerated and, in sacred Epidaurus, Periphetes, thought to be the son of Hephaestus, who used to fight with a bronze club. The Corinthian Isthmus stretches on the one hand to the sea at Cenchreae, and on the other to the sea at Lechaëum. For this is what makes the region to the south mainland. He who tried to make the Peloponnesus an island gave up before digging through the Isthmus. Where they began to dig is still to be seen, but into the rock they did not advance at all. So it still is mainland as its nature is to be. Alexander the son of Philip wished to dig through Mimas, and his attempt to do this was his only unsuccessful project. The Cnidian began to dig through their isthmus, but the Pythian priestess stopped them. So difficult it is for man to alter by violence what Heaven has made. A legend of the Corinthians about their land is not peculiar to them, for I believe that the Athenians were the first to relate a similar story to glorify Attica. The Corinthians say that Poseidon had a dispute with Helius (*Sun*) about the land, and that Briareos arbitrated between them, assigning to Poseidon the Isthmus and the parts adjoining, and giving to Helius the height above the city.

Ever since, they say, the Isthmus has belonged to Poseidon. Worth seeing here are a theatre and a white-marble race-course. Within the sanctuary of the god stand on the one side portrait statues of athletes who have won victories at the Isthmian games, on the other side pine trees growing in a row, the greater number of them rising up straight. On the temple, which is not very large, stand bronze Tritons. In the fore-temple are images, two of Poseidon, a third of Amphitrite, and a Sea, which also is of

αὕτη χαλκῇ. τὰ δὲ ἔνδον ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἀνέθηκεν  
 Ἡρώδης Ἀθηναῖος, ἵππους τέσσαρας ἐπιχρῦσους  
 πλὴν τῶν ὀπλῶν· ὀπλαὶ δὲ σφίσιν εἰσιν ἐλέφαν-  
 8 τος. καὶ Τρίτωνες δύο παρὰ τοὺς ἵππους εἰς  
 χρυσοῖ, τὰ μετ' ἱξὺν ἐλέφαντος καὶ οὗτοι· τῷ δὲ  
 ἄρματι Ἀμφιτρίτη καὶ Ποσειδῶν ἐφ'esτήκασιν,  
 καὶ παῖς ὀρθός ἐστιν ἐπὶ δελφίνος ὁ Παλαῖμων·  
 ἐλέφαντος δὲ καὶ χρυσοῦ καὶ οὗτοι πεποιήνται.  
 τῷ βάρῳ δὲ ἐφ' οὗ τὸ ἄρμα μέση μὲν ἐπείργασται  
 Θάλασσα ἀνέχουσα Ἀφροδίτην παῖδα, ἐκατέρω-  
 θεν δὲ εἰσιν αἱ Νηρηίδες καλούμεναι. ταύταις  
 καὶ ἐτέρωθι τῆς Ἑλλάδος βωμοὺς οἶδα ὄντας.  
 τοὺς δὲ καὶ τεμένη σφίσιν ἀναθέντας πρὸς ἡῖοσιν,<sup>1</sup>  
 ἔνθα καὶ Ἀχιλλεὶ τιμαί· Δωτοῦς δὲ ἐν Γαβά-  
 λοις ἱερόν ἐστιν ἄγιον, ἔνθα πέπλος ἔτι ἐλείπετο.  
 οὗ Ἑλληνες Ἐριφύλην λέγουσιν ἐπὶ τῷ παιδί  
 9 λαβεῖν Ἀλκμαίωني. τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος δὲ εἰσιν  
 ἐπειργασμένοι τῷ βάρῳ καὶ οἱ Τυνδάρεω παῖδες.  
 ὅτι δὴ σωτήρες καὶ οὗτοι νεῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων εἰς  
 ναυτιλλομένων. τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἀνάκειται Γαλήνης  
 ἄγαλμα καὶ Θαλάσσης καὶ ἵππος εἰκασμένος  
 κῆτει τὰ μετὰ τὸ στέρνον, Ἰνώ τε καὶ Βελλερο-  
 φόντης καὶ ὁ ἵππος ὁ Πήγασος.

II. Τοῦ περιβόλου δὲ ἐστὶν ἐντὸς Παλαίμονος  
 ἐν ἀριστερᾷ ναός, ἀγάλματα δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ Ποσειδῶν  
 καὶ Λευκοθέα καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Παλαῖμων. ἐστὶ δὲ  
 καὶ ἄλλο Ἀδυτον καλούμενον, κάθοδος δὲ ἐς αὐτὸ  
 ὑπόγειος, ἔνθα δὴ τὸν Παλαίμονα κεκρύφθαι  
 φασίν· ὃς δ' ἂν ἐνταῦθα ἢ Κορινθίων ἢ ξένος  
 ἐπιόρκα ὁμόση, οὐδεμία ἐστὶν οἱ μηχανὴ διαφυ-

<sup>1</sup> πρὸς ἡῖοσιν Preller. The reading is very doubtful.

# CORINTH, I. 7-II. I

size. The offerings inside were dedicated in our  
 e by Herodes the Athenian, four horses, gilded  
 apt for the hoofs, which are of ivory, and two gold  
 ons beside the horses, with the parts below the  
 it of ivory. On the car stand Amphitrite and  
 eidon, and there is the boy Palaemon upright  
 n a dolphin. These too are made of ivory and  
 l. On the middle of the base on which the car  
 as been wrought a Sea holding up the young  
 irodite, and on either side are the nymphs called  
 eids. I know that there are altars to these  
 ther parts of Greece, and that some Greeks have  
 a dedicated to them precincts by shores, where  
 ours are also paid to Achilles. In Gabala is a holy  
 tuary of Doto, where there was still remaining  
 robe by which the Greeks say that Eriphyle was  
 sed to wrong her son Alcmaeon. Among the  
 efs on the base of the statue of Poseidon are the  
 s of Tyndareus, because these too are saviours of  
 is and of sea-faring men. The other offerings are  
 ges of Calm and of Sea, a horse like a whale from  
 breast onward, Ino and Bellerophontes, and the  
 se Pegasus.

l. Within the enclosure is on the left a temple of  
 eumon, with images in it of Poseidon, Leucothea  
 Palaemon himself. There is also what is called  
 Holy of Holies, and an underground descent to  
 where they say that Palaemon is concealed.  
 psoever, whether Corinthian or stranger, swears  
 ly here, can by no means escape from his oath.

- γεῖν τοῦ ὄρκου. καὶ δὴ ἱερόν ἐστιν ἀρχαῖον  
Κυκλώπων καλούμενος βωμός, καὶ θύουσιν ἐπ'  
2 αὐτῷ Κύκλωψι. τάφους δὲ Σισύφου καὶ Νη-  
λέως—καὶ γὰρ Νηλέα ἀφικόμενον ἐς Κόρινθον  
νόσῳ τελευτήσαι φασὶ καὶ περὶ τὸν ἰσθμὸν τα-  
φῆναι—οὐκ ἂν οἶδ' εἰ ζητοίῃ τις ἐπιλεξάμενος τὰ  
Εὐμήλου. Νηλέως μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲ Νέστορι ἐπι-  
δειχθῆναι τὸ μνήμα ὑπὸ τοῦ Σισύφου φησί,  
χρῆναι γὰρ ἄγνωστον τοῖς πᾶσιν ὁμοίως εἶναι,  
Σίσυφον δὲ ταφῆναι μὲν ἐν τῷ ἰσθμῷ, τὸν δὲ οἱ  
τάφον καὶ τῶν ἐφ' αὐτοῦ Κορινθίων ὀλίγους εἶναι  
τούς εἰδότας. ὁ δὲ Ἰσθμικὸς ἀγὼν οὐδὲ ἀναστάν-  
των ὑπὸ Μομμίου Κορινθίων ἐξέλιπεν, ἀλλ' ὅσον  
μὲν χρόνον ἡρήμωτο ἡ πόλις, Σικυωνίοις ἄγειν  
ἐπετέτραπτο τὰ Ἰσθμα, οἰκισθείσης δὲ αὐθις ἐς  
τούς νῦν οἰκήτορας περιῆλθεν ἡ τιμή.  
3 Κορινθίοις δὲ τοῖς ἐπινείοις τὰ ὀνόματα Λέχης  
καὶ Κεγχρέας ἔδωκαν, Ποσειδῶνος εἶναι καὶ Πειρή-  
νης τῆς Ἀχελφῶν λεγόμενοι· πεποιήται δὲ ἐν  
Ῥοῖαις μεγάλαις Οἰβάλου θυγατέρα εἶναι Πειρή-  
νην. ἔστι δὲ ἐν Λεχαίῳ μὲν Ποσειδῶνος ἱερόν  
καὶ ἄγαλμα χαλκοῦν, τὴν δὲ ἐς Κεγχρέας ἰόντων  
ἐξ ἰσθμοῦ ναὸς Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ ξόανον ἀρχαῖον.  
ἐν δὲ Κεγχρέαις Ἀφροδίτης τέ ἐστι ναὸς καὶ  
ἄγαλμα λίθου, μετὰ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῷ ἐρύματι τῷ  
διὰ τῆς θαλάσσης Ποσειδῶνος χαλκοῦν, κατὰ δὲ  
τὸ ἔτερον πέρασ τοῦ λιμένος Ἀσκληπιοῦ καὶ  
Ἰσίδος ἱερά. Κεγχρεῶν δὲ ἀπαντικρὺ τὸ Ἑλένης  
ἐστὶ λουτρόν· ὕδωρ ἐς θάλασσαν ἐκ πέτρας ρέι  
πολὺ καὶ ἀλμυρὸν ὕδατι ὅμοιον ἀρχομένῳ θερ-  
μαίνεσθαι.
- 4 Ἀνιούσι δὲ ἐς Κόρινθον καὶ ἄλλα ἐστὶ κατὰ



here is also an ancient sanctuary called the altar of the Cyclopes, and they sacrifice to the Cyclopes upon it. The graves of Sisyphus and of Neleus—for they say that Neleus came to Corinth, died of disease, and was buried near the Isthmus—I do not think that anyone would look for after reading Eumelus. For he says that not even to Nestor did Sisyphus show the tomb of Neleus, because it must be kept unknown to everybody alike, and that Sisyphus is indeed buried on the Isthmus, but that few Corinthians, even those of his own day, knew where the grave was. The Isthmian games were not interrupted even when Corinth had been laid waste by Mummius, but as long as it lay deserted the celebration of the games was entrusted to the Sicyonians, and when it was rebuilt the honour was restored to the present inhabitants.

The names of the Corinthian harbours were given them by Leches and Cenchrias, said to be the children of Poseidon and Peirene the daughter of Helichelous, though in the poem called *The Great Ode*<sup>1</sup> Peirene is said to be a daughter of Oebalus. At Lechaëum are a sanctuary and a bronze image of Poseidon, and on the road leading from the Isthmus at Cenchreæ a temple and ancient wooden image of Artemis. In Cenchreæ are a temple and a stone statue of Aphrodite, after it on the mole running into the sea a bronze image of Poseidon, and at the other end of the harbour sanctuaries of Asclepius and of Isis. Right opposite Cenchreæ is Helen's Bath. It is a large stream of salt, tepid water, flowing from a rock to the sea.

As one goes up to Corinth are tombs, and by the

<sup>1</sup> Said to be a work of Hesiod.

τὴν ὁδὸν μνήματα καὶ πρὸς τῇ πύλῃ Διογένης  
τέθαιπται ὁ Σινωπεύς, ὃν κύνα ἐπὶ κλησιν καλοῦ-  
σιν Ἕλληνες. πρὸ δὲ τῆς πόλεως κυπαρίσσω  
ἐστὶν ἄλλος ὀνομαζόμενον Κράνειον. ἐνταῦθα  
Βελλεροφόντου τέ ἐστι τέμενος καὶ Ἀφροδίτης  
ναὸς Μελαινίδος καὶ τάφος Λαΐδος, ᾧ δὲ λέαινα  
ἐπίθημά ἐστι κριὸν ἔχουσα ἐν τοῖς προτέροις  
5 ποσίν. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλο ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ Λαΐδος  
φάμενον μνῆμα εἶναι παρεγένετο γὰρ καὶ ἐς  
Θεσσαλίαν ἐρασθεῖσα Ἴπποστράτου. τὸ δὲ ἐξ  
ἀρχῆς ἐξ Ἰκάρων αὐτὴν τῶν ἐν Σικελίᾳ λέγεται  
παῖδα οὔσαν ὑπὸ Νικίου καὶ Ἀθηναίων ἀλῶναι,  
πραθεῖσαν δὲ ἐς Κόρινθον ὑπερβαλέσθαι κάλλι-  
πας τότε ἐταίρας, θαυμασθῆναι τε οὕτω παρὰ  
Κορινθίοις ὥς ἀμφισβητεῖν σφᾶς καὶ νῦν ἐπὶ  
Λαΐδος.

6 Λόγου δὲ ἄξια ἐν τῇ πόλει τὰ μὲν λειπόμενα  
εἶτι τῶν ἀρχαίων ἐστίν, τὰ δὲ πολλὰ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ  
τῆς ἀκμῆς ἐποιήθη τῆς ὕστερον. ἔστιν οὖν ἐπὶ  
τῆς ἀγορᾶς—ἐνταῦθα γὰρ πλείστα ἐστὶ τῶν  
ιερῶν—Ἀρτεμὶς τε ἐπὶ κλησιν Ἐφεσία καὶ Διο-  
νύσου ξόανα ἐπὶ χρυσα πλὴν τῶν προσώπων τὰ  
δὲ πρόσωπα ἀλοιφῇ σφισιν ἐρυθρὰ κεκόσμηται  
7 Λύσιον δέ, τὸν δὲ Βάκχειον ὀνομάζουσι. τὰ δὲ  
λεγόμενα ἐς τὰ ξόανα καὶ ἐγὼ γράφω. Πενθέα  
ὑβρίζοντα ἐς Διόνυσον καὶ ἄλλα τολμᾶν λέγουσι  
καὶ τέλος ἐς τὸν Κιθαιρῶνα ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ κατα-  
σκοπῇ τῶν γυναικῶν, ἀναβάντα δὲ ἐς δένδρον  
θεάσασθαι τὰ ποιούμενα· τὰς δέ, ὥς ἐφώρασαν,  
καθελκύσαι τε αὐτίκα Πενθέα καὶ ζώντος ἀπο-  
σπᾶν ἄλλο ἄλλην τοῦ σώματος. ὕστερον δέ, ὥς  
Κορίνθιοι λέγουσιν, ἡ Πυθία χρᾶ σφισιν ἀνευ-

CORINTH, II. 4-7

gate is buried Diogenes<sup>1</sup> of Sinope, whom the Greeks surname the Dog. Before the city is a grove of cypresses called Craneum. Here are a precinct of Bellerophontes, a temple of Aphrodite Melaenis and the grave of Lais, upon which is set a lioness holding a ram in her fore-paws. There is in Thesaly another tomb which claims to be that of Lais, for she went to that country also when she fell in love with Hippostratus. The story is that originally she was of Hycara in Sicily. Taken captive while yet a girl by Nicias and the Athenians, she was sold and brought to Corinth, where she surpassed in beauty the courtezans of her time, and so won the admiration of the Corinthians that even now they claim Lais as their own.

The things worthy of mention in the city include the extant remains of antiquity, but the greater number of them belong to the period of its second ascendancy. On the market-place, where most of the sanctuaries are, stand Artemis surnamed Ephesian and wooden images of Dionysus, which are covered with gold with the exception of their faces; these are ornamented with red paint. They are called Lysius and Baccheis, and I too give the story told about them. They say that Pentheus treated Dionysus despitefully, his crowning outrage being that he went to Cithaeron, to spy upon the women, and climbing up a tree beheld what was done. When the women detected Pentheus, they immediately dragged him down, and joined in tearing him, living as he was, limb from limb. Afterwards, as the Corinthians say, the Pythian priestess commanded them by an

<sup>1</sup> The "Cynic" philosopher.

ρόντας τὸ δένδρον ἐκείνο ἴσα τῷ θεῷ σέβειν· καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ διὰ τόδε τὰς εἰκόνας πεποιήνται  
 8 ταύτας. ἔστι δὲ καὶ Τύχης ναὸς· ἄγαλμα ὄρθον Παρίου λίθου· παρὰ δὲ αὐτὸν θεοῖς πᾶσιν ἔστιν ἱερόν. πλησίον δὲ ᾠκοδόμηται κρήνη, καὶ Ποσειδῶν ἐπ' αὐτῇ χαλκοῦς καὶ δελφίς ὑπὸ τοῖς ποσίν ἐστι τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος ἀφιείς ὕδωρ. καὶ Ἀπόλλων ἐπὶ κλησιν Κλάριος χαλκοῦς ἐστι καὶ ἄγαλμα Ἀφροδίτης Ἑρμογένους Κυθηρίου ποιήσαντος. Ἑρμοῦ τέ ἐστιν ἀγάλματα χαλκοῦ μὲν καὶ ὀρθὰ ἀμφότερα, τῷ δὲ ἐτέρῳ καὶ ναὸς πεποιήται. τὰ δὲ τοῦ Διὸς, καὶ ταῦτα ὄντα ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ, τὸ μὲν ἐπὶ κλησιν οὐκ εἶχε, τὸν δὲ αὐτῶν Χθόνιον καὶ τὸν τρίτον καλοῦσιν Ὑψίστου.

III. Ἐν μέσῳ δὲ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐστὶν Ἀθηνᾶ χαλκῇ· τῷ βάθρῳ δὲ αὐτῆς ἐστὶ Μουσῶν ἀγάλματα ἐπειργασμένα. ὑπὲρ δὲ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐστὶν Ὀκταβίας ναὸς ἀδελφῆς Αὐγούστου βασιλεύσαντος Ῥωμαίων μετὰ Καίσαρα τὸν οἰκιστὴν Κορίνθου τῆς νῦν.

2 Ἐκ δὲ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐξιόντων τὴν ἐπὶ Λεχαίου προπύλαιά ἐστι καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῶν ἄρματα ἐπὶ χρυσᾷ, τὸ μὲν Φαέθοντα Ἥλιου παῖδα, τὸ δὲ Ἥλιον αὐτὸν φέρον. ὀλίγον δὲ ἀπωτέρω τῶν προπυλαίων ἐσιούσιν ἐν δεξιᾷ ἐστὶν Ἡρακλῆς χαλκοῦς, μετὰ δὲ αὐτὸν ἔσοδος ἐστὶ τῆς Πειρήνης ἐς τὸ ὕδωρ. ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτῇ λέγουσιν ὡς ἡ Πειρήνη γένοιτο ὑπὸ δακρύων ἐξ ἀνθρώπου πηγῇ, τὸν παῖδα ὀδυρομένη Κεγχρίαν ὑπὸ Ἀρτέμιδος ἀκούσης  
 3 ἀποθανόντα. κεκόσμηται δὲ ἡ πηγὴ λίθῳ λευκῷ, καὶ πεποιημένα ἐστὶν οἰκήματα σπηλαιόεις κατὰ ταῦτά, ἐξ ὧν τὸ ὕδωρ ἐς κρήνην ὑπαιθρον ῥεῖ



oracle to discover that tree and to worship it equally with the god. For this reason they have made these images from the tree. There is also a temple of Fortune, with a standing image of Parian marble. Beside it is a sanctuary for all the gods. Hard by is built a fountain, on which is a bronze Poseidon; under the feet of Poseidon is a dolphin spouting water. There is also a bronze Apollo surnamed Clarius and a statue of Aphrodite made by Hermogenes of Cythera. There are two bronze, standing images of Hermes, for one of which a temple has been made. The images of Zeus also are in the open; one had not a surname, another they call Chthonius (*of the Lower World*) and the third Most High.

III. In the middle of the market-place is a bronze Athena, on the pedestal of which are wrought in relief figures of the Muses. Above the market-place is a temple of Octavia the sister of Augustus, who was emperor of the Romans after Caesar, the founder of the modern Corinth.

On leaving the market-place along the road to Lechaeum you come to a gateway, on which are two gilded chariots, one carrying Phaëthon the son of Helius (*Sun*), the other Helius himself. A little farther away from the gateway, on the right as you go in, is a bronze Heracles. After this is the entrance to the water of Peirene. The legend about Peirene is that she was a woman who became a spring because of her tears shed in lamentation for her son Cenchrias, who was unintentionally killed by Artemis. The spring is ornamented with white marble, and there have been made chambers like caves, out of which the

πιεῖν τε ἡδὺ καὶ τὸν Κορίνθιον χαλκὸν διάπυρον  
καὶ θερμὸν ὄντα ὑπὸ ὕδατος τούτου βάπτεσθαι  
λέγουσιν, ἐπεὶ χαλκός . . .<sup>1</sup> γε οὐκ ἔστι Κοριν-  
θίους. ἔτι γε δὴ καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος ἄγαλμα πρὸς  
τῇ Πειρήνῃ καὶ περίβολός ἐστιν, ἐν δὲ αὐτῇ  
γραφὴ τὸ Ὀδυσσέως ἐς τοὺς μνηστῆρας ἔχουσα  
τόλμημα.

- 4 Αὖθις δ' ἰοῦσιν ἐπὶ Λεχαίου τὴν εὐθείαν χαλ-  
κοὺς καθήμενός ἐστιν Ἑρμῆς. παρέστηκεν δὲ αἱ  
κριός, ὅτι Ἑρμῆς μάλιστα δοκεῖ θεῶν ἐφορᾶν καὶ  
αὔξειν ποίμνας, καθὰ δὴ καὶ Ὅμηρος ἐν Ἰλιάδι  
ἐποίησεν

Τὸν Φόρβαντος πολυμήλου, τὸν ῥα μάλιστα  
Ἑρμείας Τρώων ἐφίλει καὶ κτήσιν ὅπασσε·

- τὸν δὲ ἐν τελετῇ Μητρὸς ἐπὶ Ἑρμῇ λεγόμενον  
καὶ τῷ κριῷ λόγον ἐπιστάμενος οὐ λέγω. μετὰ  
δὲ τὸ ἄγαλμα τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ Ποσειδῶν καὶ Λευκοθέα  
5 καὶ ἐπὶ δελφίνός ἐστιν ὁ Παλαίμων. λουτρά δὲ  
ἔστι μὲν πολλαχοῦ Κορινθίοις καὶ ἄλλα, τὰ μὲν  
ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ, τὸ δὲ βασιλέως Ἀδριανοῦ κατα-  
σκευάσαντος· τὸ δὲ ὀνομαστότατον αὐτῶν πλη-  
σίον τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος. τοῦτο δὲ Εὐρυκλῆς ἐποί-  
ησεν ἀνὴρ Σπαρτιάτης λίθοις κοσμήσας καὶ  
ἄλλοις καὶ ὃν ἐν Κροκεαῖς χώρας τῆς Λακωνικῆς  
ὀρύσσουσιν. ἐν ἀριστερᾷ δὲ τῆς ἐσόδου Ποσει-  
δῶν καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν Ἀρτεμις θηρεύουσα ἕστηκε.  
κρῆναι δὲ πολλαὶ μὲν ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν πεποιήται  
πᾶσαν ἄτε ἀφθόνου ῥέοντός σφισιν ὕδατος καὶ ὃ  
δὴ βασιλεὺς Ἀδριανὸς ἐσήγαγεν ἐκ Στυμφίλου,  
θεᾶς δὲ μάλιστα ἀξία ἢ παρὰ τὸ ἄγαλμα τὸ τῆς

<sup>1</sup> Here there is a gap in the text.

Water flows into an open-air well. It is pleasant to drink, and they say that the Corinthian bronze, when red-hot, is tempered by this water, since bronze . . . the Corinthians have not. Moreover near Peirene are an image and a sacred enclosure of Apollo; in the latter is a painting of the exploit of Odysseus against the suitors.

Proceeding on the direct road to Lechaëum we see a bronze image of a seated Hermes. By him stands a ram, for Hermes is the god who is thought most to care for and to increase flocks, as Homer puts it in the *Iliad*<sup>1</sup> :—

“Son was he of Phorbas, the dearest of Trojans to  
Hermes,  
Rich in flocks, for the god vouchsafed him wealth  
in abundance.”

The story told at the mysteries of the Mother about Hermes and the ram I know but do not relate. After the image of Hermes come Poseidon, Leucothea, and Palaemon on a dolphin. The Corinthians have baths in many parts of the city, some put up at the public charge and one by the emperor Hadrian. The most famous of them is near the Poseidon. It was made by the Spartan Eurycles,<sup>2</sup> who beautified it with various kinds of stone, especially the one quarried at Croceae in Laconia. On the left of the entrance stands a Poseidon, and after him Artemis hunting. Throughout the city are many wells, for the Corinthians have a copious supply of flowing water, besides the water which the emperor Hadrian brought from Lake Stymphalus, but the most noteworthy is the one by the side of the image

<sup>1</sup> xiv. 490.

<sup>2</sup> Probably a contemporary of Augustus.

- Ἄρτεμιδος· καὶ οἱ Βελλεροφόντης ἔπεστι καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ δι' ὀπλῆς ἵππου ρεῖ τοῦ Πηγάσου.
- 6 Ἑτέραν δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς τὴν ἐπὶ Σικυνῶνα ἐρχομένοις ἔστιν ἰδεῖν ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς ὁδοῦ ναὸς καὶ ἄγαλμα χαλκοῦν Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ ὀλίγον ἄνω-  
τέρῳ κρήνη καλουμένη Γλαύκης· ἐς γὰρ ταύτην ἔρριψεν αὐτήν, ὡς λέγουσι, τῶν Μηδείας ἔσεσθαι φαρμάκων τὸ ὕδωρ νομίζουσα ἱάμα. ὑπὲρ ταύτην πεποιήται τὴν κρήνην καὶ τὸ καλούμενον Ὀιδεῖον, παρὰ δὲ αὐτὸ μνημῆα ἔστι τοῖς Μη-  
δείας παισίν· ὀνόματα μὲν σφισι Μέρμερος καὶ Φέρης, καταλιθωθῆναι δὲ ὑπὸ Κορινθίων λέ-  
γονται τῶν δώρων ἕνεκα ὧν τῇ Γλαύκῃ κομίσαι
- 7 φασὶν αὐτούς· ἅτε δὲ τοῦ θανάτου βιαίου καὶ οὐ σὺν τῷ δικαίῳ γενομένου, τὰ τέκνα Κορινθίων τὰ νῆπια ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐφθείρετο, πρὶν ἢ χρῆσαντος τοῦ θεοῦ θυσίαι τε αὐτοῖς ἐπέτειοι κατέστησαν καὶ Δεῖμα ἐπεστάθη. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς ἔτι λείπεται, γυναικὸς ἐς τὸ φοβερώτερον εἰκὼν πεποιημένη· Κορίνθου δὲ ἀναστάτου γενομένης ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων καὶ Κορινθίων τῶν ἀρχαίων ἀπο-  
λομένων, οὐκέτι ἐκεῖναι καθεστήκασιν αὐτοῖς αἱ θυσίαι παρὰ τῶν ἐποίκων οὐδὲ ἀποκείρονται σφισιν οἱ παῖδες οὐδὲ μέλαιναν φοροῦσιν ἐσθῆτα.
- 8 Μῆδεια δὲ τότε μὲν ἐλθούσα ἐς Ἀθήνας συνή-  
κησεν Αἰγεί, χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον φωραθείσα ἐπι-  
βουλεύειν Θησεῖ καὶ ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν ἔφυγε, παρα-  
γενομένη δὲ ἐς τὴν λεγομένην τότε Ἀρίαν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἔδωκε τὸ ὄνομα καλεῖσθαι Μῆδους ἀπ' αὐτῆς, τὸν δὲ παῖδα, ὃν ἐπήγετο φεύγουσα ἐς τοὺς Ἀρίους, γενέσθαι λέγουσιν ἐξ Αἰγέως, ὄνομα δὲ οἱ Μῆδον εἶναι· Ἑλλάνικος δὲ αὐτὸν



# CORINTH, III. 5-8

of Artemis. Over it is a Bellerophontes, and the water flows through the hoof of the horse Pegasus.

As you go along another road from the marketplace, which leads to Sicyon, you can see on the right of the road a temple and bronze image of Apollo, and a little farther on a well called the Well of Glauce. Into this they say she threw herself in the belief that the water would be a cure for the drugs of Medea. Above this well has been built what is called the Odeum (*Music Hall*), beside which is the tomb of Medea's children. Their names were Mermerus and Pheres, and they are said to have been stoned to death by the Corinthians owing to the gifts which legend says they brought to Glauce. But as their death was violent and illegal, the young babies of the Corinthians were destroyed by them until, at the command of the oracle, yearly sacrifices were established in their honour and a figure of Terror was set up. This figure still exists, being the likeness of a woman frightful to look upon; but after Corinth was laid waste by the Romans and the old Corinthians were wiped out, the new settlers broke the custom of offering those sacrifices to the sons of Medea, nor do their children cut their hair for them or wear black clothes. On the occasion referred to Medea went to Athens and married Aegeus, but subsequently she was detected plotting against Theseus and fled from Athens also; coming to the land then called Aria she caused its inhabitants to be named after her Medes. The son, whom she brought with her in her flight to the Aarii, they say she had by Aegeus, and that his name was Medus. Hellanicus,<sup>1</sup> however, calls him Polyxenus

<sup>1</sup> A writer of the fifth century B.C.

- Πολύξενον καλεῖ καὶ πατὴρ Ἰάσονός φησιν  
 9 εἶναι. ἔφη δὲ ἔστιν ἐν Ἑλληνσι Ναυπάκτια  
 ὀνομαζόμενα· πεποίηται δὲ ἐν αὐτοῖς Ἰάσωνα ἐξ  
 Ἰωλκοῦ μετὰ τὸν Πελίου θάνατον ἐς Κόρκυραν  
 μετοικῆσαι καὶ οἱ Μέρμερον μὲν τὸν πρεσβύ-  
 τερον τῶν παίδων ὑπὸ Λαίηνος διαφθάρηναι  
 θηρεύοντα ἐν τῇ πέραν ἡπείρῳ· Φέρητι δὲ οὐδὲν  
 ἔστιν ἐς μνήμην προσκείμενον. Κιναῖθων δὲ ὁ  
 Λακεδαιμόνιος — ἐγενεαλόγησε γὰρ καὶ οὗτος  
 ἔπεσι — Μῆδειον καὶ θυγατέρα Ἐριῶπιν Ἰάσωνι  
 εἶπεν ἐκ Μηδείας γενέσθαι· πέρα δὲ ἐς τοὺς  
 10 παῖδας οὐδὲ τούτῳ πεπονημένα ἐστίν. Εὐμηλος  
 δὲ Ἥλιον ἔφη δοῦναι τὴν χώραν Ἀλωεῖ μὲν τὴν  
 Ἀσωπίαν, Αἰήτῃ δὲ τὴν Ἐφυραίαν· καὶ Αἰήτην  
 ἀπὸντα ἐς Κόλχους παρακαταθέσθαι Βούνῳ τὴν  
 γῆν, Βοῦνον δὲ Ἑρμοῦ καὶ Ἀλκιδαμείας εἶναι,  
 καὶ ἐπεὶ Βοῦνος ἐτελεύτησεν, οὕτως Ἐπωπία  
 τὸν Ἀλωέως καὶ τὴν Ἐφυραίων σχεῖν ἀρχὴν  
 Κορίνθου δὲ ὕστερον τοῦ Μαραθῶνος οὐδένα  
 ὑπολιπομένον παῖδα, τοὺς Κορινθίους Μῆδειαν  
 μεταπεμψαμένους ἐξ Ἰωλκοῦ παραδοῦναι οἱ τὴν  
 11 ἀρχήν. βασιλεύειν μὲν δὴ δι' αὐτὴν Ἰάσωνα ἐν  
 Κορίνθῳ, Μηδεία δὲ παῖδας μὲν γίνεσθαι, τὸ δὲ  
 αἰεὶ τικτόμενον κατακρύπτειν αὐτὸ ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν  
 φέρουσιν τῆς Ἥρας, κατακρύπτειν δὲ ἀθανάτους  
 ἔσσεσθαι νομίζουσιν· τέλος δὲ αὐτὴν τε μαθεῖν  
 ὥς ἡμαρτήκοι τῆς ἐλπίδος καὶ ἅμα ὑπὸ τοῦ  
 Ἰάσονος φωραθεῖσαν — οὐ γὰρ αὐτὸν ἔχειν δεο-  
 μένη συγγνώμην, ἀποπλέοντα δὲ ἐς Ἰωλκὸν  
 οἴχεσθαι —, τούτων δὲ ἕνεκα ἀπελθεῖν καὶ Μῆ-  
 δειαν παραδοῦσαν Σισύφῳ τὴν ἀρχήν.

IV. Τάδε μὲν οὕτως ἔχοντα ἐπελεξάμην, τοῦ

and says that his father was Jason. The Greeks have an epic poem called *Naupactia*. In this Jason is represented as having removed his home after the death of Pelias from Iolcus to Corcyra, and Mermerus, the elder of his children, to have been killed by a lioness while hunting on the mainland opposite. Of Pheres is recorded nothing. But Cinaethon<sup>1</sup> of Lacedaemon, another writer of pedigrees in verse, said that Jason's children by Medea were a son Medeüs and a daughter Eriopis; he too, however, gives no further information about these children. Eumelus said that Helius (*Sun*) gave the Asopian land to Aloeus and Ephyræa to Aeetes. When Aeetes was departing for Colchis he entrusted his land to Bunus, the son of Hermes and Alcidaea, and when Bunus died Epopeus the son of Aloeus extended his kingdom to include the Ephyræans. Afterwards, when Corinthus, the son of Marathon, died childless, the Corinthians sent for Medea from Iolcus and bestowed upon her the kingdom. Through her Jason was king in Corinth, and Medea, as her children were born, carried each to the sanctuary of Hera and concealed them, doing so in the belief that so they would be immortal. At last she learned that her hopes were vain, and at the same time she was detected by Jason. When she begged for pardon he refused it, and sailed away to Iolchus. For these reasons Medea too departed, and handed over the kingdom to Sisyphus.

IV. This is the account that I read, and not far from

<sup>1</sup> An early epic writer.

μνήματος δέ ἐστιν οὐ πόρρω Χαλινίτιδος Ἀθηναίων  
 ἱερὸν Ἀθηναίων γὰρ θεῶν μάλιστα συγκατεργά-  
 σασθαι τὰ τε ἄλλα Βελλεροφόντη φασὶ καὶ ὡς  
 τὸν Πήγασόν οἱ παραδοίῃ χειρωσαμένη τε καὶ  
 ἐνθείσα αὐτὴ τῷ ἵππῳ χαλινόν. τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα  
 τοῦτο ξύανόν ἐστι, πρόσωπον δὲ καὶ χεῖρες καὶ  
 2 ἀκρόποδες εἰσὶ λευκοῦ λίθου. Βελλεροφόντην δὲ  
 οὐκ αὐτοκράτορα ὄντα βασιλεῦναι, εἶναι δὲ ἐπὶ  
 Προΐτῳ καὶ Ἀργείοις ἐγὼ τε πείθομαι καὶ ὅσους  
 τὰ Ὀμήρου μὴ πάρεργον ἐπελέξατο. φαίνονται  
 δὲ καὶ Βελλεροφόντου μετοικήσαντος ἐς Λυκίαν  
 οὐδὲν ἦσσαν οἱ Κορίνθιοι τῶν ἐν Ἀργεὶ δυναστῶν  
 ἢ Μυκήναις ὑπακούοντες· ἰδίᾳ τε οὐδένα παρε-  
 σχοντο ἄρχοντα τῆς ἐπὶ Τροίαν στρατιάς, συντε-  
 ταγμένοι δὲ Μυκηναίοις καὶ ὅσων ἄλλων Ἀγα-  
 3 μένων ἡγεῖτο μετέσχον τοῦ στόλου. Σισύφῳ δὲ  
 οὔτι Γλαῦκος μόνον ὁ Βελλεροφόντου πατήρ  
 ἀλλὰ καὶ ἕτερος υἱὸς ἐγένετο Ὀρνυτίων, ἐπὶ δὲ  
 αὐτῷ Θέρσανδρός τε καὶ Ἄλμος. Ὀρνυτίωνος  
 δὲ ἦν Φῶκος, Ποσειδῶνος δὲ ἐπὶ κλησιν. καὶ ὁ  
 μὲν ἀπόκησεν ἐς Τιθορέαν τῆς νῦν καλουμένης  
 Φωκίδος, Θόας δὲ Ὀρνυτίωνος υἱὸς νεώτερος  
 κατέμεινεν ἐν τῇ Κορίνθῳ. Θόαντος δὲ Δαμοφῶν,  
 Δαμοφῶντος δὲ ἦν Προπόδας, Προπόδα δὲ Δωρί-  
 δας καὶ Τανθίδας. τούτων βασιλευόντων Δω-  
 ριεῖς στρατεύουσιν ἐπὶ Κόρινθον· ἡγεῖτο δὲ Ἀλ-  
 4 τῆς ἱππότου τοῦ Φύλαντος τοῦ Ἀντιόχου τοῦ  
 Ἡρακλέους. Δωρίδας μὲν οὖν καὶ Τανθίδας πα-  
 ραδόντες τὴν βασιλείαν Ἀλῆτη καταμένουσιν  
 αὐτοῦ, τῶν δὲ Κορινθίων ὁ δῆμος ἐξέπεσεν ὑπὸ  
 4 Δωριέων κρατηθεὶς μάχῃ. Ἀλῆτης δὲ αὐτὸς τε  
 καὶ οἱ ἀπόγονοι βασιλευουσιν ἐς μὲν Βίεχιν τῶν



CORINTH, IV. 1-4

The tomb is the temple of Athena Chalinitis (*Brüller*).  
 or Athena, they say, was the divinity who gave most  
 help to Bellerophon, and she delivered to him  
 Agasus, having herself broken in and bridled him.  
 The image of her is of wood, but face, hands and  
 feet are of white marble. That Bellerophon was  
 not an absolute king, but was subject to Proetus  
 and the Argives is the belief of myself and of all  
 who have read carefully the Homeric poems.<sup>1</sup> When  
 Bellerophon migrated to Lycia it is clear that  
 the Corinthians none the less were subject to the  
 despots at Argos or Mycenae. By themselves they  
 provided no leader for the campaign against Troy,  
 but shared in the expedition as part of the forces,  
 Lycian and other, led by Agamemnon. Sisy-  
 phus had other sons besides Glaucus, the father of  
 Bellerophon; a second was Ornytion, and besides  
 him there were Thersander and Almus. Ornytion  
 had a son Phocus, reputed to have been begotten  
 by Poseidon. He migrated to Tithorea in what is  
 now called Phocis, but Thoas, the younger son of  
 Ornytion, remained behind at Corinth. Thoas begat  
 Damophon, Damophon begat Propodas, and Propodas  
 begat Doridas and Hyanthidas. While these were  
 kings the Dorians took the field against Corinth,  
 their leader being Aletes, the son of Hippotas, the  
 son of Phylas, the son of Antiochus, the son of  
 Ieracles. So Doridas and Hyanthidas gave up the  
 kingship to Aletes and remained at Corinth, but  
 the Corinthian people were conquered in battle and  
 expelled by the Dorians. Aletes himself and his  
 descendants reigned for five generations to Bacchis,

<sup>1</sup> *Iliad*, vi. 159.

Προύμνιδος ἐπὶ γενεὰς πέντε, ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ οἱ  
 Βακχίδαι καλούμενοι πέντε ἄλλας γενεὰς ἐς Τε-  
 λέστην τὸν Ἀριστοδήμον. καὶ Τελέστην μὲν  
 κατὰ ἔχθος Ἀριεὺς καὶ Περάντας κτείνουσι,  
 βασιλεὺς δὲ οὐδεὶς ἔτι ἐγένετο, πρυτάνεις δὲ ἐκ  
 Βακχιδῶν ἐνιαυτὸν ἄρχοντες, ἐς ὃ Κύψελος τυ-  
 ραννήσας ὁ Ἡετίωνος ἐξέβαλε τοὺς Βακχίδας·  
 ἀπόγονος δὲ ἦν ὁ Κύψελος Μέλανος τοῦ Ἀντάσου.  
 Μέλανα δὲ ἐκ Γονούσσης τῆς ὑπὲρ Σικυῶνος  
 στρατεύοντα σὺν Δωριεῦσιν ἐπὶ Κόρινθον Ἀλφί-  
 της τὸ μὲν παραυτίκα ἀπειπόντος τοῦ θεοῦ  
 παρ' ἄλλους τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐκέλευσεν ἀποχωρεῖν,  
 ὕστερον δὲ ἁμαρτῶν τοῦ χρησμοῦ δέχεται  
 σύνοικον.

Τοιαῦτα μὲν ἐς τοὺς Κορινθίων βασιλέας συμ-  
 5 βάντα εὑρισκόν· τὸ δὲ ἱερὸν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τῆς  
 Χαλινίτιδος πρὸς τῷ θεάτρῳ σφίσις ἐστὶν καὶ  
 Πλησίον ξόανον γυμνὸν Ἡρακλέους, Δαιδάλου δὲ  
 αὐτό φασιν εἶναι τέχνην. Δαίδαλος δὲ ὅποσα  
 εἰργάσατο, ἀτοπώτερα μὲν ἐστὶν ἐς τὴν ὄψιν,  
 ἐπιπρέπει δὲ ὅμως τι καὶ ἔνθεον τούτοις, ὑπὲρ  
 δὲ τὸ θεατρὸν ἐστὶν ἱερὸν Διὸς Καπετωλίου φωνῇ  
 τῇ Ῥωμαίων· κατὰ Ἑλλάδα δὲ γλῶσσαν Κοριν-  
 φαῖος ὀνομάζοιτο ἄν. τοῦ θεάτρου δὲ ἐστὶ τοῦδε  
 οὐ πόρρω γυμνάσιον τὸ ἀρχαῖον καὶ πηρὶ  
 καλονμένη Λέρνα· κίονες δὲ ἐστήκασιν περὶ αὐτὴν  
 καὶ καθέδραι πεποιήνται τοὺς ἐσελθόντας ἀναψύ-  
 χειν ὥρα θέρους. πρὸς τούτῳ τῷ γυμνασίῳ ναοὶ  
 θεῶν εἰσιν ὁ μὲν Διὸς, ὁ δὲ Ἀσκληπιοῦ· τὰ δὲ  
 ἀγάλματα Ἀσκληπιὸς μὲν καὶ Ὑγεία λευκοῦ  
 λίθου, τὸ δὲ τοῦ Διὸς χαλκοῦν ἐστίν.

6 Ἀνιούσι δὲ ἐς τὸν Ἀκροκόρινθον—ἥ δὲ ἐστὶν

# CORINTH, IV. 4-6

the son of Prumnis, and, named after him, the Bacchidae reigned for five more generations to Telestes, the son of Aristodemus. Telestes was killed in hate by Arieus and Perantas, and there were no more kings, but *Prytanēs* (*Presidents*) taken from the Bacchidae and ruling for one year, until Cypselus, the son of Eetion, became tyrant and expelled the Bacchidae. Cypselus was a descendant of Melas, the son of Antasus. Melas from Gonussa above Sicyon joined the Dorians in the expedition against Corinth. When the god expressed disapproval Aletes at first ordered Melas to withdraw to other Greeks, but afterwards, mistaking the oracle, he received him as a settler.

Such I found to be the history of the Corinthian kings. Now the sanctuary of Athena Chalinitis is by their theatre, and near is a naked wooden image of Heracles, said to be a work of Daedalus. All the works of this artist, although rather uncouth to look at, are nevertheless distinguished by a kind of inspiration. Above the theatre is a sanctuary of Zeus surnamed in the Latin tongue Capitulinus, which might be rendered into Greek *Coryphaeos*. Not far from this theatre is the ancient gymnasium, and a spring called Lerna. Pillars stand around it, and seats have been made to refresh in summer time those who have entered it. By this gymnasium are temples of Zeus and Asclepius. The images of Asclepius and of Health are of white marble, that of Zeus is of bronze.

The Acrocorinthus is a mountain peak above the

ὄρους ὑπὲρ τὴν πόλιν κορυφή, Βριάρεω μὲν Ἥλιον  
 δόντος αὐτὴν ὅτε ἐδίκαζεν, Ἥλιον δὲ ὡς οἱ Κοριν-  
 θιοὶ φασιν Ἀφροδίτῃ παρέντος—ἐς δὴ τὸν Ἀκρο-  
 κόρινθον τοῦτον ἀνιοῦσιν ἐστὶν Ἴσιδος τεμένη,  
 ὣν τὴν μὲν Πελαγίαν, τὴν δὲ Αἰγυπτίαν αὐτῶν  
 ἐπονομάζουσιν, καὶ δύο Σαράπιδος, ἐν Κανώβῳ  
 καλουμένον τὸ ἕτερον. μετὰ δὲ αὐτὰ Ἥλιον πε-  
 ποίηται βωμοί, καὶ Ἀνάγκης καὶ Βίας ἐστὶν  
 7 ἱερὸν ἐσιέναι δὲ ἐς αὐτὸ οὐ νομίζουσιν. ὑπὲρ  
 τοῦτο Μητρὸς θεῶν ναὸς ἐστὶ καὶ θρόνος, Ἰδίου  
 καὶ αὐτὴ καὶ ὁ θρόνος. ὁ δὲ τῶν Μοιρῶν καὶ ὁ  
 Δήμητρος καὶ Κόρης οὐ φανερά ἔχουσι τὰ ἀγάλ-  
 ματα. ταύτῃ καὶ τὸ τῆς Βουναΐας ἐστὶν ἱερὸν  
 ἱερὸν ἰδρυσαμένου Βούνου τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ, καὶ δι'  
 αὐτὸ ἢ θεὸς καλεῖται Βουναΐα.

V. Ἀνελθοῦσι δὲ ἐς τὸν Ἀκροκόρινθον ναὸς  
 ἐστὶν Ἀφροδίτης· ἀγάλματα δὲ αὐτῇ τε ὠπλι-  
 σμένη καὶ Ἥλιος καὶ Ἔρως ἔχων τόξον. τὴν δὲ  
 πηγὴν, ἣ ἐστὶν ὀπισθεν τοῦ ναοῦ, δῶρον μὲν  
 Ἀσωποῦ λέγουσιν εἶναι, δοθῆναι δὲ Σίσυφον  
 τοῦτον γὰρ εἰδότα, ὡς εἶη Ζεὺς ἥρπακὺς Αἰγίαν  
 θυγατέρα Ἀσωποῦ, μὴ πρότερον φάναι ζητοῦντι  
 μηνύσειν πρὶν ἢ οἱ καὶ ἐν Ἀκροκόρινθῳ γένοντο  
 ὕδωρ· δόντος δὲ Ἀσωποῦ μηνύει τε οὕτως καὶ  
 ἀντὶ τοῦ μηνύματος δίκην—ὅτῳ πιστὰ—ἐν Αἰδῶν  
 δίδωσιν. ἤκουσα δὲ ἤδη τὴν Πειρήνην φαμέναν  
 εἶναι ταύτην καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ αὐτόθεν ὑπορρεῖν τὸ ἐν  
 2 τῇ πόλει. ὁ δὲ Ἀσωπὸς οὗτος ἀρχεται μὲν ἐκ  
 τῆς Φλιασίας, ρεῖ δὲ διὰ τῆς Σικωνίας καὶ  
 ἐκδίδωσιν ἐς τὴν ταύτῃ θάλασσαν. θυγατέρας δὲ  
 αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι Φλιάσιοι φασὶ Κόρκυραν καὶ  
 Αἰγίαν καὶ Θήβην· ἀπὸ μὲν δὴ Κορκύρας καὶ



city, assigned to Helius by Briareos when he acted as adjudicator, and handed over, the Corinthians say, by Helius to Aphrodite. As you go up this Acrocorinthus you see two precincts of Isis, one of Isis surnamed Pelagian (*Marine*) and the other of Egyptian Isis, and two of Serapis, one of them being of Serapis called "in Canopus." After these are altars to Helius, and a sanctuary of Necessity and Force, into which it is not customary to enter. Above it are a temple of the Mother of the gods and a throne; the image and the throne are made of stone. The temple of the Fates and that of Demeter and the Maid have images that are not exposed to view. Here, too, is the temple of Hera Bunaea set up by Bunus the son of Hermes. It is, for this reason that the goddess is called Bunaea.

V. On the summit of the Acrocorinthus is a temple of Aphrodite. The images are Aphrodite armed, Helius, and Eros with a bow. The spring, which is behind the temple, they say was the gift of Asopus to Sisyphus. The latter knew, so runs the legend, that Zeus had ravished Aegina, the daughter of Asopus, but refused to give information to the seeker before he had a spring given him on the Acrocorinthus. When Asopus granted this request Sisyphus turned informer, and on this account he receives—if anyone believes the story—punishment in Hades. I have heard people say that this spring and Peirene are the same, the water in the city flowing hence underground. This Asopus rises in the Phliasian territory, flows through the Sicyonian, and empties itself into the sea here. His daughters, say the Phliasi-ans, were Corcyra, Aegina, and Thebe. Corcyra and

- Αἰγίνης τὰς νήσους Σχερίαν καὶ Οἰνώνην καλου-  
 μένας μετονομασθῆναι, ἀπὸ δὲ Θήβης τὴν ὑπὸ τῇ  
 Καδμείᾳ κληθῆναι. Θηβαῖοι δὲ οὐχ ὁμολογοῦσι.  
 φάμενοί τοῦ Βοιωτίου τὴν Θήβην Ἀσωποῦ καὶ  
 3 οὐ τοῦ Φλιασίου εἶναι. τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἐς τὸν  
 ποταμὸν Φλιάσιοι καὶ Σικυνῶνιοι λέγουσι, τὸ  
 ὕδωρ ἔπηλυ καὶ οὐκ ἐγχώριον εἶναι οἱ. Μαίαν-  
 δρον γάρ κατιόντα ἐκ Κελαινῶν διὰ Φρυγίας καὶ  
 Καρίας καὶ ἐκδιδόντα ἐς τὴν πρὸς Μιλήτῳ θά-  
 λασσαν ἐς Πελοπόννησον ἔρχεσθαι καὶ ποιεῖν  
 τὸν Ἀσωπόν. οἶδα δὲ καὶ Δηλίων τοιοῦτο ἀκού-  
 σας ἕτερον, ὕδωρ δὲ καλοῦσιν Ἰνωπὸν εἶναι σφισιν  
 ἐκ τοῦ Νείλου· καὶ δὴ καὶ αὐτὸν ἔχει τὸν Νεῖλον  
 λόγος Εὐφράτην ὄντα ἐς ἔλος ἀφανίζεσθαι καὶ  
 αὐτῆς ἀνιόντα ὑπὲρ Αἰθιοπίας Νεῖλον γίνεσθαι.  
 4 Ἀσωποῦ μὲν περὶ τοιαῦτα ἤκουσα, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ  
 Ἀκροκορίνθου τραπέισι τὴν ὀρεινὴν πύλην τέ ἐσ-  
 τιν ἡ Τενεατικὴ καὶ Εἰληθυίας ἱερόν· ἐξήκοντα δὲ  
 ἀπέχει μάλιστα στάδια ἢ καλουμένη Τενέα. οἱ  
 δὲ ἀνθρωποὶ φασιν οἱ ταύτῃ Τρῶες εἶναι, αἰχμᾶ-  
 λωτοι δὲ ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων ἐκ Τενέδου γενόμενοι  
 ἐνταῦθα Ἀγαμέμνονος δόντος οἰκῆσαι· καὶ διὰ  
 τοῦτο θεῶν μάλιστα Ἀπόλλωνα τιμῶσιν.  
 5 Ἐκ Κορίνθου δὲ οὐκ ἐς μεσόγαίαν ἀλλὰ τὴν  
 ἐπὶ Σικυνῶνα ἰοῦσι ναὸς ἐμπεπηρησμένος ἐστὶν οὐ  
 πόρρω τῆς πόλεως, ἐν ἀριστερᾷ δὲ τῆς ὁδοῦ. γε-  
 γονάσι μὲν δὴ καὶ ἄλλοι πόλεμοι περὶ τὴν Κοριν-  
 θίαν καὶ πῦρ ἐπέλαβεν ὥς τὸ εἰκὸς καὶ οἰκίας καὶ  
 ἱερὰ τὰ ἔξω τείχους· ἀλλὰ τοῦτόν γε τὸν ναοὶ  
 Ἀπόλλωνος εἶναι λέγουσι καὶ ὅτι Πύρρος κατα-  
 καύσειεν ὁ Ἀχιλλέως αὐτόν. χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον

Aegina gave new names to the islands called Scheria and Oenone, while from Thebe is named the city below the Cadmea. The Thebans do not agree, but say that Thebe was the daughter of the Boeotian, and not of the Phliasian, Asopus. The other stories about the river are current among both the Phliasians and the Sicyonians, for instance that its water is foreign and not native, in that the Maeander, descending from Celaenae through Phrygia and Caria, and emptying itself into the sea at Miletus, goes to the Peloponnesus and forms the Asopus. I remember hearing a similar story from the Delians, that the stream which they call Inopus comes to them from the Nile. Further, there is a story that the Nile itself is the Euphrates, which disappears into a marsh, rises again beyond Aethiopia and becomes the Nile. Such is the account I heard of the Asopus. When you have turned from the Aerocorinthus into the mountain road you see the Teneatic gate and a sanctuary of Eilethya. The town called Tenea is just about sixty stades distant. The inhabitants say that they are Trojans who were taken prisoners in Tenedos by the Greeks, and were permitted by Agamemnon to dwell in their present home. For this reason they honour Apollo more than any other god.

As you go from Corinth, not into the interior but along the road to Sicyon, there is on the left not far from the city a burnt temple. There have, of course, been many wars carried on in Corinthian territory, and naturally houses and sanctuaries outside the wall have been fired. But this temple, they say, was Apollo's, and Pyrrhus the son of Achilles burned it down. Subsequently I heard another account, that

- ἤκουσα καὶ ἄλλο τοιόνδε, ὥς οἱ Κορινθιοὶ Διὶ ποιήσαιτο Ὀλυμπίῳ τὸν ναὸν καὶ ὥς ἐξαίφνης πῦρ ποθὲν ἐμπεσὼν διαφθείρειεν αὐτόν.
- 8 Σικυνῶνιοι δὲ—οὔτοι γὰρ ταύτῃ Κορινθίους εἰσὶν ὄμοροι—περὶ τῆς χώρας τῆς σφετέρας λέγουσιν ὥς Αἰγιαλεὺς αὐτόχθων πρῶτος ἐν αὐτῇ γένοιτο, καὶ Πελοποννήσου δὲ ὅσον ἔτι καλεῖται καὶ νῦν Αἰγιαλὸς ἀπ' ἐκείνου βασιλεύοντος ὀνομασθῆναι, καὶ Αἰγιάλειαν αὐτὸν οἰκίσει πρῶτον ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ πόλιν· οὐ δέ ἐστι νῦν σφίσι τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς, ἀκρόπολιν τοῦτο εἶναι. Αἰγιαλέως δὲ Εὐρώπῃ γενέσθαι φασίν, Εὐρώπος δὲ Τελχίνα, Τελχίως
- 7 δὲ Ἄπιν. οὗτος ὁ Ἄπις ἐς τοσόνδε ἠΰξῃθ' ἀνήμεως, πρὶν ἢ Πέλοπα ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν ἀφικέσθαι, ὥς τὴν ἐντὸς Ἰσθμοῦ χώραν Ἀπίαν ἀπ' ἐκείνου καλεῖσθαι. Ἄπιδος δὲ ἦν Θελξίων, Θελξίονος δὲ Αἰγυρος, τοῦ δὲ Θουρίμαχος, Θουριμάχου δὲ Λεύκιππος· Λεύκιππῳ δὲ ἄρρενες παῖδες οὐκ ἐγένοντο, θυγάτηρ δὲ Καλχινία. ταύτῃ τῇ Καλχινίᾳ Ποσειδῶνα συγγενέσθαι φασὶ καὶ τὸν τεχθέντα ὑπ' αὐτῆς ἔθρεψεν ὁ Λεύκιππος καὶ τελευτῶν παρέδωκέν οἱ τὴν ἀρχήν· ὄνομα δὲ ἦν Πέρατος
- 8 τῷ παιδί. τὰ δὲ ἐς Πλημναῖον τὸν Περάτου μαλιστα ἐφαίνετό μοι θαύματος ἄξια· τὰ γὰρ οἱ τικτόμενα ὑπὸ τῆς γυναικὸς ἀντίκα ὁπότε πρῶτον κλαύσειεν ἠφίει τὴν ψυχὴν, ἐς ὃ Δημήτηρ ἔλεον ἴσχει Πλημναίου, παραγενομένη δὲ ἐς τὴν Αἰγιάλειαν ὥς δὴ γυνὴ ξένη Πλημναίῳ παῖδα ἀνέθρεψεν Ὀρθόπολιν. Ὀρθοπόλιδι δὲ θυγάτηρ γίνεσθαι Χρυσόρθη· ταύτην τεκεῖν νομίζουσιν ἐξ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ ὁ παῖς ὠνομάσθη Κόρωνος, Κορώνου δὲ γίνονται Κόραξ καὶ νεώτερος Λαμέδων.



the Corinthians built the temple for Olympian Zeus, and that suddenly fire from some quarter fell on it and destroyed it.

The Sicyonians, the neighbours of the Corinthians at this part of the border, say about their own land that Aegialeus was its first and aboriginal inhabitant, that the district of the Peloponnesus still called Aegialus was named after him because he reigned over it, and that he founded the city Aegialæa on the plain. Their citadel, they say, was where is now their sanctuary of Athena; further, that Aegialeus begat Europs, Europs Telehis, and Telehis Apis. This Apis reached such a height of power before Pelops came to Olympia that all the territory south of the Isthmus was called after him Apia. Apis begat Thelxion, Thelxion Aegyros, he Thurimachus, and Thurimachus Leucippus. Leucippus had no male issue, only a daughter Calchinia. There is a story that this Calchinia mated with Poseidon; her child was reared by Leucippus, who at his death handed over to him the kingdom. His name was Peratus. What is reported of Plemnaeus, the son of Peratus, seemed to me very wonderful. All the children borne to him by his wife died the very first time they wailed. At last Demeter took pity on Plemnaeus, came to Aegialea in the guise of a strange woman, and reared for Plemnaeus his son Orthopolis. Orthopolis had a daughter Chrysorthe, who is thought to have borne a son named Coronus to Apollo. Coronus had two sons, Corax and a younger one Lamedon.

- VI. Κόρακος δὲ ἀποθανόντος ἄπαιδος ὑπὸ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν Ἐπωπεὺς ἀφικόμενος ἐκ Θεσσαλίας ἔσχε τὴν ἀρχήν. ἐπὶ τούτου βασιλεύοντος στρατὸν σφίσι πολέμιον λέγουσιν ἐς τὴν χώραν τότε ἐλθεῖν πρῶτον, τὰ πρὸ τοῦ πάντα τὸν χρόνον διατελέσασιν ἐν εἰρήνῃ. αἰτία δὲ ἦδε· Ἀντιόπης ἐν Ἑλλήσι τῆς Νυκτέως ὄνομα ἦν ἐπὶ κάλλει, καὶ οἱ καὶ φήμῃ προσῆν Ἀσωποῦ θυγατέρα, δὲ τὴν Θηβαίδα καὶ Πλαταίδα ὀρίζει, καὶ οὗ
- 2 Νυκτέως εἶναι. ταύτην οὐκ οἶδα εἴτε γυναῖκα αἰτήσας εἴτε θρασύτερα ἐξ ἀρχῆς βουλευσάμενος Ἐπωπεὺς ἀρπάξει· ὥς δὲ οἱ Θηβαῖοι σὺν ὅπλοις ἦλθον, ἐνταῦθα τιτρώσκεται μὲν Νυκτεὺς, ἐτρώθη δὲ κρατῶν τῇ μάχῃ καὶ Ἐπωπεὺς. Νυκτέα μὲν δὴ κάμνοντα ὀπίσω κομίζουσιν ἐς Θήβας, καὶ ὥς ἔμελλε τελευτᾶν, Λύκον ἀδελφὸν ὄντα παραδίδωσι Θηβαίων ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἀρχεῖν· Λάβδακον γὰρ τὸν Πολυδώρου τοῦ Κάδμου παῖδα ἔτι αὐτός τε ἐπετρόπενεν ὁ Νυκτεὺς καὶ τότε ἀπέλιπεν ἐπιτροπεύειν ἐκείνῳ. τοῦτον οὖν τὸν Λύκον ἰκέτευσε στρατῷ μείζονι ἐπὶ τὴν Αἰγιάλειαν ἐλάσαντα τιμωρήσασθαι μὲν Ἐπωπεία,
  - 3 κακοῦν δὲ εἰ λάβοι καὶ αὐτὴν Ἀντιόπην. Ἐπωπεὺς δὲ τὸ μὲν παραντίκα ἐπινίκια ἔθνε καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς ᾠκοδόμει ναόν, ἐπ' ἐξειργασμένῳ δὲ εὗξато ἐνδείξασθαι τὴν θεὸν εἰ οἱ τετελεσμένοι ἐστὶν ὁ ναὸς κατὰ γνώμην· μετὰ δὲ τὴν εὐχὴν ἔλαιον λέγουσι ῥυῆναι πρὸ τοῦ ναοῦ. ὕστερον δὲ καὶ Ἐπωπεία κατέλαβεν ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὸ τοῦ τραύματος ἀμεληθέντος κατ' ἀρχάς, ὥς μηδὲν ἐπὶ Λύκῳ δεῆσαι πολέμου· Λαμέδων γὰρ ὁ Κορώνου

VI. Corax died without issue, and at about this time came Epopeus from Thessaly and took the kingdom. In his reign the first hostile army is said to have invaded the land, which before this had enjoyed unbroken peace. The reason was this. Antiope, the daughter of Nycteus, had a name among the Greeks for beauty, and there was also a report that her father was not Nycteus but Asopus, the river that separates the territories of Thebes and Plataea. This woman Epopeus carried off, but I do not know whether he asked for her hand or adopted a bolder policy from the beginning. The Thebans came against him in arms, and in the battle Nycteus was wounded. Epopeus also was wounded, but won the day. Nycteus they carried back ill to Thebes, and when he was about to die he appointed to be regent of Thebes his brother Lycus; for Labdacus, the son of Polydorus, the son of Cadmus, being still a child, was the ward of Nycteus, who on this occasion entrusted the office of guardian to Lycus. He also besought him to attack Aegialea with a larger army and bring vengeance upon Epopeus; Antiope herself, if taken, was to be punished. As to Epopeus, he forthwith offered sacrifice for his victory and began a temple of Athena, and when this was complete he prayed the goddess to make known whether the temple was finished to her liking, and after the prayer they say that olive oil flowed before the temple. Afterwards Epopeus also died of his wound, which he had neglected at first, so that Lycus had now no need to wage war. For Lamedon, the

PAUSANIAS: DESCRIPTION OF GREECE

βασιλεύσας μετὰ Ἐπωπέα ἐξέδωκεν Ἀντιόπην.  
 ἥ δὲ ὥς ἐς Θήβας ἤγετο τὴν ἐπ' Ἐλευθερῶν,  
 4 ἐνταῦθα καθ' ὁδὸν τίκτει. καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ πε-  
 ποίηκεν Ἄσιος ὁ Ἀμφιπτολέμου·

Ἀντιόπη δ' ἔτεκε Ζήθου καὶ Ἀμφίονα διὸν  
 Ἄσωποῦ κούρη ποταμοῦ βαθυδινήεντος,  
 Ζηνί τε κυσαμένη καὶ Ἐπωπέι ποιμένι λαῶν.

Ὅμηρος δὲ σφᾶς ἀνήγαγεν ἐπὶ τὸ σεμνότερον τοῦ  
 γένους καὶ Θήβας φησὶν οἰκίσαι πρῶτους, ἀπο-  
 κρίνων τὴν κάτω πόλιν ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν ἀπὸ τῆς  
 5 Καδμείας. Λαμέδων δὲ βασιλεύσας ἔγνημεν ἐξ  
 Ἀθηνῶν γυναῖκα Φηνῶ Κλυτίου· καὶ ὕστερον  
 γενομένου οἱ πολέμου πρὸς Ἀρχαυδρον καὶ  
 Ἀρχιτέλῃν τοὺς Ἀχαιοῦ συμμαχήσουσα ἐπη-  
 γάγετο Σικυῶνα ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς, καὶ θυγατέρα  
 τε συνώκισεν αὐτῷ Ζευξίππην καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου  
 βασιλεύσαντος ἡ γῆ Σικωνία καὶ Σικυῶν ἀντὶ  
 Αἰγιάλης ἡ πόλις ὠνομάσθη. Σικυῶνα δὲ οὐ  
 Μαραθῶνος τοῦ Ἐπωπέως, Μητίονος δὲ εἶναι  
 τοῦ Ἐρεχθέως φασίν. ὁμολογεῖ δὲ σφισι καὶ  
 Ἄσιος, ἐπεὶ Ἡσίοδός γε καὶ Ἴβυκος, ὁ μὲν  
 ἐποίησεν ὥς Ἐρεχθέως εἶη Σικυῶν, Ἴβυκος δὲ  
 6 εἶναι Πέλοπός φησιν αὐτόν. Σικυῶνος δὲ γίνεται  
 Χθονοφύλῃ, Χθονοφύλης δὲ καὶ Ἑρμοῦ Πόλυβον  
 γενέσθαι λέγουσιν· ὕστερον δὲ αὐτὴν Φλίας ὁ  
 Διονύσου γαμεῖ, καὶ οἱ παῖς Ἀνδροδάμας γίνεται.  
 Πόλυβος δὲ Ταλαῶ τῷ Βίαντος βασιλεύοντι  
 Ἀργείων Λυσιάνασσαν τὴν θυγατέρα ἔδωκε· καὶ



son of Coronus, who became king after Epopeus, gave up Antiope. As she was being taken to Thebes by way of Eleutherae, she was delivered there on the road. On this matter Asius the son of Amphiptolemus says in his poem :—

Æ. 640-  
617 B.C.

“Zethus and Amphion had Antiope for their  
mother,  
Daughter of Asopus, the swift, deep-eddying  
river,  
Having conceived of Zeus and Epopeus, shepherd  
of peoples.”

Homer traces their descent to the more august side of their family, and says that they were the first founders of Thebes, in my opinion distinguishing the lower city from the Cadmea. When Lamedon became king he took to wife an Athenian woman, Pheno, the daughter of Clytius. Afterwards also, when war had arisen between him and Archander and Architeles, the sons of Achaeus, he brought in as his ally Sicyon from Attica, and gave him Zeuxippe his daughter to wife. This man became king, and the land was named after him Sicyonia, and the city Sicyon instead of Aegiale. But they say that Sicyon was not the son of Marathon, the son of Epopeus, but of Metion the son of Erechtheus. Asius confirms their statement, while Hesiod makes Sicyon the son of Erechtheus, and Ibycus says that his father was Pelops. Sicyon had a daughter Chthonophyle, and they say that she and Hermes were the parents of Polybus. Afterwards she married Phlias, the son of Dionysus, and gave birth to Androdamas. Polybus gave his daughter Lysianassa to Talaus the son of Bias, king of the

ὅτε Ἀδραστος ἔφηνγεν ἐξ Ἀργους, παρὰ Πόλυ-  
βου ἦλθεν ἐς Σικυῶνα καὶ ὕστερον ἀποθανόντος  
Πολύβου τὴν ἐν Σικυῶνι ἀρχὴν ἔσχεν. Ἀδράστου  
δὲ ἐς Ἀργος κατελθόντος Ἰανίσκος ἀπόγονος  
Κλυτίου τοῦ Λαμέδοντι κηδεύσαντος ἐλθὼν ἐκ  
τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐβασίλευσεν, ἀποθανόντος δὲ Ἰανί-  
σκου Φαῖστος τῶν Ἡρακλέους λεγόμενος παίδων  
7 καὶ οὗτος εἶναι. Φαίστου δὲ κατὰ μαντείαν  
μετοικήσαντος ἐς Κρήτην βασιλεῦσαι λέγεται  
Ζεύξιππος Ἀπόλλωνος υἱὸς καὶ νύμφης Συλλί-  
δος.<sup>1</sup> μετὰ δὲ Ζεύξιππον τελευτήσαντα Ἀγα-  
μέμνων στρατὸν ἤγαγεν ἐπὶ Σικυῶνα καὶ τὸν  
βασίλῃαν Ἰππόλυτον Ῥοπάλου παῖδα τοῦ Φαί-  
στου δείσας δὲ τὸν στρατὸν ἐπιόντα Ἰππόλυτος  
συνεχώρησεν Ἀγαμέμνονος κατήκοος καὶ Μυκη-  
ναίῳ εἶναι. Ἰππολύτου δὲ ἦν τούτου Λακε-  
σταδῆς. Φάλκης δὲ ὁ Τημένου καταλαβὼν  
νύκτωρ Σικυῶνα σὺν Δωριεῦσι κακὸν μὲν αἶτε  
Ἡρακλείδην καὶ αὐτὸν ἐποίησεν οὐδέν, κοινωνὸν  
δὲ ἔσχε τῆς ἀρχῆς.

VII. Καὶ Δωριεῖς μὲν Σικυῶνιοι γεγόνασιν ἀπὸ  
τούτου καὶ μοῖρα τῆς Ἀργείας· τὴν δὲ τοῦ Αἰγιά-  
λέως ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ πόλιν Δημήτριος καθελὼν ὁ  
Ἀντιγόνοῦ τῇ πάλαι ποτὲ ἀκροπόλει προσώκισε  
τὴν νῦν πόλιν. ἐχόντων δὲ ἀσθενῶς ἤδη τῶν  
Σικυωνίων—αἰτίαν δὲ οὐκ ὀρθῶς ποιοῖ τις ἀν-  
ζητῶν, ἀποχρῶτο δὲ τῷ Ὀμήρῳ λεγομένῳ περὶ  
Διός,

ὥς δὴ πολλῶν πολίων κατέλυσε κάρηνα —,  
διακειμένοις οὖν ἀδυνάτως ἐπιγεγόμενος σεισμός

<sup>1</sup> Ὑλλίδος O. Müller.

Argives; and when Adrastus fled from Argos he came to Polybus at Sicyon, and afterwards on the death of Polybus he became king at Sicyon. When Adrastus returned to Argos, Ianiscus, a descendant of Clytius the father-in-law of Lamedon, came from Attica and was made king, and when Ianiscus died he was succeeded by Phaestus, said to have been one of the children of Heracles. After Phaestus in obedience to an oracle migrated to Crete, the next king is said to have been Zeuxippus, the son of Apollo and the nymph Syllis. On the death of Zeuxippus, Agamemnon led an army against Sicyon and king Hippolytus, the son of Rhopalus, the son of Phaestus. In terror of the army that was attacking him, Hippolytus agreed to become subject to Agamemnon and the Mycenaeans. This Hippolytus was the father of Lacestades. Phalces the son of Temenus, with the Dorians, surprised Sicyon by night, but did Lacestades no harm, because he too was one of the Heracleidae, and made him partner in the kingdom.

VII. From that time the Sicyonians became Dorians and their land a part of the Argive territory. The city built by Aegialeus on the plain was destroyed by Demetrius the son of Antigonos, who founded the modern city near what was once the ancient citadel. The reason why the Sicyonians grew weak it would be wrong to seek; we must be content with Homer's saying about Zeus:—

“Many, indeed, are the cities of which he has levelled the strongholds.”

When they had lost their power there came upon

ὀλίγον τὴν πόλιν ἐποίησεν ἀνδρῶν ἔρημον, πολλὰ δὲ σφᾶς καὶ τῶν ἐς ἐπίδειξιν ἀφείλετο. ἐκάκωσε δὲ καὶ περὶ Καρίαν καὶ Λυκίαν τὰς πόλεις καὶ Ῥοδίοις ἐσείσθη μάλιστα ἡ νῆσος, ὥστε καὶ τὸ λόγιον τετελέσθαι Σιβύλλῃ τὸ ἐς τὴν Ῥόδον ἔδοξεν.

2 Ἐκ δὲ τῆς Κορινθίας ἐλθούσιν ἐς τὴν Σικυωνίαν Λύκου Μεσσηνίου μνήμᾳ ἔστιν, ὅστις δὴ οὗτος ὁ Λύκος· οὐ γάρ τινα Λύκον εὐρίσκω Μεσσηνίου ἀσκήσαντα πένταθλον οὐδὲ Ὀλυμπικὴν ἀννηρημένον νίκην. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ χάμα ἔστι γῆς, αὐτοὶ δὲ Σικυώνιοι τὰ πολλὰ εἰκότι τρόπῳ θάπτουσι. τὸ μὲν σῶμα γῇ κρύπτουσι, λίθου δὲ ἐποικοδομήσαντες κρηπίδα κίονας ἐφιστάσι καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἐπίθημα ποιοῦσι κατὰ τοὺς αἰετοὺς μάλιστα τοὺς ἐν τοῖς ναοῖς· ἐπίγραμμα δὲ ἄλλο μὲν ἐπιγράφουσιν οὐδέν, τὸ δὲ ὄνομα ἐφ' αὐτοῦ καὶ οὐ πατρόθεν ὑπειπόντες κελεύουσι τὸν νεκρὸν χαίρειν.

3 Μετὰ δὲ τὸ μνῆμα τοῦ Λύκου διαβεβηκόσιν ἤδη τὸν Ἀσωπὸν, ἔστιν ἐν δεξιᾷ τὸ Ὀλύμπιον, ὀλίγον δὲ ἔμπροσθεν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τῆς ὁδοῦ τάφος Εὐπόλιδι Ἀθηναίῳ ποιήσαντι κωμωδίαν. προελθούσι δὲ καὶ ἐπιστρέψασιν ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν Ξενοδίκης μνήμᾳ ἔστιν ἀποθανούσης ἐν ᾧδισι πεποιήται δὲ οὐ κατὰ τὸν ἐπιχώριον τρόπον, ἀλλ' ὡς ἂν τῇ γραφῇ μάλιστα ἀρμόζοι· γραφὴ δὲ

4 εἴπερ ἄλλη τις καὶ αὕτη ἐστὶ θεᾶς ἀξία. προελθούσι δὲ ἐντεῦθεν τάφος Σικυωνίοις ἔστιν, ὅσοι περὶ Πελλήνην καὶ Δύμην τὴν Ἀχαιῶν καὶ ἐν Μεγάλῃ πόλει καὶ περὶ Σελλασίαν ἐτελεύτησαν· τὰ δὲ ἐς αὐτοὺς σαφέστερον ἐν τοῖς ἐφεξῆς



them an earthquake, which almost depopulated their city and took from them many of their famous sights. It damaged also the cities of Caria and Lycia, and the island of Rhodes was very violently shaken, so that it was thought that the Sibyl had had her utterance about Rhodes<sup>1</sup> fulfilled.

When you have come from the Corinthian to the Sicyonian territory you see the tomb of Lycus the Messenian; whoever this Lycus may be; for I can discover no Messenian Lycus who practised the *pentathlon*<sup>2</sup> or won a victory at Olympia. This tomb is a mound of earth, but the Sicyonians themselves usually bury their dead in a uniform manner. They cover the body in the ground, and over it they build a basement of stone upon which they set pillars. Above these they put something very like the pediment of a temple. They add no inscription, except that they give the dead man's name without that of his father and bid him farewell.

After the tomb of Lycus, but on the other side of the Asopus, there is on the right the Olympium, and a little farther on, to the left of the road, the grave of Eupolis,<sup>3</sup> the Athenian comic poet. Farther on, if you turn in the direction of the city, you see the tomb of Xenodice, who died in childbirth. It has not been made after the native fashion, but so as to harmonize best with the painting, which is very well worth seeing. Farther on from here is the grave of the Sicyonians who were killed at Pellene, at Dyme of the Achaeans, in Megalopolis and at Selasia. Their story I will relate more fully presently. 222 A

<sup>1</sup> That it should perish and be left destitute.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 157.

<sup>3</sup> Flourished at the time of the Peloponnesian war.

δηλώσω. πρὸς δὲ τῇ πύλῃ πηγή ἐστὶ σφισιν ἐν σπηλαίῳ, ἧς τὸ ὕδωρ οὐκ ἀνεισιν ἐκ γῆς. ἐπιρρεῖ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ ὀρόφου τοῦ σπηλαίου· καὶ καλεῖται δι' αὐτὸ Στάζουσα ἡ πηγή.

- 5 Ἐν δὲ τῇ νῦν ἀκροπόλει Τύχης ἱερόν ἐστι Ἀκραίας, μετὰ δὲ αὐτὸ Διοσκούρων· ξόανα δὲ οὗτοί τε καὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα τῆς Τύχης ἐστί. τοῦ θεάτρου δὲ ὑπὸ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ὠκοδομημένου τὸν ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ πεποιημένον ἄνδρα ἀσπίδα ἔχοντα Ἀρατὸν φασιν εἶναι τὸν Κλεινίου, μετὰ δὲ τὸ θεάτρον Διονύσου ναὸς ἐστὶ· χρυσοῦ μὲν καὶ ἐλέφαντος ὁ θεός, παρὰ δὲ αὐτὸν Βάκχαι λίθου λευκοῦ. ταύτας τὰς γυναῖκας ἱεράς εἶναι καὶ Διονύσῳ μαίνεσθαι λέγουσιν. ἄλλα δὲ ἀγάλματα ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ Σικωνίοις ἐστί· ταῦτα μὲν καθ' ἑκάστον ἔτος νυκτὶ ἐς τὸ Διονύσιον ἐκ τοῦ καλονέουτος κοσμητηρίου κομίζουσι, κομίζουσι δὲ μετὰ
- 6 δάδων τε ἡμμένων καὶ ὕμνων ἐπιχωρίων. ἡγεῖται μὲν οὖν ὃν Βάκχειον ὀνομάζουσιν — Ἀνδροδάμας σφίσιν ὁ Φλίαντος τοῦτον ἰδρύσατο —, ἔπεται δὲ ὁ καλούμενος Λύσιος, ὃν Θηβαῖος Φάνης εἰπούσης τῆς Πυθίας ἐκόμισεν ἐκ Θηβῶν. ἐς δὲ Σικυνῶνα ἦλθεν ὁ Φάνης, ὅτε Ἀριστόμαχος ὁ Κλεοδαίου τῆς γενομένης μαντείας ἀμαρτῶν δι' αὐτὸ καὶ καθόδου τῆς ἐς Πελοπόννησον ἤμαρτεν. ἐκ δὲ τοῦ Διονυσίου βαδίζουσιν ἐς τὴν ἀγοράν, ἐστὶ ναὸς Ἀρτέμιδος ἐν δεξιᾷ Λιμναίας. καὶ ὅτι μὲν κατερρηκεν ὁ ὄροφος, δῆλόν ἐστιν ἰδόντι· περὶ δὲ τοῦ ἀγάλματος οὔτε ὥς κομισθέντος ἐτέρωσε οὔτε ὄντινα αὐτοῦ διεφθάρη τρόπον εἰπεῖν ἔχουσιν.

By the gate they have a spring in a cave, the water of which does not rise out of the earth, but flows down from the roof of the cave. For this reason it is called the Dripping Spring.

On the modern citadel is a sanctuary of Fortune of the Height, and after it one of the Dioscuri. Their images and that of Fortune are of wood. On the stage of the theatre built under the citadel is a statue of a man with a shield, who they say is Aratus, the son of Cleinias. After the theatre is a temple of Dionysus. The god is of gold and ivory, and by his side are Bacchanals of white marble. These women they say are sacred to Dionysus and maddened by his inspiration. The Sicyonians have also some images which are kept secret. These one night in each year they carry to the temple of Dionysus from what they call the Cosmeterium (*Tiring-room*), and they do so with lighted torches and native hymns. The first is the one named Baccheüs, set up by Androdamas, the son of Phlias, and this is followed by the one called Lysius (*Deliverer*), brought from Thebes by the Theban Phanes at the command of the Pythian priestess. Phanes came to Sicyon when Aristomachus, the son of Cleodaeüs, failed to understand the oracle<sup>1</sup> given him, and therefore failed to return to the Peloponnesus. As you walk from the temple of Dionysus to the market-place you see on the right a temple of Artemis of the Lake. A look shows that the roof has fallen in, but the inhabitants cannot tell whether the image has been removed or how it was destroyed on the spot.

<sup>1</sup> To wait for "the third fruit," i.e. the third generation. It was interpreted to mean the third year.

- 7 Ἐς δὲ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐσελθοῦσι Πειθοὺς ἐστὶν ἱερὸν οὐδὲ τοῦτο ἄγαλμα ἔχον. Πειθῶ δὲ ἐπὶ λόγῳ τοιῷδε αὐτοῖς κατέστη σέβεσθαι. Ἀπόλλων καὶ Ἄρτεμις ἀποκτείναντες Πύθωνα παρεγένοντο ἐς τὴν Αἰγιάλειαν καθαρσίῳν ἕνεκα. γενομένου δὲ σφισι δείματος, ἔνθα καὶ νῦν Φόβον ὀνομάζουσι τὸ χωρίον, οἱ μὲν ἐς Κρήτην παρὰ Καρμάνορα ἀπετράποντο, τοὺς δὲ ἀνθρώπους ἐν τῇ Αἰγιάλειά νόσος ἐπέλαβε· καὶ σφᾶς ἐκέλευον οἱ μάντις Ἀπόλλωνα ἰλάσασθαι καὶ
- 8 Ἄρτεμιν. οἱ δὲ παῖδας ἑπτὰ καὶ ἴσας παρθένους ἐπὶ τὸν Σῦθαν ποταμὸν ἀποστέλλουσιν ἱκετεύοντας· ὑπὸ τούτων δὲ πεισθέντας τοὺς θεοὺς φασιν ἐς τὴν τότε ἀκρόπολιν ἔλθειν, καὶ ὁ τόπος ἔνθα πρῶτον ἀφίκοντο Πειθοὺς ἐστὶν ἱερὸν. τούτοις δὲ εὐκότα καὶ νῦν ἔτι ποιεῖται· καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ τὸν Σῦθαν ἴασιν οἱ παῖδες τῇ ἑορτῇ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος, καὶ ἀγαγόντες δὴ τοὺς θεοὺς ἐς τὸ τῆς Πειθοὺς ἱερὸν αὐθις ἀπάγειν ἐς τὸν ναὸν φασὶ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος. ὁ δὲ ναὸς ἔστι μὲν ἐν τῇ νῦν ἀγορᾷ, τὸ δὲ ἐξ ἀρχῆς λέγουσιν αὐτὸν ὑπὸ Προίτου ποιηθῆναι· τὰς γὰρ οἱ θυγατέρας ἐν
- 9 ταῦθα τῆς μανίας παύσασθαι. λέγουσι δὲ καὶ τάδε, ὡς Μελέαγρος ἐς τοῦτον τὸν ναὸν ἀνέθηκε τὴν λόγχην ἣ τὸν ὕν κατειργάσατο. καὶ αὐλοὺς ἀνατεθῆναί φασιν ἐνταῦθα τοὺς Μαρσύου· γενομένης γὰρ τῷ Σίληνῳ τῆς συμφορᾶς τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν Μαρσύαν κατενεγκεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐς τὸν Μαίανδρον, ἀναφανέντας δὲ ἐν τῷ Ἀσωπῷ καὶ κατὰ τὴν Σικωνίαν ἐκπεσόντας ὑπὸ ποιμένος τοῦ εὐρέντος δοθῆναι τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι. τούτων τῶν ἀναθημάτων οὐδὲν ἔτι ἐλείπετο, συγκατεκαύθη



Within the market-place is a sanctuary of Persuasion; this too has no image. The worship of Persuasion was established among them for the following reason. When Apollo and Artemis had killed Pytho they came to Aegialea to obtain purification. Dread coming upon them at the place now named Fear, they turned aside to Carmanor in Crete, and the people of Aegialea were smitten by a plague. When the seers bade them propitiate Apollo and Artemis, they sent seven boys and seven maidens as suppliants to the river Sythas. They say that the deities, persuaded by these, came to what was then the citadel, and the place that they reached first is the sanctuary of Persuasion. Conformable with this story is the ceremony they perform at the present day; the children go to the Sythas at the feast of Apollo, and having brought, as they pretend, the deities to the sanctuary of Persuasion, they say that they take them back again to the temple of Apollo. The temple stands in the modern market-place, and was originally, it is said, made by Proetus, because in this place his daughters recovered from their madness. It is also said that in this temple Meleager dedicated the spear with which he slew the boar. There is also a story that the flutes of Marsyas are dedicated here. When the Silenus met with his disaster, the river Marsyas carried the flutes to the Maeander; reappearing in the Asopus they were cast ashore in the Sicyonian territory and given to Apollo by the shepherd who found them. I found none of these offerings still in existence, for they were destroyed

γὰρ ἐμπιπραμένῳ τῷ ναῷ· τὸν δὲ ἐπ' ἐμοῦ ναὸν  
καὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα Πυθοκλῆς ἀνέθηκεν.

VIII. Τῷ δὲ τῆς Πειθοῦς ἱερῷ τὸ ἐγγὺς τέμενος  
ἀνείμενον βασιλεῦσι Ῥωμαίων οἰκία ποτὲ ἦν  
Κλέωνος τυράννου· Κλεισθένης μὲν γὰρ ὁ Ἀρι-  
στανύμου τοῦ Μύρωνος ἐχόντων ἔτι τὴν κατὰ  
πόλιν Σικυωνίων ἐτυράννησε, Κλέων δὲ ἐν τῇ  
νῦν πόλει. πρὸ ταύτης τῆς οἰκίας ἡρώων ἔστι  
Ἀράτου μέγιστα Ἑλλήνων ἐργασαμένου τῶν ἐφ'  
2 αὐτοῦ· ἔχει δὲ ὧδε τὰ ἐς αὐτόν. μετὰ Κλέωνα  
μοναρχήσαντα ἐνέπεσε τῶν ἐν τέλει πολλοῦν  
ἐπιθυμία τυραννίδος οὕτω δὴ τι ἀκάθεκτος ὢν  
καὶ ἄνδρας δύο Εὐθύδημον καὶ Τιμοκλείδαν ὁμοῦ  
τυραννῆσαι. τούτους μὲν οὖν ἐξέβαλεν ὁ δῆμος,  
Κλεινίαν τὸν πατέρα Ἀράτου προστησάμενος·  
ἔτεσι δὲ ὕστερον οὐ πολλοῖς ἐτυράννησεν Ἀβαν-  
τίδας. Κλεινία μὲν οὖν συνεβεβήκει πρότερον  
ἔτι ἢ τελευταίῃ Ἀρατοῦ δὲ Ἀβαντίδας φυγάδα  
ἐποίησεν, ἣ καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπεχώρησεν Ἀρατος  
ἐθελοντής. Ἀβαντίδαν μὲν οὖν κτείνουσιν ἄνδρες  
τῶν ἐπιχωρίων, τύραννος δὲ αὐτίκα ἐγεγόνει ὁ  
3 Ἀβαντίδου πατὴρ Πασέας· Νικοκλῆς δὲ ἐκείνου  
ἀνελὼν ἐτυράννησεν αὐτός. ἐπὶ τοῦτον τὸν  
Νικοκλέα Ἀρατος ἀφικόμενος Σικυωνίων φυγάς  
καὶ Ἀργείοις μισθωτοῖς τοὺς μὲν ἔλαθεν ἅτε ἐν  
σκότῳ—νύκτωρ γὰρ δὴ τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν ἐποι-  
εῖτο—, τοὺς δὲ καὶ βιασάμενος τῶν φυλασσόντων  
ἐγένετο ἐντὸς τείχους· καὶ—ὑπέβαινε γὰρ ἕως ἥδη  
—προσλαβὼν τὸν δῆμον ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν σπουδῇ  
τὴν τυραννικὴν τρέπεται. καὶ ταύτην μὲν εἶλεν οὐ  
χαλεπῶς, ὁ δὲ Νικοκλῆς αὐτὸς ἔλαθεν ἀποδράς.  
Σικυωνίοις δὲ ἀπέδωκεν Ἀρατος ἐξ ἴσου πολιτεῖν.

by fire when the temple was burnt. The temple that I saw, and its image, were dedicated by Pythoacles.

VIII. The precinct near the sanctuary of Persuasion that is devoted to Roman emperors was once the house of the tyrant Cleon. He became tyrant in the modern city; there was another tyranny while the Sicyonians still lived in the lower city, that of Cleisthenes, the son of Aristonymus, the son of Myron. Before this house is a hero-shrine of Aratus, whose achievements eclipsed those of all contemporary Greeks. His history is as follows. After the despotism of Cleon, many of those in authority were seized with such an ungovernable passion for tyranny that two actually became tyrants together, Euthydemus and Timocleidas. These were expelled by the people, who made Cleinias, the father of Aratus, their champion. A few years afterwards Abantidas became tyrant. Before this time Cleinias had met his death, and Aratus went into exile, either of his own accord or because he was compelled to do so by Abantidas. Now Abantidas was killed by some natives, and his father Pseas immediately became tyrant. He was killed by Nicocles, who succeeded him. This Nicocles was attacked by Aratus with a force of Sicyonian exiles and Argive mercenaries. Making his attempt by night, he eluded some of the defenders in the darkness; the others he overcame, and forced his way within the wall. Day was now breaking, and taking the populace with him he hastened to the tyrant's house. This he easily captured, but Nicocles himself succeeded in making his escape. Aratus restored equality of political rights to the Sicyonians,

c. 590  
B.C.

271-213  
B.C.

251 B.C.

εσθαι διαλλάξας τοῖς φεύγουσιν, οἰκίας μὲν  
 φυγάσι καὶ ὅσα τῶν κτημάτων ἄλλα ἐπέπρατο  
 ἀποδοῦς, τιμὴν δὲ τοῖς πριαμένοις διέλυσεν  
 4 αὐτός. καὶ—ἦν γὰρ δέος τοῖς πᾶσιν Ἕλλησι  
 Μακεδόνων καὶ Ἀντιγόνου Φίλιππου ἐπιτρο-  
 πεύοντος τὸν Δημητρίου—, τοῦδε ἕνεκα τοὺς Σι-  
 κυωνίους ἐς τὸ Ἀχαιῶν συνέδριον ἐσήγαγε  
 Δωριεῖς ὄντας. αὐτίκα δὲ στρατηγὸς ὑπὸ τῶν  
 Ἀχαιῶν ἦρτο, καὶ σφᾶς ἐπὶ Λοκροὺς τοὺς Ἀμ-  
 φισσέας ἀγαγὼν καὶ ἐς τὴν Αἰτωλῶν πολεμίων  
 ὄντων τὴν γῆν ἐπόρθησε· Κόρινθον δὲ ἔχοντος  
 Ἀντιγόνου καὶ φρουρᾶς Μακεδόνων ἐνούσης τοὺς  
 Μακεδόνας τῷ αἰφνιδίῳ τῆς ἐπιθέσεως κατέπληξε  
 καὶ ἄλλους τε κρατήσας μάχῃ διέφθειρε καὶ  
 Περσαῖον ἐπὶ τῇ φρουρᾷ τεταγμένον, ὃς παρὰ  
 Ζήνωνα τὸν Μνασέου κατὰ μάθησιν σοφίας  
 5 ἐφοίτησεν. ἐλευθερώσαντος δὲ Ἀράτου Κόρινθον  
 προσεχώρησαν μὲν ἐς τὸ συνέδριον Ἐπιδαύριοι  
 καὶ Τροιζήνιοι οἱ τὴν Ἀργολίδα Ἀκτὴν οἰκούντες  
 καὶ τῶν ἐκτὸς ἰσθμοῦ Μεγαρεῖς, συμμαχίαν δὲ  
 πρὸς Ἀχαιοὺς Πτολεμαῖος ἐποίησατο. Λακε-  
 δαιμόνιοι δὲ καὶ Ἄγρις ὁ Εὐδαμίδου βασιλεὺς  
 ἔφθισαν μὲν Πελλήνην ἐλόντες ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς,  
 ἤκουσι δὲ Ἀράτῳ καὶ τῇ στρατιᾷ συμβαλόντες  
 ἐκρατήθησαν καὶ τὴν Πελλήνην ἐκλιπόντες ἀνα-  
 6 χωροῦσιν οἴκαδε ὑπόσπονδοι. Ἀρατος δέ, ὥς οἱ  
 τὰ ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ προεκεχώρηκε, δεινὸν ἠγείτο  
 Πειραιᾶ καὶ Μουνυχίαν, ἐτι δὲ Σαλαμίνα καὶ  
 Σούνιον ἐχόμενα ὑπὸ Μακεδόνων περιοφθῆναι.  
 καὶ—οὐ γὰρ ἤλπιζε δύνασθαι πρὸς βίαν αὐτὰ  
 ἐξελεῖν—Διογένην πείθει τὸν ἐν τοῖς φρουροῖς  
 ἄρχοντα ἀφεῖναι τὰ χωρία ἐπὶ ταλάντοις πεντή-



striking a bargain for those in exile; he restored to them their houses and all their other possessions which had been sold, compensating the buyers out of his own purse. Moreover, as all the Greeks were afraid of the Macedonians and of Antigonus, the guardian of Philip, the son of Demetrius, he induced the Sicyonians, who were Dorians, to join the Achæan League. He was immediately elected general by the Achæans, and leading them against the Locrians of Amphissa and into the land of the Aetolians, their enemies, he ravaged their territory. Corinth was held by Antigonus, and there was a Macedonian garrison in the city, but he threw them into a panic by the suddenness of his assault, winning a battle and killing among others Persæus, the commander of the garrison, who had studied philosophy under Zeno,<sup>1</sup> the son of Mnaseas. When Aratus had liberated Corinth, the League was joined by the Epidaurians and Troezenians inhabiting Argolian Aete, and by the Megarians among those beyond the Isthmus, while Ptolemy made an alliance with the Achæans. The Lacedæmonians and king Agis, the son of Eudamidas, surprised and took Pellene by a sudden onslaught, but when Aratus and his army arrived they were defeated in an engagement, evacuated Pellene, and returned home under a truce. After his success in the Peloponnesus, Aratus thought it a shame to allow the Macedonians to hold unchallenged Peiræus, Munychia, Salamis, and Sunium; but not expecting to be able to take them by force he bribed Diogenes, the commander of the garrisons, to give up the positions for a hundred and

<sup>1</sup> The Stoic philosopher (c. 360-270 B.C.).

κοντα καὶ ἑκατόν, καὶ τῶν χρημάτων συνετέλεσεν  
 αὐτὸς Ἀθηναίοις ἕκτον μέρος. ἔπεισε δὲ καὶ  
 Ἀριστόμαχον τυραννοῦντα ἐν Ἀργεὶ δημοκρατίαν  
 ἀποδόντα Ἀργείοις ἐς τὸ Ἀχαιῶν συντελεῖν,  
 Μαντίνειάν τε Λακεδαιμονίων ἐχόντων εἶλεν.  
 ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐ πάντα ἀνθρώπῳ τελεῖται κατὰ  
 γνώμην, εἰ δὴ καὶ Ἄρατον κατέλαβεν ἀνάγκη  
 γενέσθαι Μακεδόνων καὶ Ἀντιγόνου σύμμαχον·  
 ἐγένετο δὲ οὕτως.

IX. Κλεομένης ὁ Λεωνίδου τοῦ Κλεωνύμου  
 παραλαβὼν τὴν βασιλείαν ἐν Σπάρτῃ Πανσανίαν  
 ἐμμεῖτο τυραννίδος τε ἐπιθυμῶν καὶ νόμοις τοῖς  
 καθεστηκόσιν οὐκ ἄρεσκόμενος. ἅτε δὲ ὄντι αὐτῷ  
 Πανσανίου θερμότερῳ καὶ οὐ φιλοψύχῳ ταχὺ τὰ  
 πάντα ὑπὸ φρονήματος καὶ τόλμης κατείργαστο,  
 καὶ βασιλέα τε οἰκίας τῆς ἐτέρας Εὐρυδαμίδαν  
 παῖδα ἔτι ἀνελὼν φαρμάκῳ διὰ τῶν ἐφορευόντων  
 ἐς Ἐπικλείδαν τὸν ἀδελφὸν μετέστησε τὴν  
 ἀρχὴν καὶ τὸ κράτος τῆς γερονσίας καταλύσας  
 πατρονόμους τῷ λόγῳ κατέστησεν ἀντ' αὐτῶν.  
 ἐπιθυμῶν δὲ πραγμάτων μεζόνων καὶ ἀρχῆς  
 τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἐπέθετο Ἀχαιοῖς πρώτοις, συμ-  
 μάχους ἐλπίζων ἔξω ἢ κρατήσῃ καὶ μάλιστα  
 ἐμποδῶν οὐκ ἐθέλων εἶναι οἱ τοῖς δρωμένοις.  
 2 συμβαλὼν δὲ περὶ Δύμην τὴν ὑπὲρ Πατρῶν,  
 Ἄρατου καὶ τότε ἡγουμένου τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, νικῇ  
 τῇ μάχῃ. τοῦτο Ἄρατον ἡνάγκασεν ὑπὲρ τε  
 Ἀχαιῶν καὶ αὐτῆς Σικυῶνος δεῖσαντα Ἀντιγονοῦ  
 ἐπαγεσθαι. Κλεομένης δὲ παραβάντος ἦν πρὸς  
 Ἀντίγονον συνέθετο εἰρήνην καὶ παράσπονδα ἐκ  
 τοῦ φανεροῦ καὶ ἄλλα δράσαντος καὶ Μεγαλο-

ents, himself helping the Athenians by contributing a sixth part of the sum. He induced Iachus also, the tyrant of Argos, to restore to his subjects their democracy and to join the Achaeans; he captured Mantinea from the Lacedaemonians who held it. But no man finds all his plans succeed according to his liking, and even Aratus was compelled to become an ally of the Macedonians Antigonos in the following way.

Cleomenes, the son of Leonidas, the son of Anaxandrus, having succeeded to the kingship at Sparta resembled Pausanias<sup>1</sup> in being dissatisfied with the established constitution and in aiming at a change. A more fiery man than Pausanias, and no less ambitious, he quickly succeeded by spirit and daring in accomplishing all his ambition. He poisoned Euryclides, the king of the other<sup>2</sup> royal house, while yet a prince, and raised to the throne by means of the ephors Theramenes and Epicleidas, destroyed the power of the ephors and appointed in its stead a nominal Council of Ephors. Ambitious for greater things and for a mastery over the Greeks, he first attacked the Argives, hoping if successful to have them as allies, especially wishing that they should not hinder his designs. Engaging them at Dyme beyond Patrae, he won a victory. In fear for the Achaeans and for Sicyon Aratus was forced by this defeat to bring in Cleomenes as an ally. Cleomenes had violated the alliance which he had made with Antigonos and had acted in many ways contrary to treaty,

and was defeated at Plataea (479 B.C.). Afterwards put to death for treachery. There were two kings at Sparta, one from each of the two royal houses.

225 B.C.

πολίτας ποιήσαντος ἀναστάτους, οὕτω διαβάνας  
 ἐς Πελοπόννησον Ἀντιγόγου συμβάλλουσιν  
 Ἀχαιοὶ Κλεομένει περὶ Σελλασίαν. νικησάντων  
 δὲ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν Σελλασία τε ἡνδραποδίσθη καὶ  
 αὐτὴ Λακεδαίμων ἐάλω. Λακεδαιμονίοις μὲν οὖν  
 ἀπέδωκεν Ἀντίγονος καὶ Ἀχαιοὶ πολιτείαν τὴν  
 3 πάτριον· τῶν δὲ Λεωνίδου παίδων Ἐπικλείδας  
 μὲν ἀπέθανεν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ, Κλεομένην δὲ φεύγοντα  
 ἐς Αἴγυπτον καὶ τιμῆς παρὰ Πτολεμαίῳ πρῶτα  
 ἔχοντα συνέβη δεθῆναι, καταγνωσθέντα Αἴγυ-  
 πτίων ἄνδρας ἐπὶ τὸν βασιλέα συνιστάναι. καὶ  
 ἀπέδρα μὲν ἐκ τοῦ δεσμωτηρίου καὶ τοῖς Ἀλεξαν-  
 δρεῦσιν ἀρχὴν θορύβου παρέσχε· τέλος δέ, ὡς  
 ἤλίσκετο, ἀπέσφαξεν αὐτόν. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ  
 ἄσμενοι Κλεομένους ἀπαλλαγέντες βασιλεύεσθαι  
 μὲν οὐκέτι ἠξίωσαν, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ καὶ ἐς τότε  
 διαμένει σφίσιν ἐκείνης τῆς πολιτείας. Ἀράτῳ  
 δὲ Ἀντίγονος ἅτε ἀνδρὶ εὐεργέτῃ καὶ συγκατεϊρ-  
 4 γασμένῳ λαμπρὰ οὕτω διέμεινεν εὐνους. Φίλιπ-  
 πος δὲ ὡς παρέλαβε τὴν ἀρχὴν—οὐ γὰρ αὐτὸν  
 Ἄρατος θυμῷ πολλὰ ἐς τοὺς ἀρχομένους χρω-  
 μενον ἐπῆνει, τὰ δὲ καὶ ὠρμημένον ἐπέιχε μὴ  
 ποιεῖν—, τούτων ἕνεκεν ἀπέκτεινεν Ἄρατον, οὐδὲν  
 προῖδομένῳ δούς οἱ φάρμακον. καὶ τὸν μὲν ἐξ  
 Αἰγίου—ταύτῃ γὰρ τὸ χρεῶν ἐπέλαβεν αὐτόν—  
 ἐς Σικυῶνα κομίσαντες θάπτουσι, καὶ τὸ ἥρῳον  
 Ἀράτειον ἔτι ὀνομάζεται. Φιλίππῳ δὲ καὶ ἐν  
 Εὐρυκλείδῃ καὶ Μίκωνά Ἀθηναίους ὁμοία εἰρ-  
 γάσθη· καὶ γὰρ τούσδε ὄντας ῥήτορας καὶ οὐκ  
 5 ἀπιθάνους τῷ δήμῳ φαρμάκοις ἐκτείνειν. ἐμελλε  
 δὲ ἄρα καὶ αὐτῷ Φιλίππῳ τὸ ἀνδροφόνον φάρ-  
 μακον ἔσεσθαι συμφορὰ· τὸν γὰρ οἱ παῖδα



especially in laying waste Megalopolis. So Antigonus crossed into the Peloponnesus and the Achaeans met Cleomenes at Sellasia. The Achaeans were victorious, the people of Sellasia were sold into slavery, and Lacedaemon itself was captured. Antigonus and the Achaeans restored to the Lacedaemonians the constitution of their fathers; but of the children of Leonidas, Epicleidas was killed in the battle, and Cleomenes fled to Egypt. Held in the highest honour by Ptolemy, he came to be cast into prison, being convicted of inciting Egyptians to rebel against their king. He made his escape from prison and began a riot among the Alexandrians, but at last, on being captured, he fell by his own hand. The Lacedaemonians, glad to be rid of Cleomenes, refused to be ruled by kings any longer, but the rest of their ancient constitution they have kept to the present day. Antigonus remained a constant friend of Aratus, looking upon him as a benefactor who had helped him to accomplish brilliant deeds. But when Philip succeeded to the throne, since Aratus did not approve of his violent treatment of his subjects, and in some cases even opposed the accomplishment of his purposes, he killed Aratus by giving him secretly a dose of poison. This fate came upon Aratus at Aegium, from which place he was carried to Sicyon and buried, and there is still in that city the hero-shrine of Aratus. Philip treated two Athenians, Eurycleides and Micon, in a similar way. These men also, who were orators enjoying the confidence of the people, he killed by poison. After all, Philip himself in his turn was fated to suffer disaster through the fatal cup. Philip's son, Demetrius, was poisoned

222 B.C.

X. In the gymnasium not far from the market-place is dedicated a stone Heracles made by Scopas.<sup>1</sup> There is also in another place a sanctuary of Heracles. The whole of the enclosure here they name Paedize; in the middle of the enclosure is the sanctuary, and in it is an old wooden figure carved by Laphaë's the Phliasian. I will now describe the ritual at the festival. The story is that on coming to the Sicyonian land Phaestus found the people giving offerings to Heracles as to a hero. Phaestus then refused to do anything of the kind, but insisted on sacrificing to him as to a god. Even at the present day the Sicyonians, after slaying a lamb and burning the thighs upon the altar, eat some of the meat as part of a victim given to a god, while the rest they offer as to a hero. The first day of the festival in honour of Heracles they name . . . ; the second they call Heraelea.

From here is a way to a sanctuary of Asclepius. On passing into the enclosure you see on the left a building with two rooms. In the outer room lies a figure of Sleep, of which nothing remains now except the head. The inner room is given over to the Carnean Apollo; into it none may enter except the priests. In the portico lies a huge bone of a sea-monster, and after it an image of the Dream-god and Sleep, surnamed Epidotes (*Bountiful*), lulling to sleep a lion. Within the sanctuary on either side of the entrance is an image, on the one hand Pan seated, on the other Artemis standing. When you have entered you see the god, a beardless figure of gold and ivory made by Calamis.<sup>2</sup> He holds a staff in one hand,

<sup>1</sup> Flourished first half of fourth century B.C.

<sup>2</sup> A famous early fifth-century sculptor.

δὲ καὶ σκῆπτρον καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ἐτέρας χειρὸς πῖ  
 καρπὸν τῆς ἡμέρου. φασὶ δὲ σφίσιν ἐξ ἱ  
 δαύρου κομισθῆναι τὸν θεὸν ἐπὶ ζεύγους ἡμι  
 δράκοντι εἰκασμένον, τὴν δὲ ἀγαθοῦσαν Ν  
 γόραν εἶναι Σικυωνίαν Ἀγασικλέους μῆτ  
 γυναῖκα δὲ Ἐχετίμου. ἐνταῦθα ἀγάλματά ἐ  
 οὐ μεγάλα ἀπηρτημένα τοῦ ὀρόφου τὴν δὲ  
 τῷ δράκοντι Ἀριστοδάμαν Ἀράτου μητέρα  
 λέγουσι καὶ Ἄρατον Ἀσκληπιοῦ παῖδα  
 νομίζουσιν.

- 4 Οὗτος μὲν δὴ παρείχετο ὁ περίβολος το  
 ἐς μνήμην, πέραν δὲ αὐτοῦ ἄλλος ἐστὶν  
 ῥοδίτης ἱερός· ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ πρῶτον ἄγ  
 ἐστὶν Ἀντιόπης· εἶναι γὰρ οἱ τοὺς πε  
 Σικυωνίους καὶ δι' ἐκείνους ἐθέλουσι καὶ α  
 Ἀντιόπην προσήκειν σφίσι. μετὰ τοῦτο  
 τὸ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ἐστὶν ἱερόν. ἐσίασι μὲ  
 ἐς αὐτὸ γυνή τε νεωκόρος, ἥ μηκέτι θέμις  
 ἄνδρα φοιτῆσαι, καὶ παρθένος ἱερωσύνην ἐπέ  
 ἔχουσα· λουτροφόρον τὴν παρθένον ὀνομάζ  
 τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις καθέστηκεν<sup>1</sup> ὁρᾶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐσ  
 5 τὴν θεὸν καὶ αὐτόθεν προσεύχεσθαι. τὸ μὲ  
 ἄγαλμα καθήμενον Κάναχος Σικυώνιος ἐποίη  
 ὅς καὶ τὸν ἐν Διδύμοις τοῖς Μιλησίων καὶ  
 βαίοις τὸν Ἰσμήνιον εἰργάσατο Ἀπόλλωνα·  
 ποίηται δὲ ἕκ τε χρυσοῦ καὶ ἐλέφαντος, φέρε  
 ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ πόλον, τῶν χειρῶν δὲ ἔχει τῇ  
 μήκωνα τῇ δὲ ἐτέρα μῆλον. τῶν δὲ ἱερείων  
 μηρούς θύουσι πλὴν ὑῶν, τᾶλλα δὲ ἄρκε  
 ξύλοις καθαγίζουσι, καιομένοις δὲ ὁμοῦ τοῖς  
 ροῖς φύλλον τοῦ παιδέρωτος συγκαθαγίζου

<sup>1</sup> καθέστηκεν (for κατὰ ταῦτά καὶ) Schubart.

and a cone of the cultivated pine in the other. The Sicyonians say that the god was carried to them from Epidaurus on a carriage drawn by two mules, that he was in the likeness of a serpent, and that he was brought by Nicagora of Sicyon, the mother of Agasicles and the wife of Echetus. Here are small figures hanging from the roof. She who is on the serpent they say is Aristodama, the mother of Aratus, whom they hold to be a son of Asclepius.

Such are the noteworthy things that this enclosure presented to me, and opposite is another enclosure, sacred to Aphrodite. The first thing inside is a statue of Antiope. They say that her sons were Sicyonians, and because of them the Sicyonians will have it that Antiope herself is related to themselves. After this is the sanctuary of Aphrodite, into which enter only a female verger, who after her appointment may not have intercourse with a man, and a virgin, called the Bath-bearer, holding her sacred office for a year. All others are wont to behold the goddess from the entrance, and to pray from that place. The image, which is seated, was made by the Sicyonian Canachus, who also fashioned the Apollo at Didyma of the Milesians, and the Ismenian Apollo for the Thebans. It is made of gold and ivory, having on its head a *polos*,<sup>1</sup> and carrying in one hand a poppy and in the other an apple. They offer the thighs of the victims, excepting pigs; the other parts they burn for the goddess with juniper wood, but as the thighs are burning they add to the offering a leaf of the *puideros*.

<sup>1</sup> A curiously shaped head-gear.



6 ἔνεστι δὲ ὁ παιδέρως ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ τοῦ περιβόλου  
 πóa, φύεται δὲ ἀλλαχόθι οὐδαμοῦ γῆς, οὔτε ἄλλης  
 οὔτε τῆς Σικωνίας. τὰ δὲ οἱ φύλλα ἐλάσσονα  
 ἢ φηγοῦ, μείζονα δὲ ἔστιν ἢ πρίνου, σχῆμα δὲ  
 σφισιν ὅλον τοῖς τῆς δρυός· καὶ τὸ μὲν ὑπομελαί-  
 νει, τὸ δὲ ἕτερον λευκὸν ἔστι· φύλλοις δ' ἂν  
 λεύκης μίλιστα εἰκάζοις τὴν χροιάν.

7 Ἀπὸ τούτων δὲ ἀνιοῦσιν ἐς τὸ γυμνάσιον,  
 ἔστιν ἐν δεξιᾷ Φεραίας ἱερὸν Ἀρτέμιδος· κομι-  
 σθήναι δὲ τὸ ξόανον λέγουσιν ἐκ Φερῶν. τὸ δὲ  
 σφισι γυμνάσιον τοῦτο Κλεινίας ὠκοδόμησε, καὶ  
 παιδεύουσιν ἐνταῦθα ἔτι τοὺς ἐφήβους. κεῖται  
 δὲ λίθου λευκοῦ καὶ Ἀρτεμις τὰ ἐς ἱξὺν μόνον  
 εἰργασμένη καὶ Ἡρακλῆς τὰ κάτω τοῖς Ἑρμαῖς  
 τοῖς τετραγώνοις εἰκασμένους.

XI. Ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἀποτραπεῖσιν ἐπὶ πύλῃν  
 καλουμένην Ἰεράν, οὐ πόρρω τῆς πύλης ναὸς  
 ἔστιν Ἀθηνᾶς, ὃν Ἐπωπεύς ποτε ἀνέθηκε μεγέθει  
 καὶ κόσμῳ τοὺς τότε ὑπερβεβλημένον. ἔδει δὲ  
 ἄρα χρόνῳ καὶ τοῦδε ἀφανισθῆναι τὴν μνήμην·  
 κεραυνοῖς θεὸς αὐτὸν κατέκαυσε, βωμὸς δὲ  
 ἐκεῖνος — οὐ γάρ τι ἐς αὐτὸν κατέσκηψε —  
 μένει καὶ ἐς τόδε ὅλον Ἐπωπεὺς ἐποίησε. πρὸ  
 τοῦ βωμοῦ δὲ αὐτῷ μνῆμα Ἐπωπεὶ κέχωσται,  
 καὶ τοῦ τάφου πλησίον εἰσὶν Ἀποτρόπαιοι θεοί·  
 παρὰ τούτοις δρῶσιν ὅσα Ἕλληνες ἐς ἀποτροπὴν  
 κακῶν νομίζουσιν. Ἐπωπέα δὲ καὶ Ἀρτέμιδι  
 καὶ Ἀπόλλωνι τὸ πλησίον ἱερὸν ποιῆσαι λέγουσι,  
 τὸ δὲ μετ' αὐτὸ Ἦρας Ἀδραστον· ἀγάλματα δὲ  
 ὑπελείπετο οὐδετέρῳ. βωμοὺς δὲ ὀπισθεν τοῦ  
 Ἡραίου τὸν μὲν Πανὶ ὠκοδόμησεν, Ἡλίῳ δὲ  
 2 λίθου λευκοῦ. καταβαίνουσι δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πεδῖον,

This is a plant in the open parts of the enclosure, and it grows nowhere else either in Sicyonia or in any other land. Its leaves are smaller than those of the esculent oak, but larger than those of the holm; the shape is similar to that of the oak-leaf. One side is of a dark colour, the other is white. You might best compare the colour to that of white-poplar leaves.

Ascending from here to the gymnasium you see on the right a sanctuary of Artemis Pheraea. It is said that the wooden image was brought from Pherae. This gymnasium was built for the Sicyonians by Cleinias, and they still train the youths here. White marble images are here, an Artemis wrought only to the waist, and a Heracles whose lower parts are similar to the square Hermae.

XI. Turning away from here towards the gate called Holy you see, not far from the gate, a temple of Athena. Dedicated long ago by Epopeus, it surpassed all its contemporaries in size and splendour. Yet the memory of even this was doomed to perish through lapse of time—it was burnt down by lightning—but the altar there, which escaped injury, remains down to the present day as Epopeus made it. Before the altar a barrow has been raised for Epopeus himself, and near the grave are the gods Averters of evil. Near them the Greeks perform such rites as they are wont to do in order to avert misfortunes. They say that the neighbouring sanctuary of Artemis and Apollo was also made by Epopeus, and that of Hera after it by Adrastus. I found no images remaining in either. Behind the sanctuary of Hera he built an altar to Pan, and one to Helius (*Sun*) made of white marble. On the way down to the plain is a

ἱερόν ἐστιν ἐνταῦθα Δήμητρος· ἰδρῦσαι δέ φασιν αὐτὸ Πλημναῖον ἀποδιδόντα χάριν τῇ θεῷ τοῦ παιδὸς τῆς τροφῆς. τοῦ δὲ ἱεροῦ τῆς Ἥρας, ἣν ἰδρῦσατο Ἄδραστος, ὀλίγον ἀπωτέρω Καρνείου ναὸς ἐστὶν Ἀπόλλωνος· κίονες δὲ ἐστήκασιν ἐν αὐτῷ μόνοι, τοίχους δὲ οὐκέτι οὐδὲ ὄροφον οὔτε ἐνταῦθα εὐρήσεις οὔτε ἐν τῷ τῆς Προδρομίας Ἥρας. τοῦτον γὰρ δὴ Φάλκης ἰδρῦσατο ὁ Τημέων, τῆς ὁδοῦ οἱ τῆς ἐς Σικυῶνα Ἥραν φάμενος ὁδηγὸν γενέσθαι.

- 5 Ἐκ Σικυῶνος δὲ τὴν κατ' εὐθὺ ἐς Φλιοῦντα ἐρχομένοις καὶ ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τῆς ὁδοῦ δέκα μάλιστα ἐκτραπεῖσι στάδια, Πυραία καλούμενον ἐστὶν ἄλσος, ἱερόν δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ Προστασίας Δήμητρος καὶ Κόρης. ἐνταῦθα ἐφ' αὐτῶν οἱ ἄνδρες ἐορτὴν ἄγουσι, τὸν δὲ Νυμφῶνα καλούμενον ταῖς γυναιξὶν ἐορτάζειν παρείκασι· καὶ ἀγάλματα Διονύσου καὶ Δήμητρος καὶ Κόρης τὰ πρόσωπα φαίνοντα ἐν τῷ Νυμφῶνι ἐστίν. ἡ δὲ ἐς Τιτάνην ὁδὸς σταδίων μὲν ἐστὶν ἐξήκοντα καὶ ζεῖγεσιν ἄβατος
- 4 διὰ στενότητα· σταδίου δὲ προελθοῦσιν ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν εἴκοσι καὶ ἐν ἀριστερᾷ διαβᾶσι τὸν Ἀσωπὸν, ἐστὶν ἄλσος πρὶνων καὶ ναὸς θεῶν ἃς Ἀθηναῖοι Σεμνάς, Σικυῶνιοι δὲ Εὐμενίδας ὀνομάζουσιν κατὰ δὲ ἔτος ἕκαστον ἐορτὴν ἡμέρα μᾶ σφισιν ἄγουσι θύοντες πρόβατα ἐγκύμονα, μελικράτφ δὲ σπονδῇ καὶ ἀνθεσιν ἀντὶ στεφάνων χρῆσθαι νομίζουσιν. εἰκότα δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ βωμῷ τῶν Μοιρῶν δρῶσιν· ὁ δὲ σφισιν ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ τοῦ
- 5 ἄλσους ἐστίν. ἀναστρέψασι δὲ ἐς τὴν ὁδὸν διαβασί τε αὖθις τὸν Ἀσωπὸν καὶ ἐς κορυφὴν ὄρους ἤξασιν, ἐνταῦθα λέγουσιν οἱ ἐπιχώριοι Τιτᾶνα

sanctuary of Demeter, said to have been founded by Demetrius as a thank-offering to the goddess for the saving of his son. A little farther away from the sanctuary of Hera founded by Adrastus is a temple of the Carnean Apollo. Only the pillars are standing left; you will no longer find there walls or roof, but yet in that of Hera Pioneer. This temple was founded by Phalces, son of Temenus, who asserted that Hera guided him on the road to Sicyon.

On the direct road from Sicyon to Phlius, on the left of the road and just about ten stades from it, is a place called Pyraea, and in it a sanctuary of Hera, the Protectress and the Maid. Here the men celebrate a festival by themselves, giving up to the women the temple called Nymphon for the purposes of their festival. In the Nymphon are images of Dionysus, Demeter, and the Maid, with only their faces exposed. The road to Titane is sixty stades long, and is narrow to be used by carriages drawn by a yoke. At a distance along it, in my opinion, of twenty stades, to the left on the other side of the Asopus, is a grove of holm oaks and a temple of the goddesses named by the Athenians the August, and by the Sicyonians the Kindly Ones. On one day in the year they celebrate a festival to them and offer sheep big with young as a burnt offering, and they are accustomed to use a libation of honey and water, and flowers instead of garlands. They practise similar rites at the altar of the Fates; it is in an open space in the grove. On turning back to the road, and having crossed the Asopus again, you have reached the summit of the hill, you come to a place where the natives say that Titan first



οικήσαι πρῶτον· εἶναι δὲ αὐτὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἥλιον  
καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου κληθῆναι Τιτάνην τὸ χωρὶς.  
δοκεῖν δὲ ἐμοὶ δεινὸς ἐγένετο ὁ Τιτὰν τὰς ὥρας  
τοῦ ἔτους φυλάξας καὶ ὁπότε ἥλιος σπέρματα  
καὶ δένδρων αὖξει καὶ πεπαίνει καρπούς, καὶ ἐπὶ  
τῷδε ἀδελφὸς ἐνομίσθη τοῦ Ἥλιου. ὕστερον δὲ  
Ἀλεξάνωρ ὁ Μαχάονος τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ παρα-  
γενόμενος ἐς Σικυωνίαν ἐν Τιτάνη τὸ Ἀσκληπιείον  
6 ἐποίησε. περιοικοῦσι μὲν δὴ καὶ ἄλλοι καὶ τὸ  
πολὺ οἰκέται τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ κυπαρίσσω ἐστὶν  
ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου δένδρα ἀρχαῖα· τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα  
οὔτε ὁποίου ξύλου γέγονεν ἢ μετάλλου μαθεῖν  
ἔστιν οὔτε τὸν ποιήσαντα ἴσασι, πλὴν εἰ μὴ τις  
ἄρα ἐς αὐτὸν τὸν Ἀλεξάνωρα ἀναφέρει. φαίνεται  
δὲ τοῦ ἀγάλματος πρόσωπον μόνον καὶ ἄκραι  
χεῖρες καὶ πόδες· χιτὼν γάρ οἱ λευκὸς ἐρεοῦν  
καὶ ἱμάτιον ἐπιβέβληται. καὶ Ὑγείας δ' ἐστὶ  
κατὰ ταῦτὸν ἄγαλμα· οὐκ ἂν οὐδὲ τοῦτο ἴδον  
ῥαδίως, οὕτω περιέχουσιν αὐτὸ κόμαι τε γυναικῶν  
αἱ κείρονται τῇ θεῷ καὶ ἐσθῆτος Βαβυλωνίας  
τελαμώνες. ὧ δ' ἂν ἐνταῦθα τούτων ἰλίσσασθαι  
θελήσῃ τις, ἀποδέδεικται οἱ τὸ αὐτό, σέβεσθαι  
7 τοῦτο δ' δὴ καὶ Ὑγείαν καλοῦσι.<sup>1</sup> τῷ δὲ Ἀλε-  
ξάνωρι καὶ Εὐαμερίωνι — καὶ γὰρ τούτοις ἀγάλ-  
ματ' ἐστὶ — τῷ μὲν ὡς ἥρωι μετὰ ἥλιον δύναντα  
ἐναγίζουσιν, Εὐαμερίωνι δὲ ὡς θεῷ θύουσιν,  
εἰ δὲ ὀρθῶς εἰκάξω, τὸν Εὐαμερίωνα τούτων  
Περγαμηνοὶ Τελεσφόρον ἐκ μαντεύματος, Ἐπι-  
δαύριοι δὲ Ἀκεσιν ὀνομάζουσιν. τῆς δὲ Κορων-  
νίδος ἐστὶ μὲν καὶ ταύτης ξόανον, καθίδρυται

<sup>1</sup> The reading and translation are both uncertain. I have tried to make sense by putting a comma at αὐτό.

welt. They add that he was the brother of Helios (*Sun*), and that after him the place got the name Titane. My own view is that he proved clever in observing the seasons of the year and the times when the sun increases and ripens seeds and fruits, and for this reason was held to be the brother of Helios. Afterwards Alexanor, the son of Machaon, the son of Asclepius, came to Sicyonia and built the sanctuary of Asclepius at Titane. The neighbours are chiefly servants of the god, and within the enclosure are old cypress trees. One cannot learn what wood or metal the image is, nor do they know the name of the maker, though one or two attribute it to Alexanor himself. Of the image can be seen only the face, hands, and feet, for it has about it a tunic of white wool and a cloak. There is a similar image of Health; this, too, one cannot see easily because it is so surrounded with the locks of women, who cut them off and offer them to the goddess, and with trips of Babylonian raiment. With whichever of these a votary here is willing to propitiate heaven, the same instructions have been given to him, to worship this image which they are pleased to call Health. There are images also of Alexanor and of Euamerion; to the former they give offerings as to a hero after the setting of the sun; to Euamerion, as being a god, they give burnt sacrifices. If I conjecture right, the Pergamenes, in accordance with an oracle, call this Euamerion Telesphorus (*Accomplisher*), while the Epidaurians call him Acesis (*Cure*). There is also a wooden image of Coronis, but it has no fixed

δὲ οὐδαμοῦ τοῦ ναοῦ· θυομένων δὲ τῷ θεῷ ταύρου  
καὶ ἀρνὸς καὶ υἱὸς ἐς Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερὸν τὴν Κορωνίδα  
μετενεγκόντες ἐνταῦθα τιμῶσιν. ὅποσα δὲ τῶν  
θυομένων καθαγίζουσιν, οὐδὲ ἀποχρᾶ σφίσι  
ἐκτέμνειν τοὺς μηροὺς· χαμαὶ δὲ καίουσιν πλην  
8 τοὺς ὀρίμβας, τούτους δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ. τὰ δὲ  
ἐν τοῖς αἵετοῖς Ἡρακλῆς καὶ Νίκαι πρὸς τοὺς  
πέρασιν εἰσιν. ἀνάκειται δὲ ἀγάλματα ἐν τῇ  
στοᾷ Διονύσου καὶ Ἑκάτης, Ἀφροδίτη τε καὶ  
Μήτηρ θεῶν καὶ Τύχη· ταῦτα μὲν ξόανα, λίθον  
δὲ Ἀσκληπιὸς ἐπὶ κλῆσιν Γορτύνιος. παρὰ δὲ  
τοὺς δράκοντας ἐσιέναι τοὺς ἱεροὺς οὐκ ἐθέλουσιν  
ὑπὸ δαίματος· καταθέντες δὲ σφίσι πρὸ τῆς  
ἐσόδου τροφὴν οὐκέτι πολυπραγμονοῦσι. κείται  
δὲ χαλκοῦς ἀνὴρ ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου Γρανιᾶτος  
Σικυνῶνιος, ὃς νίκας ἀνείλετο Ὀλυμπίασι δύο μὲν  
πεντάθλου καὶ σταδίου τὴν τρίτην, διαύλου δὲ  
ἀμφότερα καὶ γυμνὸς καὶ μετὰ τῆς ἀσπίδος.

XII. Ἐν δὲ Τιτάνῃ καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερὸν ἔστιν,  
ἐς ὃ τὴν Κορωνίδα ἀνάγουσιν· ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ ξόανον  
Ἀθηνᾶς ἔστιν ἀρχαῖον, κεραυνωθῆναι δὲ καὶ  
τοῦτο ἐλέγετο· ἐκ τούτου τοῦ λόφου καταβᾶσιν  
—ῥοδόμηται γὰρ ἐπὶ λόφῳ τὸ ἱερὸν—βωμὸς  
ἔστιν ἀνέμων, ἐφ' οὗ τοῖς ἀνέμοις ὁ ἱερεὺς μιᾶ  
νυκτὶ ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος θύει. δρᾶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα  
ἀπόρρητα ἐς βόθρους τέσσαρας, ἡμερούμενος τῶν  
πνευμάτων τὸ ἄγριον, καὶ δὴ καὶ Μηδείας ὡς  
λέγουσιν ἐπ' ὧδας ἐπάδει.

2 Ἐκ δὲ Τιτάνης ἐς Σικυνῶνα ἀφικομένοις καὶ  
καταβαίνουσιν ἐς θάλασσαν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τῆς ὁδοῦ  
ναὸς ἔστιν Ἡρας οὐκ ἔχων ἔτι οὔτε ἄγαλμα  
οὔτε ὄροφον· τὸν δὲ ἀναθέντα Προῖτον εἶναι τὸν

position anywhere in the temple. While to the gods are being sacrificed a bull, a lamb, and a pig, they move Coronis to the sanctuary of Athena and honour her there. The parts of the victims which they offer as a burnt sacrifice, and they are not content with cutting out the thighs, they burn on the ground, except the birds, which they burn on the altar. In the gable at the ends are figures of Heracles and of Victories. In the portico are dedicated images of Dionysus and Hecate, with Aphrodite, the Mother of the gods, and Fortune. These are wooden, but Asclepius, surnamed Gortynian, is of stone. They are unwilling to enter among the coiled serpents through fear, but they place their head before the entrance and take no further trouble. Within the enclosure is a bronze statue of a Sicyonian named Granianus, who won the following victories at Olympia: the *pentathlon*<sup>1</sup> twice, the foot-race, the double-course foot-race twice, the chariot and once with the shield.

XII. In Titane there is also a sanctuary of Athena, to which they bring up the image of Coronis. In it is an old wooden figure of Athena, and I was told that it too, was struck by lightning. The sanctuary is built upon a hill, at the bottom of which is an Altar to the Winds, and on it the priest sacrifices to the winds one night in every year. He also performs other secret rites at four pits, taming the fierceness of the blasts, and he is said to chant as well as arms of Medea.

On reaching Sicyon from Titane, as you go down the shore you see on the left of the road a temple of Hera having now neither image nor roof. They say

<sup>1</sup> See p. 157.



"Αβαντός φασι. καταβάσι δὲ ἐς τὸν Σικυνωνίων  
καλούμενον λιμένα καὶ τραπέουσιν ἐπ' Ἀριστο-  
ναύτας τὸ ἐπίνειον τὸ Πελληνέων, ἔστιν ὀλίγον  
ὑπὲρ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ Ποσειδῶνος ἱερὸν  
προελθοῦσι δὲ κατὰ τὴν λεωφόρον Ἐλισσῶν τε  
καλούμενος ποταμὸς καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν Σύθας ἐστίν,  
ἐκδιδόντες ἐς θάλασσαν.

- 3 Ἡ δὲ Φλιασία τῆς Σικυνωνίων ἐστὶν ὁμορον  
καὶ Τιτάνης μὲν τεσσαράκοντα σταδίου ἀπέχει  
μάλιστα ἡ πόλις, ἐκ Σικυνῶνος δὲ ἐς αὐτὴν ὁδὸς  
ἐστὶν εὐθεῖα. καὶ ὅτι μὲν Ἀρκάσι Φλιάσι  
προσῆκουσιν οὐδέν, δηλοῖ τὰ ἐς τὸν Ἀρκάδων  
κατάλογον τῆς Ὀμήρου ποιήσεως, ὅτι οὐκ εἰσὶν  
Ἀρκάσι καὶ οὗτοι συγκατελεγμένοι· ὥς δὲ Ἀρ-  
γεῖοί τε ἦσαν ἐξ ἀρχῆς καὶ ὕστερον Δωριεῖς  
γεγόνασιν Ἡρακλειδῶν κατελθόντων ἐς Πελο-  
πόννησον, φανέται προϊόντι ὁμοῦ τῷ λόγῳ. δι-  
ψορα δὲ ἐς τοὺς Φλιασίους τὰ πολλὰ εἰδώς  
εἰρημένα, τοῖς μάλιστα αὐτῶν ὁμολογημένοις  
4 χρήσομαι. ἐν τῇ γῇ ταύτῃ γενέσθαι πρῶτον  
Ἀραντά φασιν ἄνδρα αὐτόχθονα· καὶ πόλιν τε  
ᾤκισε περὶ τὸν βουνὸν τοῦτον, ὃς Ἀραντίνος ἔτι  
καλεῖται καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς, οὐ πολὺ ἐτέρου λόφου  
διεστηκώς, ἐφ' οὗ Φλιασίοις ἢ τε ἀκρόπολις καὶ  
τῆς Ἡβης ἐστὶ τὸ ἱερὸν. ἐνταῦθά τε δὴ πόλιν  
ᾤκισε καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἡ γῇ καὶ ἡ πόλις  
Ἀραντία ἐκλήθησαν. τούτῳ βασιλεύοντι Ἀσω-  
πὸς Κηλούσης εἶναι λεγόμενος καὶ Ποσειδῶνος  
ἐξέυρε τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὸ ὕδωρ, ὅντινα οἱ νῦν ἀπὸ  
τοῦ εὐρόντος καλοῦσιν Ἀσωπόν. τὸ δὲ μῆμα  
τοῦ Ἀραντός ἐστὶν ἐν χωρίῳ Κελεαῖς, ἔνθα δὴ  
καὶ Δυσαύλην ἄνδρα Ἐλευσίνιον τεθάφθαι λέ-

at its founder was Proetus, the son of Abas. When you have gone down to the harbour called the Sicyonians' and turned towards Aristonautae, the port of Pellene, you see a little above the road on the left hand a sanctuary of Poseidon. Farther along the highway is a river called the Helisson, and after it the Sythas, both emptying themselves to the sea.

Phliasia borders on Sicyonia. The city is just out forty stades distant from Titane, and there is a straight road to it from Sicyon. That the Phliasians are in no way related to the Arcadians is shown by the passage in Homer that deals with the list of the Arcadians, in which the Sicyonians are not included among the Arcadian confederates. As my narrative progresses it will become clear that they were Argive originally, and became Dorian later after the return of the Heracleidae to the Peloponnesus. I know that most of the traditions concerning the Phliasians are contradictory, but I shall make use of those which have been most generally accepted. They say that the first man in this land was Aras, who came from the soil. He founded a city around that rock which even down to our day is called the Antine Hill, not far distant from a second hill on which the Phliasians have their citadel and their sanctuary of Hebe. Here, then, he founded a city, and after him in ancient times both the land and the city were called Arantia. While he was king, Asopus, said to be the son of Celusa and Poseidon, covered for him the water of the river which the present inhabitants call after him Asopus. The tomb of Aras is in the place called Celeae, where they say

5 γουσιν. Ἄραντος δὲ υἱὸς Ἄορις καὶ θυγάτηρ  
ἐγένετο Ἀραιθυρέα. τούτους φασὶ Φλιάσιοι  
θιρᾶσαι τε ἐμπείρους γενέσθαι καὶ τὰ ἐς πόλε-  
μον ἀνδρείους. προαποθανούσης δὲ Ἀραιθυρέας  
Ἄορις ἐς μνήμην τῆς ἀδελφῆς μετωνόμασεν  
Ἀραιθυρέαν τὴν χώραν καὶ ἐπὶ τῷδε Ὀμηρος  
τοὺς Ἀγαμέμνονος ὑπηκόους καταλέγων τὸ ἔπος  
ἐποίησεν

Ὀρνειάς τ' ἐνέμοντο Ἀραιθυρέην τ' ἑρατεινὴν.

τάφους δὲ τῶν Ἄραντος παίδων οὐχ ἐτέρωθι  
ἡγοῦμαι τῆς χώρας, ἐπὶ τῷ λόφῳ δὲ εἶναι τῷ  
Ἀραντίνῳ καὶ σφισιν ἐπίθημα στήλαι περι-  
φανεῖς εἰσι, καὶ πρὸ τῆς τελετῆς ἦν τῇ Δήμητρι  
ἄγουσιν Ἄραντα καὶ τοὺς παῖδας καλοῦσιν ἐπὶ  
τὰς σπονδὰς ἐς ταῦτα βλέποντες τὰ μνήματα.  
6 Φλίαντα δέ, ὃς τρίτον τοῦτο ἐποίησεν ὄνομα ἀφ'  
αὐτοῦ τῇ γῇ, Κείσου μὲν παῖδα εἶναι τοῦ Τημένου  
κατὰ δὴ τὸν Ἀργείων λόγον οὐδὲ ἀρχὴν ἔγωγε  
προσείμαι, Διονύσου δὲ οἶδα καλούμενον καὶ τῶν  
πλευσάντων ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀργεῖος καὶ τοῦτον γενέσθαι  
λεγόμενον. ὁμολογεῖ δέ μοι καὶ τοῦ Ῥοδίου  
ποιητοῦ τὰ ἔπη·

Φλίας αὐτ' ἐπὶ τοῖσιν Ἀραιθυρέηθεν ἵκανεν,  
ἔνθ' ἀφνειὸς ἔναιε Διονύσοιο ἔκητι  
πατὴρ ἐοῦ, πηγῇσιν ἐφέστιος Ἀσωποῖο.

τοῦ δὲ Φλίαντος Ἀραιθυρέαν εἶναι μητέρα, ἀλλ'  
οὐ Χθονοφύλην· Χθονοφύλην δὲ οἱ συνοικῆσαι  
καὶ Ἀνδροδάμαν γενέσθαι Φλίαντι ἐξ αὐτῆς.

is also buried Dysaules of Eleusis. Aras had a son Aoris and a daughter Araethyrea, who, the Phliasiens say, were experienced hunters and brave warriors. Araethyrea died first, and Aoris, in memory of his sister, changed the name of the land to Araethyrea. This is why Homer,<sup>1</sup> in making a list of Agamemnon's subjects, has the verse:—

“Orneae was their home and Araethyrea the delightful.”

The graves of the children of Aras are, in my opinion, on the Arantine Hill and not in any other part of the land. On the top of them are far-seen gravestones, and before the celebration of the mysteries of Demeter the people look at these tombs and call Aras and his children to the libations. The Argives say that Phlias, who has given the land its third name, was the son of Ceisus, the son of Temenus. This account I can by no means accept, but I know that he is called a son of Dionysus, and that he is said to have been one of those who sailed on the Argo. The verses of the Rhodian poet<sup>2</sup> confirm me in my opinion:—

“Came after these Phlias from Araethyrea to the muster;  
Here did he dwell and prosper, because Dionysus  
his father  
Cared for him well, and his home was near to  
the springs of Asopus.”

The account goes on to say that the mother of Phlias was Araethyrea and not Chthonophyle. The latter was his wife and bore him Androdamas.

<sup>1</sup> *Iliad*, ii, 571.

<sup>2</sup> Apollonius Rhodius, *Argonautica*, i, 115-117.



- XIII. Ἡρακλειδῶν δὲ κατελθόντων Πελοπόννησος ἐταράχθη πᾶσα πλὴν Ἀρκάδων, ὡς πολὺς μὲν τῶν πόλεων συνοίκους ἐκ τοῦ Δωρικοῦ προσλαβεῖν, πλείονας δὲ ἔτι γενέσθαι τὰς μεταβολὰς τοῖς οἰκήτορσι. τὰ δὲ κατὰ Φλιαῦντα οὕτως ἔχει. Ῥηγνίδας ἐπ' αὐτὴν ὁ Φάλκου τοῦ Τημένου Δωριεὺς ἐκ τῶν Ἀργεῶν στρατεύει καὶ ἐκ τῆς Σικυωνίας. τῶν δὲ Φλιασίων τοῖς μὲν ἂν προεκαλεῖτο Ῥηγνίδας ἐφαίνετο ἄρεστά, μένοντας ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτῶν βασιλείᾳ Ῥηγνίδα καὶ τοὺς σὺν
- 2 ἐκείνῳ Δωριεῖς ἐπὶ ἀναδασμῷ γῆς δέχεσθαι. Ἰππασος δὲ καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ διεκελεύοντο ἀμύνεσθαι μηδὲ πολλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἀμαχεῖ τοῖς Δωριεῦσιν ἀφίστασθαι. προσεμένου δὲ τοῦ δήμου τὴν ἐναντίαν γνώμην, οὕτως Ἰππασος σὺν τοῖς ἐθέλουσιν εἰς Σάμον φεύγει. Ἰππασοῦ δὲ τοῦτου τέταρτος ἦν ἀπόγονος Πυθαγόρας ὁ λεγόμενος γενέσθαι σοφός. Μνησάρχου γὰρ Πυθαγόρας ἦν τοῦ Εὐφρονος τοῦ Ἰππασοῦ. ταῦτα μὲν Φλιασιοὶ λέγουσι περὶ αὐτῶν, ὁμολογοῦσι δὲ σφισι τὰ πολλὰ καὶ Σικυῶνιοι.
- 3 Προσέσται δὲ ἤδη καὶ τῶν εἰς ἐπίδειξιν ἡκόντων τὰ ἀξιολογώτατα. ἔστι γὰρ ἐν τῇ Φλιασίῳ ἀκροπόλει κυπαρίσσων ἄλσος καὶ ἱερὸν ἀγνώτατον ἐκ παλαιοῦ. τὴν δὲ θεὸν ἣς ἐστὶ τὸ ἱερὸν οἱ μὲν ἀρχαιοτάτοι Φλιασίων Γανυμήδαν, οἱ δὲ ὕστερον Ἡβὴν ὀνομάζουσιν. ἣς καὶ Ὅμηρος μνήμην ἐποίησατο ἐν τῇ Μενελάου πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον μονομαχίᾳ φάμενος οἰνοχόον τῶν θεῶν

CORINTH, XIII. 1-3

XIII. On the return of the Heracleidae disturbances took place throughout the whole of the Peloponnesus except Arcadia, so that many of the cities received additional settlers from the Dorian race, and their inhabitants suffered yet more revolutions. The history of Phlius is as follows. The Dorian Rhegnidas, the son of Phalces, the son of Temenus, attacked it from Argos and Sicyonia. Some of the Phliasians were inclined to accept the offer of Rhegnidas, which was that they should remain on their own estates and receive Rhegnidas as their king, giving the Dorians with him a share in the land. Hippasus and his party, on the other hand, urged the citizens to defend themselves, and not to give up any advantages to the Dorians without striking a blow. The people, however, accepted the opposite policy, and so Hippasus and any others who wished fled to Samos. Great-grandson of this Hippasus was Pythagoras,<sup>1</sup> the celebrated sage. For Pythagoras was the son of Mnesarchus, the son of Euphranor, the son of Hippasus. This is the account the Phliasians give about themselves, and the Sicyonians generally agree with them.

I will now add an account of the most remarkable of their famous sights. On the Phliasian citadel is a grove of cypress trees and a sanctuary which from ancient times has been held to be peculiarly holy. The earliest Phliasians named the goddess to whom the sanctuary belongs Ganymeda; but later authorities call her Hebe, whom Homer<sup>2</sup> mentions in the duel between Menelaus and Alexander, saying that she was the cup-bearer of the gods; and again he

<sup>1</sup> The philosopher and mathematician. *Fl.* c. 527 B.C.

<sup>2</sup> *Iliad*, iv. 2 foll.

- εἶναι, καὶ αὖθις ἐν Ὀδυσσέως ἐς "Αἶδου καθόδο  
 γυναικα Ἡρακλέους εἶπεν εἶναι. Ὀλῆνι δὲ ἐν  
 "Ηρας ἐστὶν ὕμνῳ πεποιημένα τραφῆναι τὴν  
 "Ηραν ὑπὸ Ὠρῶν, εἶναι δὲ οἱ παῖδας Ἀρην τε  
 4 καὶ Ἡβην. παρὰ δὲ Φλιασίοις τῇ θεῇ ταύτῃ  
 καὶ ἄλλαι τιμαὶ καὶ μέγιστον τὸ ἐς τοὺς ἱκέτας  
 ἐστί· δεδώκασι γὰρ δὴ ἄδειαν ἐνταῦθα ἱκετεύουσι,  
 λυθέντες δὲ οἱ δεσμῶται τὰς πέδας πρὸς τὰ ἐν  
 τῷ ἄλσει δένδρα ἀνατιθέασιν. ἄγεται δὲ καὶ  
 ἐορτὴ σφισιν ἐπέτειος, ἣν καλοῦσι Κισσοτόμους.  
 ἄγαλμα δὲ οὔτε ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ φυλάσσουνσιν οὐδὲν  
 οὔτε ἐστὶν ἐν φανερῷ δεικνύμενον—ἐφ' ὅτῳ δὲ  
 οὕτω νομίζουσιν, ἱερός ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς λόγος—, ἐπεὶ  
 τῆς γε Ἡρας ἐστὶν ἐξιόντων ἐν ἀριστερᾷ ναὸς  
 5 ἄγαλμα ἔχων Παρίου λίθου. ἐν δὲ τῇ ἀκροπόλει  
 καὶ ἄλλος περίβολός ἐστιν ἱερός Δῆμητρος, ἐν  
 δὲ αὐτῷ ναὸς τε καὶ ἄγαλμα Δῆμητρος καὶ τῆς  
 παιδός· τὸ δὲ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος—ἔστι γὰρ καὶ  
 Ἀρτέμιδος ἐνταῦθα χαλκοῦν ἄγαλμα—ἐφαίνετο  
 ἀρχαῖον εἶναι μοι. κατιόντων δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἀκρο-  
 πόλεως ἐστὶν Ἀσκληπιοῦ ναὸς ἐν δεξιᾷ καὶ  
 ἄγαλμα οὐκ ἔχον πω γένεια. ὑπὸ τούτῳ τὸν  
 ναὸν θέατρον πεποιήται· τούτου δὲ οὐ πόρρον  
 Δῆμητρός ἐστιν ἱερὸν καὶ καθήμενα ἀγάλματι  
 ἀρχαῖα.
- 6 Ἀνάκειται δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς αἶξ χαλκῇ, τὰ  
 πολλὰ ἐπίχρυσος· παρὰ δὲ Φλιασίοις τιμὰς ἐπὶ  
 τῷδε εἶληφε. τὸ ἄστρον ἣν ὀνομάζουσιν αἶγα  
 ἀνατέλλουσα τὰς ἀμπέλους λυμαινεται συνεχῶς·  
 ἵνα δὲ ἄχαρι μὴδὲν ἀπ' αὐτῆς γένηται, οἱ δὲ τὴν  
 ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς χαλκῇν αἶγα ἄλλοις τε τιμῶσι  
 καὶ χρυσῷ τὸ ἄγαλμα ἐπικοσμοῦντες, ἐνταῦθα

# CORINTH, XIII. 3-6

ys, in the descent of Odysseus to Hell,<sup>1</sup> that she is the wife of Heracles. Olen,<sup>2</sup> in his hymn to Hera, says that Hera was reared by the Seasons, and that her children were Ares and Hebe. Of the honours that the Phliasians pay to this goddess the greatest is the pardoning of suppliants. All those who seek sanctuary here receive full forgiveness, and prisoners, when set free, dedicate their fetters on the trees in the grove. The Phliasians also celebrate a yearly festival which they call Ivy-cutters. There is an image, either kept in secret or openly displayed, and the reason for this is set forth in a sacred legend of theirs; though on the left as you go out is a temple of Hera with an image of Parian marble. In the citadel is another enclosure, which is sacred to Demeter, and in it are a temple and statue of Demeter and her daughter. Here there is also a bronze statue of Artemis, which appeared to me to be ancient. As you go down from the citadel you see on the right a temple of Asclepius with an image of the god as a beardless youth. Below this temple is built a theatre. Not far from it is a sanctuary of Demeter and old, seated images.

On the market-place is a votive offering, a bronze he-goat for the most part covered with gold. The following is the reason why it has received honours among the Phliasians. The constellation which they call the Goat on its rising causes continual damage to the vines. In order that they may suffer nothing unpleasant from it, the Phliasians pay honours to the bronze goat on the market-place and adorn the image

<sup>1</sup> *Odyssey*, xi. 603.

<sup>2</sup> A mythical poet of Greece, associated with Apollo.



ἐστι καὶ Ἀριστίου μνῆμα τοῦ Πρατίνου  
 τῷ Ἀριστίᾳ σάτυροι καὶ Πρατίνῳ τῷ πατρὶ  
 πεποιημένοι πλὴν τῶν Αἰσχύλου δοκιμασθέντες  
 7 ὀπισθεν δὲ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐστὶν οἶκος ὀνομαζόμενος  
 ὑπὸ Φλιασίων μαντικός. ἐς τοῦτον Ἀμφιάραος  
 ἐλθὼν καὶ τὴν νύκτα ἐγκατακοιμηθεὶς μαρτυρεῖται  
 εἶναι τότε πρῶτον, ὡς οἱ Φλιασίοι φασιν, ἤρξαι  
 τῶς δὲ ἦν Ἀμφιάραος τῷ ἐκείνων λόγῳ ἰδιώτης  
 τε καὶ οὐ μάντις. καὶ τὸ οἶκημα ἀπὸ τοῦ  
 συγκέλειται τὸν πάντα ἤδη χρόνον. οὐ γὰρ  
 δὲ ἐστὶν ὁ καλούμενος Ὀμφαλός, Πελοποννησιακός  
 δὲ πάσης μέσον, εἰ δὴ τὰ ὄντα εἰρήκασιν. ἀλλὰ  
 δὲ τοῦ Ὀμφαλοῦ προελθοῦσι Διονύσου σφίονος  
 ἱερὸν ἐστὶν ἀρχαῖον, ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ  
 ἄλλο Ἰσίδος. τὸ μὲν δὲ ἄγαλμα τοῦ Διονύσου  
 δῆλον πᾶσιν, ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ τὸ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος  
 8 τὸ δὲ τῆς Ἰσίδος τοῖς ἱερεῦσι θεάσασθαι μόνον  
 ἐστὶ. λέγεται δὲ καὶ ὧδε ὑπὸ Φλιασίων λόγῳ  
 Ἡρακλέα, ὅτ' ἐκ Λιβύης ἀνεσώθη κομίζων  
 μῆλα τὰ Ἑσπερίδων καλούμενα, ἐς Φλιουῶντα  
 ἐλθεῖν κατὰ δὴ τι ἴδιον, διαιτωμένου δὲ ἐνταῦθα  
 Οἰνέα ἐξ Αἰτωλίας ἀφικέσθαι παρ' αὐτόν. ἐγερθεὶς  
 νει δὲ τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ πρότερον ἔτι κηδεστής. τὸν  
 δὲ ἀφικόμενος εἰστίᾳ τὸν Ἡρακλέα ἢ αὐτὸς  
 στυῖται ὑπὸ ἐκείνου. Κῦαθον δ' οὖν παῖδα οὐκ  
 χρόνῳ Οἰνέως οὐκ ἀρεσθεῖς τῷ δοθέντι πώματι  
 παίει τῶν δακτύλων ἐνὶ ἐς τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀπὸ  
 θανόντος δὲ αὐτίκα ὑπὸ τῆς πληγῆς Φλιασίων  
 ἐστὶν οἶκημα ἐς μνήμην. τοῦτο ὠκοδόμηται  
 παρὰ τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος, ἀγάλματα  
 λίθου πεποιημένα ἔχει, κύλικα ὀρέγοντα Ἡρακλῆ  
 τὸν Κῦαθον.

with gold. Here also is the tomb of Aristias, the  
 son of Pratinas. This Aristias and his father Pratinas  
 composed satyric plays more popular than any save  
 those of Aeschylus. Behind the market-place is a  
 building which the Phliasians name the House of  
 Divination. Into it Amphiaras entered, slept the  
 night there, and then first, say the Phliasians, began  
 to divine. According to their account Amphiaras  
 was for a time an ordinary person and no diviner.  
 Ever since that time the building has been shut up.  
 Not far away is what is called the Omphalos (*Navel*),  
 the centre of all the Peloponnesus, if they speak the  
 truth about it. Farther on from the Omphalos they  
 have an old sanctuary of Dionysus, a sanctuary of  
 Apollo, and one of Isis. The image of Dionysus is  
 visible to all, and so also is that of Apollo, but the  
 image of Isis only the priests may behold. The Phli-  
 asians tell also the following legend. When Heracles  
 came back safe from Libya, bringing the apples of  
 the Hesperides, as they were called, he visited Phlius  
 for some private matter. While he was staying there  
 Oeneus came to him from Aetolia. He had already  
 allied himself to the family of Heracles, and after  
 his arrival on this occasion either he entertained  
 Heracles or Heracles entertained him. Be this as  
 may, displeased with the drink given him Heracles  
 struck on the head with one of his fingers the boy  
 Cyathus, the cup-bearer of Oeneus, who died on the  
 spot from the blow. A chapel keeps the memory of  
 the deed fresh among the Phliasians; it is built by  
 the side of the sanctuary of Apollo, and it contains  
 statues made of stone representing Cyathus holding  
 out a cup to Heracles.

A. C.  
 5100 N.C.

- XIV. Τῆς δὲ πόλεως αἱ Κελεαὶ πέντε που σταδίου μάλιστα ἀπέχουσι, καὶ τῇ Δήμητρι ἐνταῦθα δι' ἐνιαυτοῦ τετάρτου τὴν τελετὴν καὶ οὐ κατὰ ἔτος ἄγουσιν. ἱεροφάντης δὲ οὐκ ἐς τὸν βίον πάντα ἀποδέδεικται, κατὰ δὲ ἐκάστην τελετὴν ἄλλοτε ἐστὶν ἄλλος σφίσιν αἰρετός, λαμβάνων ἢν ἐθέλῃ καὶ γυναῖκα. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν διάφορα τῶν Ἐλευσῖνι νομίζουσι, τὰ δὲ ἐς αὐτὴν τὴν τελετὴν ἐκείνων ἐστὶν ἐς μίμησιν ὁμολογοῦσι δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ μιμείσθαι Φλιάσιοι τὰ ἐν
- 2 Ἐλευσῖνι δρώμενα. Δυσαύλην δὲ φασὶν ἀδελφὸν Κελεοῦ παραγενόμενόν σφίσιν ἐς τὴν χώραν καταστήσασθαι τὴν τελετὴν, ἐκβληθῆναι δὲ αὐτὸν ἐξ Ἐλευσίνος ὑπὸ Ἴωνος, ὅτε Ἴων Ἀθηναίος ὁ Ξούθου πολέμαρχος τοῦ πρὸς Ἐλευσινίους ἡρέθη πολέμου. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ Φλιασίοις οὐκ ἐστὶν ὅπως ὁμολογήσω, κρατηθέντα μάχῃ τινὰ Ἐλευσινίων φυγάδα ἀπελαθέντα οἴχεσθαι, τοῦ πολέμου τε ἐπὶ συνθήκαις καταλυθέντος πρὶν ἢ διαπολεμῆσθαι καὶ ἐν Ἐλευσῖνι αὐτοῦ καταμείναντος
- 3 Εὐμόλπου. δύναίτο δ' ἂν κατὰ ἄλλην τινὰ ἐνταῦθα ὁ Δυσαύλης ἀφικέσθαι πρόφασιν καὶ οὐχ ὥς οἱ Φλιάσιοί φασιν. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ Κελεῶ προσήκων ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν οὐδὲ ἄλλως ἢν ἐν τοῖς ἐπιφανέσιν Ἐλευσινίων· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ποτε Ὀμηρος παρήκεν αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσιν. ἔστι γὰρ καὶ Ὀμήρῳ πεποιημένα ἐς Δήμητραν· ἐν δὲ αὐτοῖς καταλέγων τοῦν διδαχθέντας ὑπὸ τῆς θεοῦ τὴν τελετὴν Δυσαύλην οὐδένα οἶδεν Ἐλευσίνιον. ἔχει δὲ οὕτω τὰ ἔπη·

δείξεν Τριπτολέμῳ τε Διοκλεῖ τε πληξίππῳ  
Εὐμόλπου τε βίῃ Κελεῶ θ' ἡγήτορι λαῶν  
δρημοσύνην ἱερῶν καὶ ἐπέφραδεν ὄργια πᾶσιν.

XIV. Celeae is some five stades distant from the city, and here they celebrate the mysteries in honour of Demeter, not every year but every fourth year. The initiating priest is not appointed for life, but at each celebration they elect a fresh one, who takes, as he cares to do so, a wife. In this respect their custom differs from that at Eleusis, but the actual celebration is modelled on the Eleusinian rites. The Phliasians themselves admit that they copy the "performance" at Eleusis. They say that it was Dysaules, the brother of Celeüs, who came to their land and established the mysteries, and that he had been expelled from Eleusis by Ion, when Ion, the son of Erichonius, was chosen by the Athenians to be commander-in-chief in the Eleusinian war. Now I cannot possibly agree with the Phliasians in supposing that the Eleusinian was conquered in battle, and driven away into exile, for the war terminated in a treaty before it was fought out, and Eumolpus himself remained at Eleusis. But it is possible that Dysaules came to Phlius for some other reason than that given by the Phliasians. I do not believe either that he was related to Celeüs, or that he was in any way distinguished at Eleusis, otherwise Homer would never have passed him by in his poems. For Homer is one of those who have written in honour of Demeter, and when he is making a list of those to whom the goddess taught the mysteries he knows nothing of an Eleusinian named Dysaules. These are the verses<sup>1</sup> :—

She to Triptolemus taught, and to Diocles, driver of horses,  
Also to mighty Eumolpus, to Celeüs, leader of peoples,  
Cult of the holy rites, to them all her mystery telling."

<sup>1</sup> *Hymn to Demeter*, 474-476.



4 οὗτος δ' οὖν, ὡς οἱ Φλιάσιοί φασιν, ὁ Δυσαύλης  
 κατεστήσατο ἐνταῦθα τὴν τελετὴν καὶ οὗτος  
 ἦν ὁ τῷ χωρίῳ τὸ ὄνομα παραθέμενος Κελεάν  
 Δυσαύλου τέ ἐστιν ἐνταῦθα, ὡς εἴρηται μοι,  
 μνήμα. πρότερον δὲ ἄρα ἐπεποίητο ὁ Ἀράντειος  
 τάφος· ὕστερον γὰρ κατὰ τὸν Φλιασίων λόγον  
 καὶ οὐκ ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀραντος βασιλείας ἀφίκετο ὁ  
 Δυσαύλης. Φλιάσιοι γὰρ Προμηθεῖ γενέσθαι τῷ  
 Ἰαπετοῦ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον φασὶν Ἀραντα  
 καὶ τρισὶν ἀνθρώπων γενεαῖς Πελασγοῦ τε εἶναι  
 πρεσβύτερον τοῦ Ἀρκάδος καὶ τῶν λεγομένων  
 Ἀθήνησιν αὐτοχθόνων.—τοῦ δὲ Ἀνακτόρου κα-  
 λουμένου πρὸς τῷ ὀρόφῳ Πέλοπος ἄρμα λέγουσιν  
 ἀνακεῖσθαι.

XV. Φλιασίοις μὲν δὴ τοσαῦτα λόγου μάλιστα  
 ἦν ἄξια· ἐκ Κορίνθου δ' ἐς Ἄργος ἐρχομένῳ  
 Κλεωναὶ πόλις ἐστὶν οὐ μεγάλη. παῖδα δὲ εἶναι  
 Πέλοπος Κλεώνην λέγουσιν, οἱ δὲ τῷ παρὰ  
 Σικυῶνα ῥέοντι Ἀσωπῷ θυγατέρα ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀλ-  
 λαις Κλεώνην γενέσθαι· τὸ δ' οὖν ὄνομα ἀπὸ τοῦ  
 ἐτέρου τούτων ἐτέθη τῇ πόλει. ἐνταῦθά ἐστιν  
 ἱερὸν Ἀθηνᾶς, τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα Σκύλλιδος τέχνη  
 καὶ Διποῖνον· μαθητὰς δὲ εἶναι Δαιδάλου σφᾶς.  
 οἱ δὲ καὶ γυναῖκα ἐκ Γόρτυνος ἐθέλουσι λαβεῖν  
 Δαίδαλον καὶ τὸν Δίποινον καὶ Σκύλλιν ἐκ τῆς  
 γυναικὸς οἱ ταύτης γενέσθαι. ἐν Κλεωναῖς δὲ  
 τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ μνήμα Εὐρύτου καὶ  
 Κτεάτου· θεωροὺς γὰρ ἐξ Ἡλίδος ἐς τὸν ἀγῶνα  
 ἰόντας τῶν Ἰσθμίων αὐτοὺς ἐνταῦθα Ἡρακλῆς  
 κατετόξευσεν, ἐγκλημα ποιούμενος ὅτι οἱ πρὸς  
 Αὐγαίαν πολεμοῦντι ἀντετάχθησαν.

2 Ἐκ Κλεωνῶν δὲ εἰσιν ἐς Ἄργος ὁδοὶ δύο, ἡ

At all events, this Dysaules, according to the Phliasians, established the mysteries here, and he it was who gave to the place the name Celeae. I have already said that the tomb of Dysaules is here. So the grave of Aras was made earlier, for according to the account of the Phliasians Dysaules did not arrive in the reign of Aras, but later. For Aras, they say, was a contemporary of Prometheus, the son of Iapetus, and three generations of men older than Pelasgus the son of Arcas and those called at Athens aboriginals. On the roof of what is called the Anactorum they say is dedicated the chariot of Pelops.

XV. These are the things that I found most worthy of mention among the Phliasians. On the road from Corinth to Argos is a small city Cleonae. They say that Cleones was a son of Pelops, though there are some who say that Cleone was one of the daughters of Asopus, that flows by the side of Sicyon. Be this as it may, one or other of these two accounts for the name of the city. Here there is a sanctuary of Athena, and the image is a work of Scyllis and Dipoenus. Some hold them to have been the pupils of Daedalus, but others will have it that Daedalus took a wife from Gortyn, and that Dipoenus and Scyllis were his sons by this woman. Cleonae possesses this sanctuary and the tomb of Eurytus and Cteatus. The story is that as they were going as ambassadors from Elis to the Isthmian contest they were here shot by Heracles, who charged them with being his adversaries in the war against Augeas.

From Cleonae to Argos are two roads; one is direct

μὲν ἀνδράσιν εὐζώνοις καὶ ἔστιν ἐπίτομος, ἡ δὲ  
 ἐπὶ τοῦ καλουμένου Τρητοῦ, στενὴ μὲν καὶ αὐτὴ  
 περιεχόντων ὁρῶν, ὀχήμασι δὲ ἔστιν ὅμως ἐπιτη-  
 δειοτέρα. ἐν τούτοις τοῖς ὄρεσι τὸ σπήλαιον ἐτι-  
 δείκνυται τοῦ λέοντος, καὶ ἡ Νεμέα τὸ χωρίον  
 ἀπέχει σταδίου πέντε πον καὶ δέκα. ἐν δὲ  
 αὐτῇ Νεμείου Διὸς ναὸς ἔστι θεᾶς ἄξιος, πλὴν  
 ὅσον κατερρυήκει τε ὁ ὄροφος καὶ ἄγαλμα οὐδὲν  
 ἔτι ἐλείπετο· κυπαρίσσων τε ἄλσος ἔστι περὶ  
 τὸν ναόν, καὶ τὸν Ὀφέλτην ἐνταῦθα ὑπὸ τῆς  
 τροφοῦ τεθέντα ἐς τὴν πόαν διαφθαρῆναι λέ-  
 3 γουσιν ὑπὸ τοῦ δράκοντος. θύουσι δὲ Ἀργεῖοι  
 τῷ Διὶ καὶ ἐν τῇ Νεμέᾳ καὶ Νεμείου Διὸς ἱερέα  
 αἰροῦνται, καὶ δὴ καὶ δρόμον προτιθέασιν ἀγῶνα  
 ἀνδράσιν ὀπλισμένοις Νεμείων πανηγύρει τῶν  
 χειμερινῶν. ἐνταῦθα ἔστι μὲν Ὀφέλτου τάφος,  
 περὶ δὲ αὐτὸν θριγκὸς λίθων καὶ ἐντὸς τοῦ περι-  
 βόλου βωμοί· ἔστι δὲ χῶμα γῆς Λυκούργου  
 μνήμα τοῦ Ὀφέλτου πατρός. τὴν δὲ πηγὴν  
 Ἀδράστειαν ὀνομάζουσιν εἴτε ἐπ' ἄλλῃ τινὶ αἰτίᾳ  
 εἴτε καὶ ἀνευρόντος αὐτὴν Ἀδράστου· τὸ δὲ  
 ὄνομα λέγουσι τῇ χώρᾳ Νεμέαν δοῦναι θυγατέρα  
 Ἀσωποῦ καὶ ταυτην. καὶ ὄρος Ἀπέσας ἔστιν  
 ὑπὲρ τὴν Νεμέαν, ἐνθα Περσέα πρῶτον Διὶ θῦσαι  
 4 λέγουσιν Ἀπεσαντίῳ.—ἀνελθοῦσι δὲ ἐς τὸν Τρη-  
 τὸν καὶ αὖθις τὴν ἐς Ἀργος ἰοῦσιν ἔστι Μυκηνῶν  
 εἰρήπια ἐν ἀριστερᾷ. καὶ ὅτι μὲν Περσεὺς ἐγέ-  
 νετο Μυκηνῶν οἰκιστής, ἴσασιν Ἕλληνες· ἐγὼ δὲ  
 αἰτίαν τε γράψω τοῦ οἰκισμοῦ καὶ δι' ἣν τινα  
 πρόφασιν Ἀργεῖοι Μυκηναίους ὕστερον ἀνέστη-  
 σαν. ἐν γὰρ τῇ νῦν Ἀργολίδι ὀνομαζομένη τὰ  
 μὲν ἔτι παλαιότερα οὐ μνημονεύουσιν, Ἰταχον

and only for active men, the other goes along the pass called Tretus (*Pierced*), is narrow like the other, being surrounded by mountains, but is nevertheless more suitable for carriages. In these mountains is still shown the cave of the famous lion, and the place Nemea is distant some fifteen stades. In Nemea is a noteworthy temple of Nemean Zeus, but I found that the roof had fallen in and that there was no longer remaining any image. Around the temple is a grove of cypress trees, and here it is, they say, that Opheltes was placed by his nurse in the grass and killed by the serpent. The Argives offer burnt sacrifices to Zeus in Nemea also, and elect a priest of Nemean Zeus; moreover they offer a prize for a race in armour at the winter celebration of the Nemean games. In this place is the grave of Opheltes; around it is a fence of stones, and within the enclosure are altars. There is also a mound of earth which is the tomb of Lyncus, the father of Opheltes. The spring they call Adrastea for some reason or other, perhaps because Adrastus found it. The land was named, they say, after Nemea, who was another daughter of Asopus. Above Nemea is Mount Apesas, where they say that Perseus first sacrificed to Zeus of Apesas. Ascending to Tretus, and again going along the road to Argos, you see on the left the ruins of Mycenae. The Greeks are aware that the founder of Mycenae was Perseus, so I will narrate the cause of its foundation and the reason why the Argives afterwards laid Mycenae waste. The oldest tradition in the region now called Argolis



5 δὲ βασιλεύοντα τὸν τε ποταμὸν ἀφ' αὐτοῦ λέγου-  
 σιν ὀνομάσαι καὶ θῆσαι τῇ Ἡρᾷ. λέγεται δὲ  
 καὶ ὧδε λόγος· Φορωνέα ἐν τῇ γῇ ταύτῃ γενέσθαι  
 πρῶτον, Ἰναχὸν δὲ οὐκ ἄνδρα ἀλλὰ τὸν ποταμὸν  
 πατέρα εἶναι Φορωνεῖ· τοῦτον δὲ Ποσειδῶνι καὶ  
 Ἡρᾷ δικάσαι περὶ τῆς χώρας, σὺν δὲ αὐτῷ  
 Κηφισὸν τε καὶ Ἀστερίωνα ποταμὸν· κρινάντων  
 δὲ Ἡρας εἶναι τὴν γῆν, οὕτω σφίσιν ἀφανίσαι  
 τὸ ὕδωρ Ποσειδῶνα. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὔτε Ἰναχὸς  
 ὕδωρ οὔτε ἄλλος παρέχεται τῶν εἰρημένων ποτα-  
 μῶν ὅτι μὴ ὕσαντος τοῦ θεοῦ· θέρους δὲ αὐτὰ  
 σφισίν ἐστι τὰ ρεύματα πλὴν τῶν ἐν Λέρνῃ.  
 Φορωνεὺς δὲ ὁ Ἰνάχου τοὺς ἀνθρώπους συνήγαγε  
 πρῶτον ἐς κοινόν, σποράδας τέως καὶ ἐφ' ἐαυτῶν  
 ἐκάστοτε οἰκούντας· καὶ τὸ χωρίον ἐς ὃ πρῶτον  
 ἠθροίσθησαν ἄστει ὀνομάσθη Φορωνικόν.

XVI. Ἄργος δὲ Φορωνέως θυγατρίδους βασι-  
 λεύσας μετὰ Φορωνέα ὀνόμασεν ἀφ' αὐτοῦ τὴν  
 χώραν. Ἄργου δὲ Πείρασος γίνεται καὶ Φόρβας,  
 Φόρβαντος δὲ Τριόπας, Τριόπα δὲ Ἰασος καὶ  
 Ἀγήνωρ. Ἰὼ μὲν οὖν Ἰάσου θυγάτηρ, εἴτε ὡς  
 Ἡρόδοτος ἔγραψεν εἴτε καθ' ὃ λέγουσιν Ἕλληνες,  
 ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἀφικνεῖται· Κροτώπος δὲ ὁ Ἀγῆ-  
 νορος ἔσχε μετὰ Ἰασον τὴν ἀρχήν, Κροτώπου δὲ  
 Σθενέλας γίνεται, Δαναὸς δ' ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου πλεῖ-  
 σας ἐπὶ Γελάνορα τὸν Σθενέλα τοὺς ἀπογόνους  
 τοὺς Ἀγῆνορος βασιλείας ἔπαισεν. τὰ δὲ ἀπὸ  
 τούτου καὶ οἱ πάντες ὁμοίως ἴσασι, θυγατέρων  
 τῶν Δαναοῦ τὸ ἐς τοὺς ἀνεψιούς τόλμημα καὶ ὡς  
 ἀποθανόντος Δαναοῦ τὴν ἀρχὴν Λυγκεὺς ἔσχεν.  
 2 οἱ δὲ Ἀβαντος τοῦ Λυγκέως παῖδες τὴν βασι-  
 λείαν ἐνείμαντο, καὶ Ἀκρίσιος μὲν αὐτοῦ κατέ-

is that when Inachus was king he named the river after himself and sacrificed to Hera. There is also another legend which says that Phoroneus was the first inhabitant of this land, and that Inachus, the father of Phoroneus, was not a man but the river. This river, with the rivers Cephissus and Asterion, judged concerning the land between Poseidon and Hera. They decided that the land belonged to Hera, and so Poseidon made their waters disappear. For this reason neither Inachus nor either of the other rivers I have mentioned provides any water except after rain. In summer their streams are dry except those at Lerna. Phoroneus, the son of Inachus, was the first to gather together the inhabitants, who up to that time had been scattered and living as isolated families. The place into which they were first gathered was named the City of Phoroneus.

XVI. Argus, the grandson of Phoroneus, succeeding to the throne after Phoroneus, gave his name to the land. Argus begat Peirasus and Phorbas, Phorbas begat Triopas, and Triopas begat Iasus and Agenor. Io, the daughter of Iasus, went to Egypt, whether the circumstances be as Herodotus records or as the Greeks say. After Iasus, Crotopus, the son of Agenor, came to the throne and begat Sthenelas, but Danaus sailed from Egypt against Gelanor, the son of Sthenelas, and stayed the succession to the kingdom of the descendants of Agenor. What followed is known to all alike: the crime the daughters of Danaus committed against their cousins, and how, on the death of Danaus, Lynceus succeeded him. But the sons of Abas, the son of Lynceus, divided the kingdom between themselves; Acrisius remained where

- μεινεν ἐν τῷ Ἄργει, Προΐτος δὲ τὸ Ἑραῖον καὶ Μιδείαν καὶ Τίρυνθα ἔσχε καὶ ὅσα πρὸς θαλάσσης τῆς Ἀργείας· σημειά τε τῆς ἐν Τίρυνθι οἰκῆσεως Προΐτου καὶ ἐς τὸδε λείπεται. χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστεραν Ἀκρίσιος Περσέα αὐτὸν τε περιεῖναι πυνθανόμενος καὶ ἔργα ἀποδείκνυσθαι, ἐς Λάρισαν ἀπεχώρησε τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ Πηνεϊῷ. Περσεὺς δὲ—ἰδεῖν γὰρ πάντως ἤθελε τὸν γονέα τῆς μητρὸς καὶ λόγοις τε χρηστοῖς καὶ ἔργοις δεξιώσασθαι—ἔρχεται παρ' αὐτὸν ἐς τὴν Λάρισαν· καὶ ὁ μὲν οἷα ἡλικία τε ἀκμάζων καὶ τοῦ δίσκου χαίρων τῷ εὐρήματι ἐπιδείκνυτο ἐς ἅπαντας, Ἀκρίσιος δὲ λαμβάνει κατὰ δαίμονα ὑποπεσῶν τοῦ δίσκου τῇ ὁρμῇ.
- 3 καὶ Ἀκρισίῳ μὲν ἡ πρόρρησις τοῦ θεοῦ τέλος ἔσχεν, οὐδὲ ἀπέτρεψεν οἱ τὸ χρεῶν τὰ ἐς τὴν παῖδα καὶ τὸν θυγατριδοῦν παρενρήματα· Περσεὺς δὲ ὡς ἀνέστρεψεν ἐς Ἄργος—ἡσχύνετο γὰρ τοῦ φόνου τῇ φήμῃ—, Μεγαπένθη τὸν Προΐτον πείθει οἱ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀντιδοῦναι, παραλαβὼν δὲ αὐτὸς τὴν ἐκείνου Μυκῆνας κτίζει. τοῦ ξίφους γὰρ ἐνταῦθα ἐξέπεσεν ὁ μύκης αὐτῷ, καὶ τὸ σημεῖον ἐς οἰκισμὸν ἐνόμιζε συμβῆναι πόλεως. ἤκουσα δὲ καὶ ὡς διψῶντι ἐπῆλθεν ἀνελέσθαι οἱ μύκητα ἐκ τῆς γῆς, ῥυέντος δὲ ὕδατος πῶν καὶ ἡσθεῖς Μυκῆνας ἔθετο τὸ ὄνομα τῷ χωρίῳ.
- 4 Ὅμηρος δὲ ἐν Ὀδυσσεΐᾳ γυναικὸς Μυκῆνης ἐν ἔπει τῷδε ἐμνήσθη

Τυρώ τ' Ἀλκμήνῃ τε ἐνστέφανός τε Μυκῆνῃ.

ταύτην εἶναι θυγατέρα Ἰνάχου γυναῖκα δὲ Ἀρίστορος τὰ ἔπη λέγει, ἃ δὴ Ἕλληνες καλοῦσιν Ἑοίας μεγάλας· ἀπὸ ταύτης οὖν γεγενῆσθαι καὶ

he was at Argos, and Proetus took over the Heraeum, Lideia, Tiryns, and the Argive coast region. Traces of the residence of Proetus in Tiryns remain to the present day. Afterwards Acrisius, learning that Perseus himself was not only alive but accomplishing great achievements, retired to Larisa on the Peneüs. And Perseus, wishing at all costs to see the father of his mother and to greet him with fair words and deeds, visited him at Larisa. Being in the prime of life and proud of his inventing the quoit, he gave displays before all, and Acrisius, as luck would have it, stepped unnoticed into the path of the quoit. So the prediction of the god to Acrisius found its fulfilment, or was his fate prevented by his precautions against his daughter and grandson. Perseus, ashamed because of the gossip about the homicide, on his return to Argos induced Megapenthes, the son of Proetus, to make an exchange of kingdoms; taking over himself that of Megapenthes, he founded Mycenae. For on its site the cap (*myces*) fell from his scabbard, and he regarded this as a sign to found a city. I have also heard the following account. He was thirsty, and the thought occurred to him to pick up a mushroom (*myces*) from the ground. Drinking with joy water that flowed from it, he gave to the place the name of Mycenae. Homer in the *Iliad* mentions a woman Mycene in the following verse:—

“Tyro and Alcmena and the fair-crowned lady Mycene.”

He is said to have been the daughter of Inachus and the wife of Arestor in the poem which the Greeks call the *Great Eoëae*. So they say that this



τὸ ὄνομα τῇ πόλει φασίν. ὃν δὲ προσποιούσιν Ἀκουσιλάφ λόγον, Μυκηναῖα υἱὸν εἶναι Σπάρτωνος, Σπάρτωνα δὲ Φορωνέως, οὐκ ἂν ἐγώ γε ἀποδεξαίμην, διότι μηδὲ αὐτοὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι. Λακεδαιμονίοις γὰρ Σπάρτης μὲν γυναικὸς εἰκὼν ἐστὶν ἐν Ἀμύκλαις, Σπάρτωνα δὲ Φορωνέως παῖδα θαυμάζοιεν ἂν καὶ ἀρχὴν ἀκούσαντες.

- 5 Μυκήνας δὲ Ἀργεῖοι καθείλον ὑπὸ ζηλοτυπίας. ἡσυχάζοντων γὰρ τῶν Ἀργείων κατὰ τὴν ἐπιστρατείαν τοῦ Μήδου, Μυκηναῖοι πέμπουσιν εἰς Θερμοπύλας ὀγδοήκοντα ἄνδρας, οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοις μετέσχον τοῦ ἔργου· τοῦτο ἤνεγκεν ὀλεθρὸν σφισι τὸ φιλοτίμημα παροξύναν Ἀργείους. λείπεται δὲ ὅμως ἔτι καὶ ἄλλα τοῦ περιβόλου καὶ ἡ πύλη, λέοντες δὲ ἐφeskτήκασιν αὐτῇ· Κυκλώπων δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ἔργα εἶναι λέγουσιν, οἱ Προῖτη τὸ
- 6 τείχος ἐποίησαν ἐν Τίρυνθι. Μυκηνῶν δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἐρειπίοις κρήνη τέ ἐστὶ καλουμένη Περσεΐα καὶ Ἀτρέως καὶ τῶν παίδων ὑπόγαια οἰκοδομήματα, ἐνθα οἱ θησαυροὶ σφισι τῶν χρημάτων ἦσαν. τάφος δὲ ἐστὶ μὲν Ἀτρέως, εἰςὶ δὲ καὶ ὅσους σὺν Ἀγαμέμνονι ἐπανήκοντας ἐξ Ἰλίου δειπνίας κατεφόνευσεν Αἴγισθος. τοῦ μὲν δὴ Κασσάνδρας μνήματος ἀμφισβητοῦσι Λακεδαιμονίων οἱ περὶ Ἀμύκλας οἰκοῦντες· ἕτερον δὲ ἐστὶν Ἀγαμέμνονος, τὸ δὲ Εὐρυμέδοντος τοῦ ἡμιόχου, καὶ Τελεδάμου τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ Πέλοπος—τούτους γὰρ τεκεῖν
- 7 διδύμους Κασσάνδραν φασί, νηπίους δὲ ἔτι ὄντας ἐπικατέσφαξε τοῖς γονεῦσιν Αἴγισθος—καὶ Ἡλέκτρας· Πυλάδῃ γὰρ συνώκησεν Ὀρέστου δόντος. Ἑλλάνικος δὲ καὶ τάδε ἔγραψε, Μίδοντα καὶ Στρόφιον γενέσθαι Πυλάδῃ παῖδας ἐξ

lady has given her name to the city. But the account which is attributed to Acusilaus, that Mycenaëus was the son of Sparton, and Sparton of Phoroneus, I cannot accept, because the Lacedaemonians themselves do not accept it either. For the Lacedaemonians have at Amyclae a portrait statue of a woman named Sparte, but they would be amazed at the mere mention of a Sparton, son of Phoroneus.

It was jealousy which caused the Argives to destroy Mycenae. For at the time of the Persian invasion the Argives made no move, but the Mycenaeans sent eighty men to Thermopylae who shared in the achievement of the Lacedaemonians. This eagerness for distinction brought ruin upon them by exasperating the Argives. There still remain, however, parts of the city wall, including the gate, upon which stand lions. These, too, are said to be the work of the Cyclopes, who made for Proetus the wall at Tiryns. In the ruins of Mycenae is a fountain called Persea; there are also underground chambers of Atreus and his children, in which were stored their treasures. There is the grave of Atreus, along with the graves of such as returned with Agamemnon from Troy, and were murdered by Aegisthus after he had given them a banquet. As for the tomb of Cassandra, it is claimed by the Lacedaemonians who dwell around Amyclae. Agamemnon has his tomb, and so has Eurymedon the charioteer, while another is shared by Teledamus and Pelops, twin sons, they say, of Cassandra, whom while yet babies Aegisthus slew after their parents. Electra has her tomb, for Orestes married her to Pylades. Hellanicus adds that the children of Pylades by Electra were Medon

Ἠλέκτρας. Κλυταιμνήστρα δὲ ἐτάφη καὶ Αἰγισθος ὀλίγον ἀπωτέρω τοῦ τείχους· ἐντὸς δὲ ἀπηξιώθησαν, ἐνθα Ἀγαμέμνων τε αὐτὸς ἔκειτο καὶ οἱ σὺν ἐκείνῳ φονευθέντες.

- XVII. Μυκηνῶν δὲ ἐν ἀριστερᾷ πέντε ἀπέχει καὶ δέκα στάδια τὸ Ἡραῖον. ῥεῖ δὲ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ὕδωρ Ἐλευθέριον καλούμενον· χρῶνται ἐν αὐτῷ πρὸς καθάρσια αἱ περὶ τὸ ἱερόν καὶ τῶν θυσίων ἐς τὰς ἀπορρήτους. αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ ἱερόν ἐστιν ἐν χθαμαλωτέρῳ τῆς Εὐβοίας· τὸ γὰρ δὴ ὄρος τοῦτο ὀνομάζουσιν Εὐβοίαν, λέγοντες Ἀστερίῳ γενέσθαι τῷ ποταμῷ θυγατέρας Εὐβοίαν καὶ Πρόσυμναν καὶ Ἀκραίαν, εἶναι δὲ σφᾶς
- 2 τροφούς τῆς Ἥρας· καὶ ἀπὸ μὲν Ἀκραίας τὸ ὄρος καλοῦσι τὸ ἀπαντικρὺ τοῦ Ἡραίου, ἀπὸ δὲ Εὐβοίας ὅσον περὶ τὸ ἱερόν, Πρόσυμναν δὲ τὴν ὑπὸ τὸ Ἡραῖον χώραν. ὁ δὲ Ἀστερίων οὗτος ῥέων ὑπὲρ τὸ Ἡραῖον ἐς φάραγγα ἐσπίπτων ἀφανίζεται. φύεται δὲ αὐτοῦ πόα πρὸς ταῖς ὄχθαις· ἀστερίωνα ὀνομάζουσι καὶ τὴν πόαν ταύτην τῇ Ἥρᾳ καὶ αὐτὴν φέρουσι καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν
- 3 φύλλων αὐτῆς στεφάνους πλέκουσιν. ἀρχιτέκτονα μὲν δὴ γενέσθαι τοῦ ναοῦ λέγουσιν Εὐπόλεμον Ἀργεῖον· ὅποσα δὲ ὑπὲρ τοὺς κίονάς ἐστιν εἰργασμένα, τὰ μὲν ἐς τὴν Διὸς γένεσιν καὶ θεῶν καὶ γιγάντων μάχην ἔχει, τὰ δὲ ἐς τὸν πρὸς Τροίαν πόλεμον καὶ Ἰλίου τὴν ἄλωσιν. ἀνδρῶν τε ἐστήκασιν πρὸ τῆς ἐσόδου καὶ γυναικῶν, αἱ γεγόνασιν ἱέρειαι τῆς Ἥρας, καὶ ἡρώων ἄλλων τε καὶ Ὀρέστου· τὸν γὰρ ἐπίγραμμα ἔχοντα, ὥς εἴη βασιλεὺς Αὐγουστος, Ὀρέστην εἶναι λέγουσιν. ἐν δὲ τῷ προνάῳ τῇ μὲν Χάριτες

# CORINTH, XVI. 7-XVII. 3

**I** Strophius. Clytemnestra and Aegisthus were tied at some little distance from the wall. They are thought unworthy of a place within it, where lay Orestes himself and those who were murdered with him.

**XVII.** Fifteen stades distant from Mycenae is on the left the Heraeum. Beside the road flows the brook called Water of Freedom. The priestesses use it in purifications and for such sacrifices as are secret. The sanctuary itself is on a lower part of Euboea, Euboea is the name they give to the hill here, saying that Asterion the river had three daughters, Euboea, Prosymna, and Acraea, and that they were nurses of Hera. The hill opposite the Heraeum they name after Acraea, the environs of the sanctuary they name after Euboea, and the land beneath the Heraeum after Prosymna. This Asterion flows above the Heraeum, and falling into a cleft disappears. On its banks grows a plant, which also is called Asterion. They offer the plant itself to Hera, and from its leaves weave her garlands. It is said that the architect of the temple was Eupolemus, an Argive. The sculptures carved above the pillars refer either to the birth of Zeus and the battle between the gods and the giants, or to the Trojan war and the capture of Ilium. Before the entrance stand statues of women who have been priestesses to Hera and of various heroes, including Orestes. They say that Orestes is the one with the inscription, that it represents the Emperor Augustus. In the fore-temple on the one side ancient statues of the Graces,



ἀγάλματά ἐστιν ἀρχαῖα, ἐν δεξιᾷ δὲ κλίνη τῇ  
"Ἡρας καὶ ἀνάθημα ἀσπίς ἦν Μενέλαός ποτε  
4 ἀφείλετο Εὐφορβὸν ἐν Ἰλίου. τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα τῇ  
"Ἡρας ἐπὶ θρόνου κάθηται μεγέθει μέγα, χρυσοῦ  
μὲν καὶ ἐλέφαντος, Πολυκλείτου δὲ ἔργον· ἐπεστί  
δὲ οἱ στέφανος Χάριτας ἔχων καὶ "Ἡρας ἐπειργα-  
σμένας, καὶ τῶν χειρῶν τῇ μὲν καρπὸν φέρει ροιᾶς.  
τῇ δὲ σκῆπτρον. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἐς τὴν ροιᾶν—  
ἀπορρητότερος γάρ ἐστιν ὁ λόγος—ἀφείσθω μοι  
κύκκυνα δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ σκῆπτρῳ καθήσθαι φασὶ  
λέγοντες τὸν Δία, ὅτε ἦρα παρθένου τῆς "Ἡρας.  
ἐς τοῦτον τὸν ὄρνιθα ἀλλαγῆναι, τὴν δὲ ἄτε  
παίγνιον θηρᾶσαι. τοῦτον τὸν λόγον καὶ ὅσα  
ἐοικυῖα εἴρηται περὶ θεῶν οὐκ ἀποδεχόμενος  
5 γράφω, γράφω δὲ οὐδὲν ἥσσον. λέγεται δὲ  
παρεστηκέναι τῇ "Ἡρᾷ τέχνη Ναυκύδους ἄγαλμα  
"Ἡβης, ἐλέφαντος καὶ τοῦτο καὶ χρυσοῦ· παρὰ  
δὲ αὐτὴν ἐστὶν ἐπὶ κίονος ἄγαλμα "Ἡρας ἀρχαῖον.  
τὸ δὲ ἀρχαιότατον πεποιήται μὲν ἐξ ἀχράδος.  
ἀνετέθη δὲ ἐς Τίρυνθα ὑπὸ Πειράσου τοῦ Ἀργίου.  
Τίρυνθα δὲ ἀνελόντες Ἀργεῖοι κομίζουσιν ἐς τὸ  
"Ἡραῖον· ὃ δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς εἶδον, καθήμενον ἄγαλμα  
6 οὐ μέγα. ἀναθήματα δὲ τὰ ἄξια λόγου βωμὸς  
ἔχων ἐπειργασμένον τὸν λεγόμενον "Ἡβης καὶ  
"Ἡρακλέους γάμον· οὗτος μὲν ἀργύρου, χρυσοῦ  
δὲ καὶ λίθων λαμπρόντων Ἀδριανὸς βασιλεὺς  
ταῶν ἀνέθηκεν· ἀνέθηκε δέ, ὅτι τὴν ὄρνιθα  
ἱερὰν τῆς "Ἡρας νομίζουσι. κείται δὲ καὶ στέ-  
φανος χρυσοῦς καὶ πέπλος πορφύρας, Νέρωνος  
7 ταῦτα ἀναθήματα. ἔστι δὲ ὑπὲρ τὸν ναὸν τοῦτον  
τοῦ προτέρου ναοῦ θεμελίῳ τε καὶ εἰ δὴ τι ἄλλο  
ὑπελίπετο ἢ φλόξ. κατεκαύθη δὲ τὴν ἱερίαν

and on the right a couch of Hera and a votive offering, the shield which Menelaus once took from Euphorbus at Troy. The statue of Hera is seated on a throne; it is huge, made of gold and ivory, and is a work of Polycleitus. She is wearing a crown with Graces and Seasons worked upon it, and in one hand she carries a pomegranate and in the other a sceptre. About the pomegranate I must say nothing, for its story is somewhat of a holy mystery. The presence of a cuckoo seated on the sceptre they explain by the story that when Zeus was in love with Hera in her maidenhood he changed himself into this bird, and she caught it to be her pet. This tale and similar legends about the gods I relate without believing them, but I relate them nevertheless. By the side of Hera stands what is said to be an image of Hebe fashioned by Naucydes; it, too, is of ivory and gold. By its side is an old image of Hera on a pillar. The oldest image is made of wild-pear wood, and was dedicated in Tiryns by Peirasus, son of Argus, and when the Argives destroyed Tiryns they carried it away to the Heraeum. I myself saw it, a small, seated image. Of the votive offerings the following are noteworthy. There is an altar upon which is wrought in relief the fabled marriage of Hebe and Heracles. This is of silver, but the peacock dedicated by the Emperor Hadrian is of gold and gleaming stones. He dedicated it because they hold the bird to be sacred to Hera. There lie here a golden crown and a purple robe, offerings of Nero. Above this temple are the foundations of the earlier temple and such parts of it as were spared by the flames. It was

τῆς Ἡρας Χρυσήϊδα ὑπνου καταλαβόντος, ὅτε ὁ λύχνος πρὸ τῶν στεφανωμάτων ἤπτετο. καὶ Χρυσῆϊς μὲν ἀπελθοῦσα ἐς Τεγέαν τὴν Ἀθηναίων τὴν Ἀλέαν ἰκέτευεν· Ἀργεῖοι δὲ καί περ κακοῦ τηλικούτου παρόντος σφίσι τὴν εἰκόνα οὐ καθεύδον τῆς Χρυσῆϊδος, ἀνάκειται δὲ καὶ ἐς τόδε τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ κατακαυθέντος ἔμπροσθεν.

XVIII. Ἐκ Μυκηνῶν δὲ ἐς Ἄργος ἐρχομένους ἐν ἀριστερᾷ Περσέως παρὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐστὶν ἡρώων. ἔχει μὲν δὴ καὶ ἐνταῦθα τιμὰς παρὰ τῶν προσχωρίων, μεγίστας δὲ ἐν τε Σερίφῳ καὶ παρ' Ἀθηναίοις, οἷς Περσέως τέμενος καὶ Δίκτυος καὶ Κλυμένης βωμὸς σωτήρων καλουμένων Περσέως. ἐν δὲ τῇ Ἀργείᾳ προελθοῦσιν ὀλίγον ἀπὸ τοῦ ἡρώου τούτου Θυέστου τάφος ἐστὶν ἐν δεξιᾷ· λίθον δὲ ἔπεστιν αὐτῷ κριός, ὅτι τὴν ἄρνα ὁ Θυέστης ἔσχε τὴν χρυσήν, μοιχεύσας τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τὴν γυναῖκα. Ἀτρεά δὲ οὐκ ἐπέσχεεν ὁ λογισμὸς μετρήσαι τὴν ἴσιν, ἀλλὰ τῶν Θυέστου παίδων σφαγὰς καὶ τὰ ἀδόμενα δείπνα ἐξεργάσατο. ὕστερον δὲ οὐκ ἔχω σαφὲς εἰπεῖν πότερον ἀδικίας ἤρξεν Λίγισθος ἢ προῦπῆρξεν Ἀγαμέμνονι φόνος Ταντάλου τοῦ Θυέστου· συνοικεῖν δὲ φασιν αὐτὸν Κλυταιμνήστρᾳ παρθένῳ παρὰ Τυνδάρεω λαβόντα. ἐγὼ δὲ καταγινῶναι μὲν οὐκ ἐθέλω φύσει σφᾶς γενέσθαι κακοῦς· εἰ δὲ ἐκ τοσούτων αὐτοῖς τὸ μίasma τὸ Πέλοπος καὶ ὁ Μυρτίλου προστρόπαιος ἠκολούθησε, τούτοις ἢ ἄρα ὁμολογοῦντα, ἥνικα ἢ Πυθία Γλαῦκῳ τῷ Ἐπικύδους Σπαρτιάτῃ, βουλευσάντι ἐπύρκα ὁμόσαι, καὶ τοῦδε εἶπεν ἐς τοὺς ἀπογόνους κατιέναι τὴν δίκην.

burnt down because sleep overpowered Chryseis, the priestess of Hera, when the lamp before the wreaths set fire to them. Chryseis went to Tegea and supplicated Athena Alea. Although so great a disaster had befallen them the Argives did not take down the statue of Chryseis; it is still in position in front of the burnt temple.

XVIII. By the side of the road from Mycenae to Argos there is on the left hand a hero-shrine of Perseus. The neighbouring folk, then, pay him honours here, but the greatest honours are paid to him in Seriphus and among the Athenians, who have a precinct sacred to Perseus and an altar of Dictys and Clymene, who are called the saviours of Perseus. Advancing a little way in the Argive territory from his hero-shrine one sees on the right the grave of Thyestes. On it is a stone ram, because Thyestes obtained the golden lamb after debauching his brother's wife. But Atreus was not restrained by prudence from retaliating, but contrived the slaughter of the children of Thyestes and the banquet of which the poets tell us. But as to what followed,

I cannot say for certain whether Aegisthus began the sin or whether Agamemnon sinned first in murdering Tantalus, the son of Thyestes. It is said that Tantalus had received Clytaemnestra in marriage from Tyndareus when she was still a virgin. I myself do not wish to condemn them of having been wicked by nature; but if the pollution of Pelops and the avenging spirit of Myrtilus dogged their steps so long, it was after all only consistent that the Pythian priestess said to the Spartan Glaucus, the son of Epicydes, who consulted her about breaking his oath, that the punishment for his also comes upon the descendants of the sinner.



- 3 Ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν Κριῶν—οὕτω γὰρ τοῦ Θυέστου τὸ μνῆμα ὀνομάζουσι—προελθοῦσιν ὀλίγον ἐστὶν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ χωρίῳ Μυσία καὶ Δήμητρος Μυσίας ἱερὸν ἀπὸ ἀνδρὸς Μυσίου τὸ ὄνομα, γενομένου καὶ τούτου, καθάπερ λέγουσιν Ἀργεῖοι, ξένου τῇ Δήμητρι. τούτῳ μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἐπεστὶν ὄροφος· ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ ναὸς ἐστὶν ἄλλος ὁπτιῆς πλίνθου, ξόανα δὲ Κόρης καὶ Πλούτωνος καὶ Δήμητρος ἐστὶ. προελθοῦσι δὲ ποταμός ἐστιν Ἰναχος, καὶ διαβάσιν Ἠλίου βωμός. ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἐπὶ πύλῃν ἤξεις καλουμένην ἀπὸ τοῦ πλησίον ἱεροῦ· τὸ δὲ ἱερὸν ἐστὶν Εἰλειθυίας.
- 4 Μόρους δὲ Ἑλλήνων οἶδα Ἀργείους ἐς τρεῖς βασιλείας νεμηθέντας. ἐπὶ γὰρ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς Ἀναξαγόρου τοῦ Ἀργείου τοῦ Μεγαπένθους μανία ταῖς γυναῖξιν ἐνέπεσεν, ἐκφοιτῶσαι δὲ ἐκ τῶν οἰκιῶν ἐπλανῶντο ἀνὰ τὴν χώραν, ἐς ἣν Μελάμπους ὁ Ἀμυθίωνος ἔπαυσε σφᾶς τῆς νόσου, ἐφ' ᾧ τε αὐτὸς καὶ ὁ ἀδελφὸς Βίας Ἀναξαγόρα τὸ ἴσον ἔξουσιν. ἀπὸ μὲν δὴ Βιάντος βασιλεύουσι πέντε ἄνδρες ἐπὶ γενεὰς τέσσαρας ἐς Κυανίππον τὸν Αἰγιαλέως, ὄντες Νηλεῖδαι τὰ πρὸς μητρός, ἀπὸ δὲ Μελάμποδος γενεαὶ τε ἕξ καὶ ἄνδρες ἴσοι μέχρις Ἀμφιλόχου τοῦ Ἀμφιαρίου· τὸ δὲ ἐγχώριον γένος οἱ Ἀναξαγορίδαι βασιλεύουσι πλέον. Ἴφισ μὲν γὰρ ὁ Ἀλέκτορος τοῦ Ἀναξαγόρου Σθενέλω τῷ Καпанέως ἀδελφοῦ παιδί ἀπέλιπε τὴν ἀρχήν· Ἀμφιλόχου δὲ μετὰ ἄλῳσιν Ἰλίου μετοικήσαντος ἐς τοὺς νῦν Ἀμφιλόχους, Κυανίππου δ' ἄπαιδος τελευτήσαντος, οὕτω Κυλαράβης ὁ Σθενέλου μόνος τὴν βασιλείαν ἔσχεν. οὐ μέντοι παῖδας κατέλιπεν οὐδ' οὐτος.

A little beyond the Rams—this is the name they give to the tomb of Thyestes—there is on the left a place called Mysia and a sanctuary of Mysian Demeter, so named from a man Mysius who, say the Argives, was one of those who entertained Demeter. Now this sanctuary has no roof, but in it is another temple, built of burnt brick, and wooden images of the Maid, Pluto and Demeter. Farther on is a river called Inachus, and on the other side of it an altar of Helius (*the Sun*). After this you will come to a gate named after the sanctuary near it. This sanctuary belongs to Eileithyia.

The Argives are the only Greeks that I know of who have been divided into three kingdoms. For in the reign of Anaxagoras, son of Argeüs, son of Megapenthes, the women were smitten with madness, and straying from their homes they roamed about the country, until Melampus the son of Amythaon cured them of the plague on condition that he himself and his brother Bias had a share of the kingdom equal to that of Anaxagoras. Now descended from Bias five men, Neleids on their mother's side, occupied the throne for four generations down to Cyanippus, son of Aegialeus, and descended from Melampus six men in six generations down to Amphiloehus, son of Amphiaras. But the native house of the family of Anaxagoras ruled longer than the other two. For Iphis, son of Alector, son of Anaxagoras, left the throne to Sthenelus, son of Capaneus his brother. After the capture of Troy, Amphiloehus migrated to the people now called the Amphiloehians, and, Cyanippus having died without issue, Cylarabes, son of Sthenelus, became sole king. However, he too left no offspring, and

ἀλλὰ Ὀρέστης ὁ Ἀγαμέμνωνος τὸ Ἄργος κα-  
 ἔσχε παροικῶν τε ἐγγὺς αὐτῷ καὶ ἄνευ τῆς  
 πατρῴας ἀρχῆς προσπεποιημένος μὲν Ἀρκάδων  
 τοὺς πολλοὺς, παρειληφὼς δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐν Σπάρτῃ  
 βασιλείαν, συμμαχικοῦ δὲ ἐκ Φωκέων αἰεὶ ποτε  
 6 ἐπ' ὠφελείᾳ ἐτοίμου παρόντος. Λακεδαιμονίων  
 δὲ ἐβασίλευσεν Ὀρέστης Λακεδαιμονίων ἐφέντων  
 αὐτῷ· τοὺς γὰρ Τυνδάρειω θυγατρίδοις τὴν ἀρχὴν  
 ἔχειν ἡξίουσιν πρὸ Νικοστράτου καὶ Μεγαπένθους  
 Μενελάω γεγεννημένων ἐκ δούλης. Ὀρέστου δὲ  
 ἀποθανόντος ἔσχε Τισαμενὸς τὴν ἀρχήν, Ἑρμιό-  
 νης τῆς Μενελάου καὶ Ὀρέστου παῖς. τὸν δὲ  
 Ὀρέστου νόθον Περθίλον Κιναιῖθων ἔγραψεν ἐν  
 7 τοῖς ἔπεσιν Ἑριγόνην τὴν Αἰγίσθου τεκεῖν. ἐπὶ  
 δὲ τοῦ Τισαμενοῦ τούτου κατίαςιν ἐς Πελοπόν-  
 νησον Ἑρακλεῖδαι, Τήμενος μὲν καὶ Κρεσφόντης  
 Ἀριστομάχου, τοῦ τρίτου δὲ Ἀριστοδήμου προ-  
 τεθνεώτος εἶποντο οἱ παῖδες. Ἄργους μὲν δὴ  
 καὶ τῆς ἐν Ἄργει βασιλείας ὀρθότατα ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν  
 ἡμφισβήτουν, ὅτι ἦν Πελοπίδης ὁ Τισαμενός,  
 οἱ δὲ Ἑρακλεῖδαι τὸ ἀνέκαθεν εἰσι Περσεῖδαι·  
 Τυνδάρειω δὲ καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκπεσόντα ἀπέφαινον ὑπὸ  
 Ἴπποκόωντος, Ἑρακλέα δὲ ἔφασαν ἀποκτείναντα  
 Ἴπποκόωντα καὶ τοὺς παῖδας παρακαταθῆσθαι  
 Τυνδάρειω τὴν χώραν τοιαῦτα δὲ καὶ περὶ τῆς  
 Μεσσηνίας ἕτερα εἶλεγον, παρακαταθήκην Νέ-  
 στορι δοθῆναι καὶ ταύτην ὑπὸ Ἑρακλέους ἐλότος  
 8 Πύλον. ἐκβάλλουσιν οὖν ἐκ μὲν Λακεδαίμονος  
 καὶ Ἄργους Τισαμενόν, ἐκ δὲ τῆς Μεσσηνίας  
 τοὺς Νέστορος ἀπογόνους, Ἀλκμαίωνα Σίλλου  
 τοῦ Θρασυμήδους καὶ Πεισίστρατον τὸν Πεισι-

Argos was seized by Orestes, son of Agamemnon, who was a neighbour. Besides his ancestral dominion, he had extended his rule over the greater part of Arcadia and had succeeded to the throne of Sparta; he also had a contingent of Phocian allies always ready to help him. When Orestes became king of the Lacedaemonians, they themselves consented to accept him; for they considered that the sons of the daughter of Tyndareus had a claim to the throne prior to that of Nicostratus and Megapenthes, who were sons of Menelaus by a slave woman. On the death of Orestes, there succeeded to the throne Tisamenus, the son of Orestes and of Hermione, the daughter of Menelaus. The mother of Penthilus, the bastard son of Orestes, was, according to the poet Cinaethon, Erigone, the daughter of Aegisthus. It was in the reign of this Tisamenus that the Heracleidae returned to the Peloponnesus; they were Temenus and Cresphontes, the sons of Aristomachus, together with the sons of the third brother, Aristodemus, who had died. Their claim to Argos and to the throne of Argos was, in my opinion, most just, because Tisamenus was descended from Pelops, but the Heracleidae were descendants of Perseus. Tyndareus himself, they made out, had been expelled by Hippocoon, and they said that Heracles, having killed Hippocoon and his sons, had given the land in trust to Tyndareus. They gave the same kind of account about Messenia also, that it had been given in trust to Nestor by Heracles after he had taken Pylus. So they expelled Tisamenus from Lacedaemon and Argos, and the descendants of Nestor from Messenia, namely Alcmaeon, son of Sillus, son of Thrasymedes, Peisistratus, son of Peisistratus,



στράτου καὶ τοὺς Παίονος τοῦ Ἀντιλόχου παῖδας, σὺν δὲ αὐτοῖς Μέλανθον τὸν Ἀνδροπόμπου τοῦ Βώρου τοῦ Πενθίλου τοῦ Περικλυμένου. Τισαμενὸς μὲν οὖν ἦλθε σὺν τῇ στρατιᾷ καὶ οἱ παῖδες  
 9 εἰς τὴν νῦν Ἀχαΐαν· οἱ δὲ Νηλεΐδαι πλὴν Πεισι-  
 στράτου—τοῦτον γὰρ οὐκ οἶδα παρ' οὐστῖνας ἀπεχώρησεν—εἰς Ἀθήνας ἀφίκοντο οἱ λοιποί, καὶ τὸ Παιονιδῶν γένος καὶ Ἀλκμαιωνιδῶν ἀπὸ τούτων ὠνομάσθησαν. Μέλανθος δὲ καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἔσχεν ἀφελόμενος Θυμοίτην τὸν Ὀξύντου· Θυμοίτης γὰρ Θησειδῶν ἔσχατος ἐβασίλευσεν Ἀθηναίων.

XIX. Τὰ μὲν οὖν Κρεσφόντου καὶ τῶν Ἀριστοδήμου παίδων οὐκ ἠπειγεν ὁ λόγος με ἐνταῦθα δηλῶσαι· Τήμενος δὲ ἐκ μὲν τοῦ φανεροῦ Δημόφοντι τῷ Ἀντιμάχου τοῦ Θρασυάνορος τοῦ Κτησίππου τοῦ Ἡρακλέους στρατηγῷ πρὸς τὰς μάχας ἐχρήσατο ἀντὶ τῶν νιῶν καὶ σύμβουλον  
 εἰς πάντα εἶχεν, ἅτε αὐτὸν τε ἐκείνους πεποιημένους πρότερον ἔτι γαμβρὸν καὶ τῶν παίδων ἀρεσκόμενος τῇ Ἰρηνῇ μάλιστα, ὑποπτεύετο δὲ ἤδη καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν εἰς ἐκείνην καὶ Δημόφοντιν τρέπειν. ἐπεβουλεύθη δὲ τούτων ἕνεκα ὑπὸ τῶν νιῶν ἐκείνων δὲ αὐτῷ Κείσος πρεσβύτατος ὢν  
 2 ἔσχε τὴν ἀρχήν. Ἀργεῖοι δὲ, ἅτε ἰσηγορίαν καὶ τὸ αὐτόνομον ἀγαπῶντες ἐκ παλαιοτάτου, τὰ τῆς ἐξουσίας τῶν βασιλέων εἰς ἐλάχιστον προήγαγον, ὥς Μήδωνι τῷ Κείσου καὶ τοῖς ἀπογόνοις τὸ ὄνομα λειφθῆναι τῆς βασιλείας μόνον. Μέλανθον δὲ τὸν Λακῆδον δέκατον ἀπύγονον Μήδωνος τὸ παράπαν ἔπαυσεν ἀρχῆς καταγνοῦς ὁ δῆμος.  
 3 Ἀργεῖοις δὲ τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει τὸ ἐπιφανέστατον

and the sons of Paeon, son of Antilochus, and with them Melanthus, son of Andropompus, son of Borus, son of Penthilus, son of Periclymenus. So Tisamenus and his sons went with his army to the land that is now Achaia. To what people Peisistratus retreated I do not know, but the rest of the Neleidae went to Athens, and the clans of the Paeonidae and of the Alemaeonidae were named after them. Melanthus even came to the throne, having deposed Thymoetes the son of Oxyntes; for Thymoetes was the last Athenian king descended from Theseus.

XIX. It is not to my purpose that I should set forth here the history of Cresphontes and of the sons of Aristodemus. But Temenus openly employed, instead of his sons, Deiphontes, son of Antimachus, son of Thrasyanor, son of Ctesippus, son of Heracles, as general in war and as adviser on all occasions. Even before this he had made him his son-in-law, while Hynetho was his favourite daughter; he was accordingly suspected of intending to divert the throne to her and Deiphontes. For this reason his sons plotted against him, and Ceisus, the eldest of them, seized the kingdom. But from the earliest times the Argives have loved freedom and self-government, and they limited to the utmost the authority of their kings, so that to Medon, the son of Ceisus, and to his descendants was left a kingdom that was such only in name. Meltas, the son of Laedas, the tenth descendant of Medon, was condemned by the people and deposed altogether from the kingship.

The most famous building in the city of Argos is

ἐστὶν Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερὸν Λυκίου. τὸ μὲν οὖν  
 ἄγαλμα τὸ ἐφ' ἡμῶν Ἀττάλου ποίημα ἦν  
 Ἀθηναίου, τὸ δὲ ἐξ ἀρχῆς Δαναοῦ καὶ ὁ τοῦ  
 καὶ τὸ ξόανον ἀνάθημα ἦν· ξόανα γὰρ δὴ τότε  
 εἶναι πείθονται πάντα καὶ μάλιστα τὰ Αἰγυπτία.  
 Δαναὸς δὲ ἰδρύσατο Λύκιον Ἀπόλλωνα ἐπ' αἰτία  
 τοιαύτη. παραγενόμενος ἐς τὸ Ἄργος ἡμι-  
 σβήτει πρὸς Γελάνορα τὸν Σθενέλα περὶ τῆς  
 ἀρχῆς. ῥηθέντων δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ δήμου παρ' ἀμ-  
 φοτέρων πολλῶν τε καὶ ἐπαγωγῶν καὶ οὐχ ἥσσαν  
 δίκαια λέγειν τοῦ Γελάνορος δόξαντος, ὁ μὲν δῆ-  
 μος ὑπερέθετο—φασὶν—ἐς τὴν ἐπιούσαν κρίνειν·  
 4 ἀρχομένης δὲ ἡμέρας ἐς βοῶν ἀγέλην νεμομένην  
 πρὸ τοῦ τείχους ἐσπίπτει λύκος, προσπεσὼν δὲ  
 ἐμάχετο πρὸς ταῦρον ἡγεμόνα τῶν βοῶν. παρί-  
 σταται δὴ τοῖς Ἀργείοις τῷ μὲν Γελάνορα.  
 Δαναὸν δὲ εἰκάσαι τῷ λύκῳ, ὅτι οὔτε τὸ θηρίον  
 τοῦτό ἐστιν ἀνθρώποις σύντροφον οὔτε Δαναὸς  
 σφισιν ἐς ἐκεῖνο τοῦ χρόνου. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸν ταῦρον  
 κατειργάσατο ὁ λύκος, διὰ τοῦτο ὁ Δαναὸς ἔσχε  
 τὴν ἀρχήν. οὕτω δὲ νομίζων Ἀπόλλωνα ἐπὶ  
 τὴν ἀγέλην ἐπαγαγεῖν τῶν βοῶν τὸν λύκον,  
 5 ἰδρύσατο Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερὸν Λυκίου. ἐνταῦθα  
 ἀνάκειται μὲν θρόνος Δαναοῦ, κεῖται δὲ εἰκὼν  
 Βίτωνος, ἀνὴρ ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων φέρων ταῦρον· ὡς  
 δὲ Λυκέας ἐποίησεν, ἐς Νεμέαν Ἀργείων ἀγόντων  
 θυσίαν τῷ Διὶ ὁ Βίτων ὑπὸ ῥώμης τε καὶ ἰσχύος  
 ταῦρον ἀράμενος ἤνεγκεν. ἐξῆς δὲ τῆς εἰκόνος  
 ταύτης πῦρ καίουσιν ὀνομάζοντες Φορωνέως εἶναι·  
 οὐ γάρ τι ὁμολογοῦσι δοῦναι πῦρ Προμηθεῖ  
 ἀνθρώποις, ἀλλὰ ἐς Φορωνέα τοῦ πυρὸς μετὰγειν

the sanctuary of Apollo Lycius (*Wolf-god*). The modern image was made by the Athenian Attalus,<sup>1</sup> at the original temple and wooden image were the suffering of Danaus. I am of opinion that in those days all images, especially Egyptian images, were made of wood. The reason why Danaus founded a sanctuary of Apollo Lycius was this. On coming to Argos he claimed the kingdom against Gelanor, the son of Sthenelas. Many plausible arguments were brought forward by both parties, and those of Sthenelas were considered as fair as those of his opponent; the people, who were sitting in judgment, put off, they say, the decision to the following day. At dawn a wolf fell upon a herd of oxen that was pasturing before the wall, and attacked and fought with the bull that was the leader of the herd. It occurred to the Argives that Gelanor was like the bull and Danaus like the wolf; for as the wolf will not live with men, so Danaus up to that time had not lived with them. It was because the wolf overcame the bull that Danaus won the kingdom. Accordingly, believing that Apollo had brought the wolf on the herd, he founded a sanctuary of Apollo Lycius. Here is dedicated the throne of Danaus, and here is placed a statue of Biton, in the form of a man carrying a bull on his shoulders. According to the poet Lyceas, when the Argives were holding a sacrifice to Zeus at Nemea, Biton by sheer physical strength took up a bull and carried it there. Next to this statue is a fire which they keep burning, calling it the fire of Phoroneus. For they do not admit that fire was given to mankind by Prometheus, but insist in assigning the discovery of fire to

<sup>1</sup> A sculptor of unknown date.



6 ἐθέλουσι τὴν εὔρεσιν. τὰ δὲ ξόανα Ἀφροδίτῃ  
 καὶ Ἑρμοῦ, τὸ μὲν Ἑπειοῦ λέγουσιν ἔργον εἶναι  
 τὸ δὲ Ὑπερμήστρας ἀνάθημα. ταύτην γὰρ τῆς  
 θυγατέρων μόνην τὸ πρόσταγμα ὑπερίδοις  
 ὑπήγαγεν ὁ Δαναὸς εἰς δικαστήριον, τοῦ  
 Λυγέως οὐκ ἀκίνδυνον αὐτῷ τὴν σωτηρίαν ἦρ-  
 μενος καὶ ὅτι τοῦ τολμήματος οὐ μετασχοί-  
 ταῖς ἀδελφαῖς καὶ τῷ βουλευσάντι τὸ ὄναι  
 ἡὔξησε. κριθεῖσα δὲ ἐν τοῖς Ἀργείοις ἀποφεί-  
 τε καὶ Ἀφροδίτῃ ἐπὶ τῷδε ἀνέθηκε Νικηφί-  
 7 τοῦ ναοῦ δὲ ἐστὶν ἐντὸς Λάδας ποδῶν ὠκί-  
 ὑπερβαλλόμενος τοὺς ἐφ' αὐτοῦ καὶ Ἑρμῆς ἐς  
 ρας ποίησιν χελώνην ἥρηκώς. ἐστὶ δὲ ἔμπρο-  
 τοῦ ναοῦ βόθρος<sup>1</sup> πεποιημένα ἐν τύπῳ τῆς  
 μάχης ἔχων καὶ λύκου, σὺν δὲ αὐτοῖς παρθε-  
 νάφιείσαν πέτραν ἐπὶ τὸν ταῦρον Ἀρτεμιν  
 νομίζουσι τὴν παρθένον. Δαναὸς δὲ ταύτῃ  
 ἀνέθηκε καὶ πλησίον κίονας καὶ Διὸς καὶ Ἀ-  
 μιδος ξόανον.

8 Τάφοι δὲ εἰσιν ὁ μὲν Λίνου τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος  
 καὶ Ψαμάθης τῆς Κροτώπου, τὸν δὲ λέγου-  
 εῖναι Λίνου τοῦ ποιήσαντος τὰ ἔπη. τὰ μὲν  
 ἐς τοῦτον οἰκειότερα ὄντα ἐτέρῳ λόγῳ πα-  
 τῷδε, τὰ δὲ ἐς τὸν Ψαμάθης ἢ Μεγαρικῇ  
 συγγραφῇ προεδήλωσεν. / ἐπὶ τούτοις  
 Ἀπόλλων Ἀγνιεύς καὶ βωμὸς Τετίου  
 ἔνθα οἱ συσπένδοντες Πολυνείκει τὴν ἐς Θ-  
 κάθοδον ἀποθανεῖσθαι συνώμοσαν, ἣν μὴ

<sup>1</sup> See the footnote on the opposite page.

# CORINTH, XIX. 5-8

oneus. As to the wooden images of Aphrodite and Hermes, the one they say was made by Epeus, the other is a votive offering of Hyperestra. She was the only one of the daughters of Danaus who neglected his command,<sup>1</sup> and was accordingly brought to justice by him, because he considered that his life was in danger so long as Pegeus was at large, and that the refusal to share the crime of her sisters increased the disgrace of her contriver of the deed. On her trial she was acquitted by the Argives, and to commemorate her escape she dedicated an image of Aphrodite, the goddess of Victory. Within the temple is a statue of Pegeus, the swiftest runner of his time, and one of Hermes with a tortoise which he has caught to make a lyre. Before the temple is a pit<sup>2</sup> with a relief representing a fight between a bull and a wolf, and with them a maiden throwing a rock at the bull. The maiden is thought to be Artemis. Danaus dedicated these, and some pillars hard by the wooden images of Zeus and Artemis.

There are graves; one is that of Linus, the son of Erichon, killed by Psamathe, the daughter of Crotopus; the other, they say, is that of Linus the poet. The story of the latter Linus is more appropriate to another part of my narrative, and so I omit it here, while I have already given the history of the son of Psamathe in my account of Megara. After these is an image of Apollo, God of Streets, and an altar of Zeus, God of Rain, where those who were helping Polyneices in his efforts to be restored to Thebes swore an oath together that they would either capture Thebes

To kill their husbands.

Or (reading βάθρον πεποιημένην and ἔχον) "pedestal."

Θήβας γένηται σφισιν ἐλεῖν. ἐς δὲ τοῦ Προμηθεῶς τὸ μῆμα ἦσσόν μοι δοκοῦσιν Ὀπουντίω εἰκότα λέγειν, λέγουσι δὲ ὅμως.

XX. Παρέντι δὲ Κρεῦγα τε εἰκόνα ἀνδρὸς πύκτου καὶ τρόπαιον ἐπὶ Κορινθίοις ἀνασταθῆναι, ἄγαλμά ἐστι καθήμενον Διὸς Μειλιχίου, λίθου λευκοῦ, Πολυκλείτου δὲ ἔργον. ποιηθῆναι δὲ ἐπυνθανόμην αὐτὸ ἐπ' αἰτία τοιαύτη. Λακεδαιμονίοις πολεμεῖν πρὸς Ἀργεῖους ἀρξαμένοι, οὐδεμία ἦν ἐτι ἀπαλλαγή, πρὶν ἢ Φίλιππος σφᾶς ἠνάγκασεν ὁ Ἀμύντου μένειν ἐπὶ τοῖς καθεστηκόσιν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὅροις τῆς χώρας. τὸν δὲ ἔμπροσθεν χρόνον οἱ Λακεδαιμονιοὶ μηδὲν ἐξ Πελοποννήσου περιεργαζόμενοι τῆς Ἀργείας αἰετὶ ἀπετέμνοντο, ἢ οἱ Ἀργεῖοι τετραμμένων πρὸς πόλεμον ἐκείνων ὑπερόριον ἐν τῷ τοιοῦτῳ καὶ  
 2 αὐτοὶ σφισιν ἐνέκειντο. προηγμένου δὲ ἀμφοτέροις ἐς ἄκρον τοῦ μίσους ἔδοξεν Ἀργείοις λογάδας τρέφειν χιλίους· ἡγεμῶν δὲ ἐτέτακτο ἐπ' αὐτοῖς Βρύας Ἀργεῖος, ὃς ἄλλα τε ἐς ἀνδρα ὕβρισε τοῦ δήμου καὶ παρθένον κομιζομένην παρὰ τὸν νυμφίον ἥσχυεν ἀφελόμενος τοὺς ἄγοντας. ἐπιλαβούσης δὲ τῆς νυκτὸς τυφλοῖ τὸν Βρύαντα ἢ παῖς φυλάξασα ὑπνωμένον· φωραθεῖσα δὲ ὅς ἐπέσχεν ἡμέρα, κατέφυγεν ἰκέτις ἐς τὸν δῆμον. οἱ προεμένων δὲ αὐτῇ τιμωρησασθαι τοῖς χιλίοις καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου προαχθέντων ἐς μάχην ἀμφοτέρων, κρατοῦσιν οἱ τοῦ δήμου, κρατήσαντες δὲ οὐδένα ὑπὸ τοῦ θυμοῦ τῶν ἐναντίων ἔλιπον. ὕστερον δὲ ἄλλα τε ἐπηγάγοντο καθάρσια αἰετὶ ἐπὶ αἵματι ἐμφυλῖν καὶ ἄγαλμα ἀνέθηκεν Μειλιχίου Διός.

or die. As to the tomb of Prometheus, their account seems to me to be less probable than that of the Opuntians,<sup>1</sup> but they hold to it nevertheless.

XX. Passing over a statue of Creugas, a boxer, and a trophy that was set up to celebrate a victory over the Corinthians, you come to a seated image of Zeus Meilichius (*Gracious*), made of white marble by Polycleitus. I discovered that it was made for the following reason. Ever since the Lacedaemonians began to make war upon the Argives there was no cessation of hostilities until Philip, the son of Amyntas, forced them to stay within the original boundaries of their territories. Before this, if the Lacedaemonians were not engaged on some business outside the Peloponnesus, they were always trying to annex a piece of Argive territory; or if they were busied with a war beyond their borders it was the turn of the Argives to retaliate. When the hatred of both sides was at its height, the Argives resolved to maintain a thousand picked men. The commander appointed over them was the Argive Bryas. His general behaviour to the men of the people was violent, and a maiden who was being taken to the bridegroom he seized from those who were escorting her and ravished. When night came on, the girl waited until he was asleep and put out his eyes. Detected in the morning, she took refuge as a suppliant with the people. When they did not give her up to the Thousand for punishment both sides took up arms; the people won the day, and in their anger left none of their opponents alive. Subsequently they had recourse to purifications for shedding kindred blood; among other things they dedicated an image of Zeus Meilichius.

c. 480-  
410 B.C.

418 B.C.

<sup>1</sup> i.e. both peoples claimed to have the grave.



- 3 Πλησίον δὲ εἰσιν ἐπειργασμένοι λίθῳ Κλέοβις  
καὶ Βίτων αὐτοὶ τε ἔλκοντες τὴν ἄμαξαν καὶ ἐπ'  
αὐτῇ ἄγοντες τὴν μητέρα εἰς τὸ Ἑραῖον. τούτων  
δὲ ἀπαντικρὺ Νεμείου Διὸς ἐστὶν ἱερόν, ἄγαλμα  
ὄρθρον χαλκοῦν, τέχνη Λυσίππου. μετὰ δὲ αὐτὸ  
προελθοῦσιν ἐν δεξιᾷ Φορωνέως τάφος ἐστὶν  
ἐναγίζουσι δὲ καὶ εἰς ἡμᾶς ἔτι τῷ Φορωνεῖ. πέραν  
δὲ τοῦ Νεμείου Διὸς Τύχης ἐστὶν ἐκ παλαιοτάτου  
ναός, εἰ δὴ Παλαμήδης κύβους εὐρῶν ἀνέθηκεν εἰς  
4 τοῦτον τὸν ναόν. τὸ δὲ μνῆμα τὸ πλησίον  
Χορείας μαινάδος ὀνομάζουσι, Διουύσῳ λέγοντες  
καὶ ἄλλας γυναῖκας καὶ ταύτην εἰς Ἄργος  
συστρατεύσασθαι, Περσέα δέ, ὡς ἐκράτει τῆς  
μάχης, φονεῦσαι τῶν γυναικῶν τὰς πολλὰς· τὰς  
μὲν οὖν λοιπὰς θύπτουσιν ἐν κοινῷ, ταύτῃ δὲ—  
ἀξιῷματι γὰρ δὴ προεῖχεν—ιδίᾳ τὸ μνῆμα ἐποί-  
5 ησαν. ἀπωτέρω δὲ ὀλίγον Ὠρῶν ἱερόν ἐστιν.  
ἐπανιόντι δὲ ἐκείθεν ἀνδριάντες ἐστήκασι Πολυ-  
νείκους τοῦ Οἰδίποδος καὶ ὅσοι σὺν ἐκείνῳ τῶν  
ἐν τέλει πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος μαχόμενοι τὸ Θηβαίων  
ἐτελεύτησαν. τούτους τοὺς ἄνδρας εἰς μόνων  
ἐπτά ἀριθμὸν κατήγαγεν Αἰσχύλος, πλειόνων ἐκ  
τε Ἄργους ἡγεμόνων καὶ Μεσσηνίας καὶ τινῶν καὶ  
Ἀρκάδων στρατευσαμένων. τούτων δὲ τῶν ἐπτά  
—ἐπηκολουθήκασι γὰρ καὶ Ἀργεῖοι τῇ Αἰσχύλῳ  
ποιήσει—πλησίον κείνται καὶ οἱ τὰς Θήβας  
ἐλόντες Αἰγιαλεὺς Ἀδράστου καὶ Πρόμαχος ὁ  
Παρθενοπαίου τοῦ Ταλαοῦ καὶ Πολύδωρος ὁ Ἰπ-  
πομέδοντος καὶ Θέρσανδρος καὶ οἱ Ἀμφιαράου  
παῖδες, Ἀλκμαίων τε καὶ Ἀμφίλοχος, Διομήδης  
τε καὶ Σθένελος· παρῇν δὲ ἔτι καὶ ἐπὶ τούτων

ard by are Cleobis and Biton carved in relief  
stone, themselves drawing the carriage and  
ing in it their mother to the sanctuary of Hera.  
posite them is a sanctuary of Nemean Zeus, and  
upright bronze statue of the god made by  
ppus.<sup>1</sup> Going forward from this you see on the  
at the grave of Phoroneus, to whom even in our  
e they bring offerings as to a hero. Over against  
Nemean Zeus is a temple of Fortune, which must  
very old if it be the one in which Palamedes  
licated the dice that he had invented. The  
ub near this they call that of the maenad Choreia,  
ying that she was one of the women who joined  
Dionysus in his expedition against Argos, and that  
Perseus, being victorious in the battle, put most of  
he women to the sword. To the rest they gave a  
common grave, but to Choreia they gave burial apart  
because of her high rank. A little farther on is a  
sanctuary of the Seasons. On coming back from here  
you see statues of Polyneices, the son of Oedipus,  
and of all the chieftains who with him were killed  
in battle at the wall of Thebes. These men Aeschylus  
has reduced to the number of seven only, although  
there were more chiefs than this in the expedition,  
from Argos, from Messene, with some even from  
Arcadia. But the Argives have adopted the number  
even from the drama of Aeschylus, and near to  
their statues are the statues of those who took  
Thebes: Aegialeus, son of Adrastus; Promachus,  
son of Parthenopaeus, son of Talaus; Polydorus,  
son of Hippomedon; Thersander; Alcmaeon and  
Amphilochus, the sons of Amphiaras; Diomedes,  
and Sthenelus. Among their company were also

<sup>1</sup> See p. 297.

- Εὐρύαλος Μηκιστέως καὶ Πολυνείκους Ἀδραστος  
 6 καὶ Τιμέας. τῶν δὲ ἀνδριάντων οὐ πόρρω δέ-  
 κνται Δαναοῦ μνήμα καὶ Ἀργείων τάφος κενὸς  
 ὁπόσους ἐν τε Ἰλίῳ καὶ ὀπίσω κομιζομένους ἐπέ-  
 λαβεν ἡ τελευτή. καὶ Διὸς ἐστὶν ἐνταῦθα ἱερὸν  
 Σωτήρος καὶ παριούσιν ἐστὶν οἶκημα· ἐνταῦθα  
 τὸν Ἀδωνιν αἱ γυναῖκες Ἀργείων οὐδύρονται. || ἐν  
 δεξιᾷ δὲ τῆς ἐσόδου τῷ Κηφισῷ πεποιήται τὸ  
 ἱερὸν· τῷ δὲ ποταμῷ τούτῳ τὸ ὕδωρ φασὶν οὐ  
 καθάπαξ ὑπὸ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος ἀφανισθῆναι, ἀλλὰ  
 ἐνταῦθα δὴ μάλιστα, ἐνθα καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ἐστι,  
 7 συνιᾶσιν ὑπὸ γῆν ῥέοντος. παρὰ δὲ τὸ ἱερὸν  
 τοῦ Κηφισοῦ Μεδούσης λίθου πεποιημένη κε-  
 φαλή· Κυκλώπων φασὶν εἶναι καὶ τοῦτο ἔργον.  
 τὸ δὲ χωρίον τὸ ὀπισθεν καὶ ἐς τόδε Κριτήριον  
 ὀνομάζουσιν, Ὑπερμήστραν ἐνταῦθα ὑπὸ Δαναοῦ  
 κριθῆναι λέγοντες. τούτου δὲ ἐστὶν οὐ πόρρω  
 θέατρον· ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἄλλα θεᾶς ἄξια καὶ ἀνὴρ  
 φονεύων ἐστὶν ἄνδρα, Ὁθρυνάδαν τὸν Σπαρτιάτην  
 Περίλαος Ἀργεῖος ὁ Ἀλκήμερος· Περίλαῳ δὲ  
 τούτῳ καὶ πρότερον ἔτι ὑπῆρχε Νεμείων ἀνὴρ ῥή-  
 σθαι νίκην παλαίοντι.  
 8 Ὑπὲρ δὲ τὸ θέατρον Ἀφροδίτης ἐστὶν ἱερὸν,  
 ἔμπροσθεν δὲ τοῦ ἔδους Τελέσιλλα ἡ ποιήσασα  
 τὰ ὄσματα ἐπείργασται στήλῃ· καὶ βιβλία μὲν  
 ἐκεῖνα ἔρριπται οἱ πρὸς τοῖς ποσίν, αὐτὴ δὲ ἐς  
 κράνος ὁρᾷ κατέχουσα τῇ χειρὶ καὶ ἐπιτίθεσθαι  
 τῇ κεφαλῇ μέλλουσα. ἦν δὲ ἡ Τελέσιλλα καὶ  
 ἄλλως ἐν ταῖς γυναῖξιν εὐδόκιμος καὶ μᾶλλον  
 ἐτιμᾶτο ἔτι ἐπὶ τῇ ποιήσει. συμβάντος δὲ Ἀρ-  
 γείους ἀτυχῆσαι λόγου μεζόνως πρὸς Κλεομένην  
 τὸν Ἀναξανδρίδου καὶ Λακεδαιμονίου, καὶ τῶν

Euryalus, son of Meeisteus, and Adrastus and Timeas, sons of Polyneices. Not far from the statues are shown the tomb of Danaus and a cenotaph of the Argives who met their death at Troy or on the journey home. Here there is also a sanctuary of Zeus the Saviour. Beyond it is a building where the Argive women bewail Adonis. On the right of the entrance is the sanctuary of Cephisus. It is said that the water of this river was not utterly destroyed by Poseidon, but that just in this place, where the sanctuary is, it can be heard flowing under the earth. Beside the sanctuary of Cephisus is a head of Medusa made of stone, which is said to be another of the works of the Cyclopes. The ground behind it is called even at the present time the Place of Judgment, because it was here that they say Hypermnestra was brought to judgment by Danaus. Not far from this is a theatre. In it are some noteworthy sights, including a representation of a man killing another, namely the Argive Perilaus, the son of Alecnor, killing the Spartan Othryadas. Before this, Perilaus had succeeded in winning the prize for wrestling at the Nemean games.

Above the theatre is a sanctuary of Aphrodite, and before the image is a slab with a representation wrought on it in relief of Telesilla, the lyric poetess. Her books lie scattered at her feet, and she herself holds in her hand an helmet, which she is looking at and is about to place on her head. Telesilla was a distinguished woman who was especially renowned for her poetry. It happened that the Argives had suffered an awful defeat at the hands of Cleomenes, the son of Anaxandrides, and



- μὲν ἐν αὐτῇ πεπτωκότων τῇ μάχῃ, ὅσοι δὲ ἐς τὸ ἄλλος τοῦ Ἄργου κατέφευγον διαφθαρέντων καὶ τούτων, τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἐξιόντων κατὰ ὁμολογίαν, ὥς δὲ ἔγνωσαν ἀπατῶμενοι συγκατακαυθέντων τῷ ἄλλει τῶν λοιπῶν, οὕτω τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους Κλεομένης ἤγεον ἐπὶ ἔρημον ἀνδρῶν τὸ Ἄργος.
- 9 Τελέσιλλα δὲ οἰκέτας μὲν καὶ ὅσοι διὰ νεότητος ἢ γῆρας ὄπλα ἀδύνατοι φέρειν ἦσαν, τούτους μὲν πάντας ἀνεβίβασεν ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος, αὐτὴ δὲ ὅπασα ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις ὑπελείπετο καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν ὄπλα ἀθροίσασα τὰς ἀκμαζούσας ἡλικίας τῶν γυναικῶν ὥπλιζεν, ὀπλίσασα δὲ ἔτασσε κατὰ τοῦτο ἢ τοὺς πολεμίους προσιόντας ἠπίστατο. ὥς δὲ ἐγγὺς ἐγίνοντο οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες οὕτε τῷ ἀλαλαγμῷ κατεπλάγησαν δεξιμέναι τε ἐμάχοντο ἐρρωμένως, ἐνταῦθα οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, φρονήσαντες ὥς καὶ διαφθείρασί σφισι τὰς γυναῖκας ἐπιφθόνως τὸ κατόρθωμα ἔξει καὶ σφαλεῖσι μετὰ ὀνειδῶν γενήσοιτο ἢ συμφορᾷ.
- 10 ὑπέκουσι ταῖς γυναιξί. πρότερον δὲ ἐτι τὸν ἀγῶνα τοῦτον προεσήμηνεν ἡ Πυθία, καὶ τὸ λόγιον εἶτε ἄλλως εἶτε καὶ ὥς συνεῖς ἐδήλωσεν Ἡρόδοτος·

ἀλλ' ὅταν ἡ θήλεια τὸν ἄρρενα νικήσασα  
ἐξελάσῃ καὶ κῦδος ἐν Ἀργείοισιν ἄρῃται,  
πολλὰς Ἀργείων ἀμφιδρυφέας τότε θήσει.

Τὰ μὲν ἐς τὸ ἔργον τῶν γυναικῶν ἔχοντα τοῦ χρησμοῦ ταῦτα ἦν· XXI. κατελθοῦσι δὲ ἐν τεύθειν καὶ τραπέειν αὐθις ἐπὶ τὴν ἀγοράν, ἔστι

the Lacedaemonians. Some fell in the actual fighting; others, who had fled to the grove of Argus, also perished. At first they left sanctuary under an agreement, which was treacherously broken, and the survivors, when they realized this, were burnt to death in the grove. So when Cleomenes led his troops to Argos there were no men to defend it. But Telesilla mounted on the wall all the slaves and such as were incapable of bearing arms through youth or old age, and she herself, collecting the arms in the sanctuaries and those that were left in the houses, armed the women of vigorous age, and then posted them where she knew the enemy would attack. When the Lacedaemonians came on, the women were not dismayed at their battle-cry, but stood their ground and fought valiantly. Then the Lacedaemonians, realizing that to destroy the women would be an invidious success while defeat would mean a shameful disaster, gave way before the women. This fight had been foretold by the Pythian priestess in the oracle quoted by Herodotus,<sup>1</sup> who perhaps understood to what it referred and perhaps did not:—

‘But when the time shall come that the female  
conquers in battle,  
Driving away the male, and wins great glory in  
Argos,  
Many an Argive woman will tear both cheeks in  
her sorrow.”

Such are the words of the oracle referring to the exploit of the women. XXI. Having descended thence, and having turned again to the

<sup>1</sup> vi. 77.

μὲν Κερδοῦς Φορωνέως γυναικὸς μνήμα, ἐπὶ  
 ναὸς Ἀσκληπιοῦ. τὸ δὲ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος  
 ἐπὶ κλησὶν Πειθοῦς, Ὑπερμήστρα καὶ τοῦτο  
 ἦκε νικήσασα τῇ δίκῃ τὸν πατέρα ἦν τοῦ  
 κέως ἔνεκα ἔφυγε. καὶ Αἰνείου ἐνταῦθα χαλκῶ  
 ἀνδριάς ἐστι καὶ χωρίου καλούμενον Δέλτα·  
 ὅτῳ δέ—οὐ γάρ μοι τὰ λεγόμενα ἤρεσκεν—, ἐπὶ  
 2 παρήμῳ. πρὸ δὲ αὐτοῦ πεποιήται Διὸς Φυβί  
 βῆμος καὶ πλησίον Ὑπερμήστρας μνήμα Ἀμφι  
 ράου μητρός, τὸ δὲ ἕτερον Ὑπερμήστρας τῆς  
 Δαναοῦ· σὺν δὲ αὐτῇ καὶ Λυγκεὺς τέταπτος  
 τούτων δὲ ἀπαντικρὺ Ταλαοῦ τοῦ Βιάντος ἐστὶ  
 3 τάφος· τὰ δὲ ἐς Βιάντα καὶ ἀπογόνους τοῦ Βιάν  
 τος ἤδη λέλεκται μοι. Ἀθηναῖς δὲ ἰδρύσασθαι  
 Σάλπιγγος ἱερὸν φασὶν Ἠγέλεων. Τυρσηνοῦ δὲ  
 τούτου τὸν Ἠγέλεων, τὸν δὲ Ἡρακλέους εἶναι  
 καὶ γυναικὸς λέγουσι τῆς Λυδῆς, Τυρσηνὸν δὲ  
 σάλπιγγα εὔρεῖν πρῶτον, Ἠγέλεων δὲ τὸν Τυρ  
 σηνοῦ διδάξαι τοὺς σὺν Τημένῳ Δωριέας τοῦ  
 ὀργάνου τὸν ψόφον καὶ δι' αὐτὸ Ἀθηναῖν ἐπονο  
 μάσαι Σάλπιγγα. πρὸ δὲ τοῦ ναοῦ τῆς Ἀθηναῖς  
 Ἐπιμενίδου λέγουσιν εἶναι τάφον· Λακεδαιμονί  
 οὺς γὰρ πολεμήσαντας πρὸς Κνωσσίους ἐλεῖν  
 ζῶντα Ἐπιμενίδην, λαβόντας δὲ ἀποκτεῖναι,  
 4 διότι σφίσιν οὐκ αἴσια ἐμαντεύετο, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἀνε  
 λυκοῦ λίθου κατὰ μέσον μάλιστα τῆς ἀγορᾶς οὐ  
 τρόπαιον ἐπὶ Πύρρῳ τῷ Ἠπειρώτῃ, καθὰ λέ  
 γουσιν οἱ Ἀργεῖοι, καθέντος δὲ ἐνταῦθα τοῦ  
 νεκροῦ μνήμα καὶ τοῦτο ἂν εὔροι τις, ἐν ᾧ τὰ τε  
 ἄλλα ὅσοις ὁ Πύρρος ἐχρήτο ἐς τὰς μάχας καὶ οἱ

market-place, we come to the tomb of Cerdo, the wife of Phoroneus, and to a temple of Aesclepius. The sanctuary of Artemis, surnamed Persuasion, is another offering of Hypermnestra after winning the trial to which she was brought by her father because of Lynceus. Here there is also a bronze statue of Aeneas, and a place called Delta. I intentionally do not discuss the origin of the name, because I could not accept the traditional accounts. In front of it stands an altar of Zeus Phyxius (*God of Flight*), and near is the tomb of Hypermnestra, the mother of Amphiaras, the other tomb being that of Hypermnestra, the daughter of Danaus, with whom is also buried Lynceus. Opposite these is the grave of Talaus, the son of Bias; the history of Bias and his descendants I have already given. A sanctuary of Athena Trumpet they say was founded by Hegeleos. This Hegeleos, according to the story, was the son of Tyrsenus, and Tyrsenus was the son of Heracles and the Lydian woman; Tyrsenus invented the trumpet, and Hegeleos, the son of Tyrsenus, taught the Dorians with Temenus how to play the instrument, and for this reason gave Athena the surname Trumpet. Before the temple of Athena is, they say, the grave of Epimenides. The Argive story is that the Lacedaemonians made war upon the Cnossians and took Epimenides alive; they then put him to death for not prophesying good luck to them, and the Argives taking his body buried it here. The building of white marble in just about the middle of the market-place is not, as the Argives declare, a trophy in honour of a victory over Pyrrhus of Epeirus, but it can be shown that his body was burnt here, and that this is his monument, on which are carved in relief



PAUSANIAS: DESCRIPTION OF GREECE

ἐλέφαντες εἰσιν ἐπειρογασμένοι. τοῦτο μὲν  
κατὰ τὴν πυρὰν τὸ οἰκοδόμημα ἐγένετο· ἀπὸ  
κεῖται τοῦ Πύρρου τὰ ὅσα ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῆς  
μητρος, παρ' ᾧ συμβῆναι οἱ καὶ τὴν τελευτὴν  
ἐδήλωσα ἐν τῇ Ἀτθίδι συγγραφῇ. τοῦ δὲ  
Δήμητρος ἱεροῦ τούτου κατὰ τὴν ἔσοδον ἀσπίδα  
ἰδεῖν Πύρρου χαλκὴν ἔστιν ὑπὲρ τῶν θυρῶν  
ἀνακειμένην.  
5 Τοῦ δὲ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ τῶν Ἀργείων οἰκοδομη-  
ματος οὐ μακρὰν χώμα γῆς ἔστιν· ἐν δὲ αὐτῇ  
κεῖσθαι τὴν Μεδουσης λέγουσι τῆς Γοργωνίδος  
κεφαλὴν. ἀπόντος δὲ τοῦ μύθου τάδε ἄλλα εἰ-  
αὐτὴν ἔστιν εἰρημένα· Φόρκου μὲν θυγατέρα  
εἶναι, τελευτήσαντος δὲ οἱ τοῦ πατρὸς βασιλεύειν  
τῶν περὶ τὴν λίμνην τὴν Τριτανίδα οἰκοῦντων  
καὶ ἐπὶ θήραν τε ἐξίεναι καὶ ἐς τὰς μάχας ἰγεί-  
σθαι τοῖς Λίβυσι· καὶ δὴ καὶ τότε ἀντικαθημένην  
στρατῷ πρὸς τὴν Περσέως δύναμιν—ἐπεσθαι γὰρ  
καὶ τῷ Περσεὶ λογάδας ἐκ Πελοποννήσου—  
δολοφονηθῆναι νύκτωρ, καὶ τὸν Περσέα τὸ καλ-  
λος ἔτι καὶ ἐπὶ νεκρῷ θαυμάζοντα οὕτω τὴν  
κεφαλὴν ἀποτεμόντα αὐτῆς ἀγειν τοῖς Ἑλλησιν  
6 ἐς ἐπίδειξιν. Καρχηδονίῳ δὲ ἀνδρὶ Προκλεί τῷ  
Εὐκράτους ἑτεροῦ λόγος· οὗδε ἐφαίνεται εἶναι τοῦ  
προτέρου πιθανώτερος. Λιβύης ἡ ἔρημος καὶ  
ἄλλα παρέχεται θηρία ἀκούσασιν οὐ πιστὰ καὶ  
ἄνδρες ἐνταῦθα ἄγριοι καὶ ἄγριαί γίνονται γυναῖ-  
κες· ἔλεγέ τε ὁ Προκλῆς ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἄνδρα ἰδεῖν  
κομισθέντα ἐς Ῥώμην. εἵκαζεν οὖν πλανηθεῖσαν  
γυναῖκα ἐκ τούτων καὶ ἀφικομένην ἐπὶ τὴν λίμνην  
τὴν Τριτανίδα λυμαίνεσθαι τοὺς προσοίκους, ἐς δὲ  
Περσεὺς ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτήν· Ἀθηναίαν δὲ οἱ συν-

the elephants and his other instruments of warfare. This building then was set up where the pyre stood, but the bones of Pyrrhus lie in the sanctuary of Demeter, beside which, as I have shown in my account of Attica, his death occurred. At the entrance to this sanctuary of Demeter you can see a bronze shield of Pyrrhus hanging dedicated over the door.

Not far from the building in the market-place of Argos is a mound of earth, in which they say lies the head of the Gorgon Medusa. I omit the miraculous, but give the rational parts of the story about her. After the death of her father, Phorcus, she reigned over those living around Lake Tritonis, going out hunting and leading the Libyans to battle. On one such occasion, when she was encamped with an army over against the forces of Perseus, who was followed by picked troops from the Peloponnesus, she was assassinated by night. Perseus, admiring her beauty even in death, cut off her head and carried it to show the Greeks. But Procles, the son of Eucrates, a Carthaginian, thought a different account more plausible than the preceding. It is as follows. Among the incredible monsters to be found in the Libyan desert are wild men and wild women. Procles affirmed that he had seen a man from them who had been brought to Rome. So he guessed that a woman wandered from them, reached Lake Tritonis, and harried the neighbours until Perseus killed her; Athena was supposed to have helped him in this

ἐπιλαβέσθαι δοκεῖν τοῦ ἔργου, ὅτι οἱ περὶ τὴν  
 λίμνην τὴν Τριτωνίδα ἄνθρωποι ταύτης εἰσὶν  
 7 ἱεροί. ἐν δὲ Ἀργεὶ παρὰ τοῦτο δὴ τὸ μνήμα τῆς  
 Γοργόνης Γοργοφόνης τάφος ἐστὶ τῆς Περσέως.  
 καὶ ἐφ' ὅτῳ μὲν αὐτῇ τὸ ὄνομα ἐτέθη, δῆλον εὐθὺς  
 ἀκούσαντι· γυναικῶν δὲ πρῶτην αὐτὴν φασὶ τε-  
 λευτήσαντος τοῦ ἀνδρὸς Περιήρους τοῦ Λιόλου—  
 τούτῳ γὰρ παρθένος συμφέκασε—, τὴν δὲ αὖθις  
 Οἰβάλῳ γήμασθαι πρότερον δὲ καθεστήκει ταῖς  
 8 γυναιξίν ἐπὶ ἀνδρὶ ἀποθανόντι χηρεῦειν. τοῦ  
 τάφου δὲ ἔμπροσθεν τρόπαιον λίθου πεποίηται  
 κατὰ ἀνδρὸς Ἀργείου Λαφάου· τοῦτον γὰρ—  
 γράφω δὲ ὅποσα λέγουσιν αὐτοὶ περὶ σφῶν  
 Ἀργεῖοι—τυραννοῦντα ἐξέβαλεν ἐπαναστὰς ὁ  
 δῆμος, φνυγόντα δὲ ἐς Σπάρτην Λακεδαιμόνιοι  
 κατάνειν ἐπειρῶντο ἐπὶ τυραννίδι, νικήσαντες δὲ  
 οἱ Ἀργεῖοι τῇ μάχῃ Λαφάν τε καὶ τῶν Λακε-  
 δαιμονίων τοὺς πολλοὺς ἀπέκτειναν.

Τὸ δὲ ἱερὸν τῆς Λητοῦς ἐστὶ μὲν οὐ μακρὰν τοῦ  
 9 τροπαίου, τέχνη δὲ τὸ ἄγαλμα Πραξιτέλους. τὴν  
 δὲ εἰκόνα παρὰ τῇ θεῷ τῆς παρθένου Χλωρίν  
 ὀνομάζουσι, Νιόβης μὲν θυγατέρα εἶναι λέγοντες.  
 Μελίβοιαν δὲ καλεῖσθαι τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀπολλυ-  
 μένων δὲ ὑπὸ Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος τῶν  
 Ἀμφίονος παίδων περιγενέσθαι μόνην τῶν ἀδελ-  
 φῶν ταύτην καὶ Ἀμύκλαν, περιγενέσθαι δὲ εὖζα-  
 μένους τῇ Λητοί. Μελίβοιαν δὲ οὕτω δὴ τι  
 παραντίκα τε χλωρὰν τὸ δεῖμα ἐποίησε καὶ ἐν  
 τῷ λοιπὸν τοῦ βίου παρέμεινεν ὥς καὶ τὸ ὄνομα  
 ἐπὶ τῷ συμβάντι ἀντὶ Μελιβοίας αὐτῇ γενέσθαι  
 10 Χλωρίν. τούτους δὴ φασιν Ἀργεῖοι τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς  
 οἰκοδομήσαι τῇ Λητοί τὸν ναόν· ἐγὼ δὲ—πρὸς κεῖ-

exploit, because the people who live around Lake Tritonis are sacred to her. In Argos, by the side of this monument of the Gorgon, is the grave of Gorgophone (*Gorgon-killer*), the daughter of Perseus. As soon as you hear the name you can understand the reason why it was given her. On the death of her husband, Perieres, the son of Aeolus, whom she married when a virgin, she married Oebalus, being the first woman, they say, to marry a second time; for before this wives were wont, on the death of their husbands, to live as widows. In front of the grave is a trophy of stone made to commemorate a victory over an Argive Laphaës. When this man was tyrant—I write what the Argives themselves say concerning themselves—the people rose up against him and cast him out. He fled to Sparta, and the Lacedaemonians tried to restore him to power, but were defeated by the Argives, who killed the greater part of them and Laphaës as well.

Not far from the trophy is the sanctuary of Leto; the image is a work of Praxiteles. The statue of the maiden beside the goddess they call Chloris (*Pale*), saying that she was a daughter of Niobe, and that she was called Meliboea at the first. When the children of Amphion were destroyed by Apollo and Artemis, she alone of her sisters, along with Amyclas, escaped; their escape was due to their prayers to Leto. Meliboea was struck so pale by her fright, not only at the time but also for the rest of her life, that even her name was accordingly changed from Meliboea to Chloris. Now the Argives say that these two built originally the temple to Leto, but I think that none of Niobe's children



μαι γὰρ πλέον τι ἢ οἱ λοιποὶ τῇ Ὀμήρου ποιή-  
—δοκῶ τῇ Νιόβῃ τῶν παίδων μηδένα ὑπόλοιπον  
γενέσθαι. μαρτυρεῖ δέ μοι τὸ ἔπος

τῷ δ' ἄρα καὶ δοιὼ περ εἶοντ' ἀπὸ πάντων  
ὄλεσαν.

Οὗτος μὲν δὴ τὸν οἶκον τὸν Ἀμφίονος ἐν  
βάθρων ἀνατραπέντα οἶδε· XXII. τῆς δὲ Ἡρα  
ὁ ναὸς τῆς Ἀνθείας ἐστὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τῆς Ἀθηναίης ἐν  
δεξιᾷ καὶ πρὸ αὐτοῦ γυναικῶν τάφος. ἀπέθανον  
δὲ αἱ γυναῖκες ἐν μάχῃ πρὸς Ἀργεῖους τε καὶ  
Περσέα, ἀπὸ νήσων τῶν ἐν Αἰγαίῳ Διονύσιον  
συνεστρατευμέναι· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο Ἀλίας αὐτὰς  
ἐπονομάζουσιν. ἀντικρὺ δὲ τοῦ μνήματος τῶν  
γυναικῶν Δήμητρός ἐστιν ἱερὸν ἐπὶ κλησὶν Πελασ-  
γίδος ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱδρυσταμένου Πελασγοῦ τοῦ  
Τριόπα, καὶ οὐ πόρρω τοῦ ἱεροῦ τάφος Πελασγοῦ.  
2 πέραν δὲ τοῦ τάφου χαλκεῖόν ἐστιν οὐ μέγα,  
ἀνέχει δὲ αὐτὸ ἀγάλματα ἀρχαῖα Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ  
Διὸς καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς. Λυκίας μὲν οὖν ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσιν  
ἐποίησε Μηχανέως τὸ ἄγαλμα εἶναι Διὸς, καὶ  
Ἀργείων ἔφη τοὺς ἐπὶ Ἴλιον στρατεύσαντας  
ἐνταῦθα ὁμόσαι παραμενεῖν πολεμοῦντας, ἐστὶ  
ἂν ἢ τὸ Ἴλιον ἔλωσιν ἢ μαχομένους τελευτῇ  
σφᾶς ἐπιλάβῃ· ἐτέροις δὲ ἐστὶν εἰρημένον ὅσα  
3 ἐν τῷ χαλκεῷ κείσθαι Ταντάλου. τὸν μὲν δὴ  
Θυέστον παῖδα ἢ Βροτέον—λέγεται γὰρ ἀμφό-  
τερα—, ὃς Κλυταιμνήστρα πρότερον ἢ Ἀγαμέμ-  
νων συνήκασε, τοῦτον μὲν τὸν Τάνταλον οὐ διοί-  
σομαι ταφῆναι ταύτῃ· τοῦ δὲ λεγομένου Διὸς τε  
εἶναι καὶ Πλουτοῦς ἰδὼν οἶδα ἐν Σιπύλῳ τάφον

arrived, for I place more reliance than others on the poetry of Homer, one<sup>1</sup> of whose verses bears at my view:—

Though they were only two, yet they gave all to destruction."

So Homer knows that the house of Amphion was utterly overthrown. XXII. The temple of Hera at Anthea (*Flowery*) is on the right of the sanctuary of Leto, and before it is a grave of women. They were killed in a battle against the Argives under Perseus, having come from the Aegean Islands to help Dionysus in war; for which reason they are surnamed Thaliae (*Women of the Sea*). Facing the tomb of the women is a sanctuary of Demeter, surnamed Pelasgian from Pelasgus, son of Triopas, its founder, and not far from the sanctuary is the grave of Pelasgus. Opposite the grave is a small bronze vessel supporting ancient images of Artemis, Zeus, and Athena. Now Lyceas in his poem says that the image is of Zeus Mechanus (*Contriver*), and that here the Argives who set out against Troy swore to hold out in the war until they either took Troy or met their end fighting. Others have said that in the bronze vessel lie the bones of Tantalus. Now that the Tantalus is buried here who was the son of Thyestes or Broetas (both accounts are given) and married Clytemnestra before Agamemnon did, I will not gainsay; but the grave of him who legend says was son of Zeus and Pluto—it is worth seeing—is on Mount Sipylus.

<sup>1</sup> *Iliad* xxiv. 609.

θέας ἄξιον. πρὸς δὲ οὐδὲ ἀνάγκη συνεπέσειν ἐκ τῆς Σιπύλου φυγεῖν αὐτόν, ὥς Πέλοπα ἐπέλαβεν ὕστερον ἐλαύνοντος Ἴλου τοῦ Φρυγὸς ἐπ' αὐτὸν στρατεία.

- Τάδε μὲν ἐς τοσοῦτον ἐξητάσθω· τὰ δὲ ἐς τὸν βόθρον τὸν πλησίον δρώμενα Νικύστρατον ἄνδρα ἐπιχώριον καταστήσασθαι λέγουσιν. ἀφίᾳσι δὲ καὶ νῦν ἐτι ἐς τὸν βόθρον καιομένας λαμπάδας
- 4 Κόρη τῇ Δήμητρος. ἐνταῦθα Ποσειδῶνός ἐστιν ἱερὸν ἐπὶ κλησιν Προσκλυστίου· τῆς γὰρ χώρας τὸν Ποσειδῶνά φασιν ἐπικλύσαι τὴν πολλήν, ὅτι Ἦρας εἶναι καὶ οὐκ αὐτοῦ τὴν γῆν Ἰναχος καὶ οἱ συνδικάσαντες ἔγνωσαν. Ἦρα μὲν δὲ παρὰ Ποσειδῶνος εὔρετο ἀπελθεῖν ὑπίσω τὴν θάλασσαν· Ἀργεῖοι δέ, ὕθεν τὸ κύμα ἀνεχώρησεν, ἱερὸν
- 5 Ποσειδῶνι ἐποίησαν Προσκλυστίω, προσελθόντι δὲ οὐ πολὺ τάφος ἐστίν Ἀργου Διὸς εἶναι δοκοῦντος καὶ τῆς Φορωνέως Νιόβης· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Διοσκούρων ναός. ἀγάλματα δὲ αὐτοῖ τε καὶ οἱ παῖδές εἰσιν Ἀναξίς καὶ Μνασίνοιν, σὺν δὲ σφισιν αἱ μητέρες Ἰλάειρα καὶ Φοίβη, τέχνη μὲν Διποίου καὶ Σκύλλιδος, ξύλου δὲ ἐβένου· τοῖς δ' ἵπποις τὰ μὲν πολλὰ ἐβένου καὶ τούτοις,
- 6 ὀλίγα δὲ καὶ ἐλέφαντος πεποίηται. πλησίον δὲ τῶν Ἀνάκτων Εἰληθυίας ἐστὶν ἱερὸν ἀνάθημα Ἑλένης, ὅτε σὺν Πειρίθῳ Θησέως ἀπελθόντος ἐς Θεσπρωτοὺς Ἀφιδνά τε ὑπὸ Διοσκούρων ἑάλω καὶ ἦγετο ἐς Λακεδαίμονα Ἑλένη. ἔχειν μὲν γὰρ αὐτὴν λέγουσιν ἐν γαστρὶ, τεκοῦσαν δὲ ἐν Ἀργεὶ καὶ τῆς Εἰληθυίας ἰδρυσαμένην τὸ ἱερὸν τὴν μὲν παῖδα ἦν ἔτεκε Κλυταιμνήστρᾳ δοῦναι—συννοικεῖν γὰρ ἤδη Κλυταιμνήστραν Ἀγαμέμνονι—, αὐτὴν

I know because I saw it. Moreover, no constraint came upon him to flee from Sipylus, such as afterwards forced Pelops to run away when Ilus the Phrygian launched an army against him.

But I must pursue the inquiry no further. The ritual performed at the pit hard by they say was instituted by Nicostratus, a native. Even at the present day they throw into the pit burning torches in honour of the Maid who is daughter of Demeter. Here is a sanctuary of Poseidon, surnamed Prosclystius (*Flooder*), for they say that Poseidon inundated the greater part of the country because Inachus and his assessors decided that the land belonged to Hera and not to him. Now it was Hera who induced Poseidon to send the sea back, but the Argives made a sanctuary to Poseidon Prosclystius at the spot where the tide ebbed. Going on a little further you see the grave of Argus, reputed to be the son of Zeus and Niobe, daughter of Phoroneus. After these comes a temple of the Dioscouri. The images represent the Dioscouri themselves and their sons, Anaxis and Mnasinous, and with them are their mothers, Hilaeira and Phoebe. They are of ebony wood, and were made by Dipoenus and Scyllis. The horses, too, are mostly of ebony, but there is a little ivory also in their construction. Near the Lords is a sanctuary of Eilethyia, dedicated by Helen when, Theseus having gone away with Peirithous to Thesprotia, Aphidna had been captured by the Dioscouri and Helen was being brought to Lacedaemon. For it is said that she was with child, was delivered in Argos, and founded there the sanctuary of Eilethyia, giving the daughter she bore to Clytaemnestra, who was already wedded to Agamemnon, while she herself

Sixth  
cent.  
B.C.



7 δὲ ὕστερον τούτων Μενελάῳ γήμασθαι. καὶ ἐπὶ τῷδε Εὐφορίῳ Χαλκιδεὺς καὶ Πλευρώνιος Ἀλέξανδρος ἔπη ποιήσαντες, πρότερον δὲ ἐπὶ Σπέρχορος ὁ Ἰμεραῖος, κατὰ ταῦτά φασιν Ἀργεῖος Θησέως εἶναι θυγατέρα Ἰφιγένειαν. τοῦ δὲ ἱεροῦ τῆς Εἰληθυίας πέραν ἐστὶν Ἑκάτης ναός, Σκόπια δὲ τὸ ἄγαλμα ἔργον. τοῦτο μὲν λίθον· τὰ δ' ἀπαντικρὺ χαλκᾷ, Ἑκάτης καὶ ταῦτα ἀγάλματα, τὸ μὲν Πολύκλειτος ἐποίησε, τὸ δὲ ἀδελφὸς 8 Πολυκλείτου Ναυκύδης Μόθωνος.<sup>1</sup> ἐρχομένη δὲ ὁδὸν εὐθείαν ἐς γυμνάσιον Κυλάραβιν, ἀπὸ τοῦ παιδὸς ὀνομαζόμενον τοῦ Σθενέλου, τέθνηται δὴ Δικύμνιος ὁ Ἡλεκτρίωνος· ἀποθανεῖν δ' αὐτὸν Ὀμηρὸς ὑπὸ Τληπολέμου φησὶ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους, καὶ διὰ τὸν φόνον τοῦτον ἔφυγεν ἐξ Ἀργεῖος Τληπόλεμος, ὀλίγον δὲ τῆς ἐπὶ Κυλάραβιν καὶ τὴν ταύτην πύλην ἀποτραπέεισι Σακάδα μνήμη ἐστίν, ὅς τὸ αὐλήμα τὸ Πυθικὸν πρῶτος ἡλυσεν 9 ἐν Δελφοῖς· καὶ τὸ ἔχθος τὸ Ἀπόλλωνι διαμένον ἐς τοὺς αὐλητὰς ἐπὶ ἀπὸ Μαρσίου καὶ τῆς ἀμύλλης τοῦ Σιληνοῦ παυθῆναι διὰ τοῦτον δοκεῖ τὸν Σακάδαν. ἐν δὲ τῇ γυμνασίῳ τῇ Κυλάραβου καὶ Πανία ἐστὶν Ἀθηνᾶ καλουμένη καὶ τάφον Σθενέλου δεικνύουσι, τὸν δὲ αὐτοῦ Κυλάραβου. πεποίηται δὲ οὐ πόρρω τοῦ γυμνασίου πολυάνδριον τοῖς μετὰ Ἀθηναίων πλεύσασιν Ἀργεῖοις ἐπὶ καταδουλώσει Συρακουσῶν τε καὶ Σικελίας.

XXIII. Ἐντεῦθεν ἐρχομένοις ὁδὸν καλουμένην Κοίλην<sup>2</sup> ναός ἐστίν ἐν δεξιᾷ Διονύσου· τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα εἶναι λέγουσιν ἐξ Εὐβοίας. συμβάσης

<sup>1</sup> Μεθωναῖος Furtwaengler, νεώτερος Robert.

<sup>2</sup> Κοίλην supplied by Kuhn.

subsequently married Menelaus. And on this matter the poets Euphoriion of Chalcis and Alexander of Pleuron, and even before them, Stesichorus of Himera, agree with the Argives in asserting that Iphigenia was the daughter of Theseus. Over against the sanctuary of Bilethya is a temple of Hecate, and the image is a work of Scopas. This one is of stone, while the bronze images opposite, also of Hecate, were made respectively by Polycleitus<sup>1</sup> and his brother Naucydes, son of Mothon. As you go along a straight road to a gymnasium, called Cylarabis after the son of Sthenelus, you come to the grave of Licymnius, the son of Electryon, who, Homer says, was killed by Tleptolemus, the son of Heracles; for which homicide Tleptolemus was banished from Argos. On turning a little aside from the road to Cylarabis and to the gate there, you come to the tomb of Sacadas, who was the first to play at Delphi the Pythian flute-tune; the hostility of Apollo to flute-players, which had lasted ever since the rivalry of Marsyas the Silenus, is supposed to have stayed because of this Sacadas. In the gymnasium of Cylarabes is an Athena called Pania; they show also the graves of Sthenelus and of Cylarabes himself. Not far from the gymnasium has been built a common grave of those Argives who sailed with the Athenians to enslave Syracuse and Sicily.

XXIII. As you go from here along a road called Hollow there is on the right a temple of Dionysus; the image, they say, is from Euboea. For when the

<sup>1</sup> It is uncertain who this Polycleitus was or when he lived. He was not the great Polycleitus, and flourished probably after 400 B.C.

- γὰρ τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν, ὥς ἐκομίζοντο ἐξ Ἰλίου, τὴν πρὸς τῷ Καφηρεῖ ναυαγίας, τοὺς δυνηθέντας τὴν γῆν διαφυγεῖν τῶν Ἀργείων ῥήγος τε πῖξ καὶ λιμός. εὐξαμένοις δὲ θεῶν τινα ἐν τοῖς παροῦσιν ἀπόροις γενέσθαι σωτῆρα, αὐτίκα ὁ προήεσαν ἐφάνη σφίσι Διονύσου σπηλαιον, καὶ ἄγαλμα ἦν ἐν τῷ σπηλαίῳ τοῦ θεοῦ· τότε αἰγες ἄγριαι φεύγουσαι τὸν χειμῶνα ἐς αὐτὸ ἦσαν ἠθροισμένοι. ταύτας οἱ Ἀργεῖοι σφάξαντες τὰ κρέα ἐδείπνησαν καὶ δέρμασιν ἐχρήσαντο ἀνέσθῃτος. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ χειμὼν ἐπαύσατο καὶ ἐπισκευάσαντες τὰς ναῦς οἵκαδε ἐκομίζοντο, ἐπάγονται τὸ ἐκ τοῦ σπηλαίου ξόανον· καὶ διατελοῦσιν
- 2 ἐς τὸδε τιμῶντες ἔτι. τοῦ Διονύσου δὲ ἐγγυτάτ' οἰκίαν ὄψει τὴν Ἀδράστου καὶ ἀπωτέρω ταύτης ἱερὸν Ἀμφιαράου καὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ πέραν Ἐριφύλλου μνήμα. ἐξῆς δὲ τούτων ἐστὶν Ἀσκληπιοῦ τέμενος καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἱερὸν Βάτωνος. ἦν δὲ ὁ Βάτης γένους Ἀμφιαράου τοῦ αὐτοῦ τῶν Μελαμποδιδῶ καὶ ἐς μάχην ἐξιόντι ἠνιόχει τοὺς ἵππους· γενέμενης δὲ τῆς τροπῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ Θηβαίων τείχεος χάσμα γῆς Ἀμφιάρου καὶ τὸ ἄρμα ὑποδεξιμένη ἐφάνισεν ὁμοῦ καὶ τούτου τὸν Βάτωνα.
- 3 Ἐπανιόντι δὲ ἐκ τῆς Κοίλης Ἐρνηθοῦς τάφον λέγουσιν εἶναι. εἰ μὲν δὴ κενὸν καὶ ἄλλως μνήμην τῆς γυναικός, εἰκότα λέγουσιν· εἰ δὲ τὴν Ἐρνηθοῦς κείσθαι τὸν νεκρὸν νομίζουσιν ἐνταῦθα ἐγὼ μὲν σφισιν οὐ πείθομαι, πειθέσθω δὲ ὅστις
- 4 τὰ Ἐπιδαυρίων οὐ πέπυσται. τὸ δ' ἐπιφα-

Greeks, as they were returning from Troy, met with the shipwreck at Caphereus, those of the Argives who were able to escape to land suffered from cold and hunger. Having prayed that someone of the gods should prove himself a saviour in their present distress, straightway as they advanced they came upon a cave of Dionysus; in the cave was an image of the god, and on this occasion wild she-goats had gathered there to escape from the storm. These the Argives killed, using the flesh as food and the skins as raiment. When the storm was over and the Argives, having refitted their ships, were returning home, they took with them the wooden image from the cave, and continue to honour it to the present day. Very near to the temple of Dionysus you will see the house of Adrastus, farther on a sanctuary of Amphiaraus, and opposite the sanctuary the tomb of Eriphyle. Next to these is a precinct of Aesclepius, and after them a sanctuary of Baton. Now Baton belonged to the same family as Amphiaraus, to the Melampodidae, and served as his charioteer when he went forth to battle. When the rout took place at the wall of Thebes, the earth opened and received Amphiaraus and his chariot, swallowing up this Baton at the same time.

Returning from Hollow Street, you see what they say is the grave of Hynrutho. If they allow that it is merely a cenotaph erected to the memory of the lady, their account is likely enough; but if they believe that the corpse lies here I cannot credit it, and leave anyone to do so who has not learnt the history of Epidaurus. The most famous sanctuary



στατον Ἀργείοις τῶν Ἀσκληπιείων ἄγαλμα ἐφ'  
 ἡμῶν ἔχει καθήμενον Ἀσκληπιὸν λίθου λευκοῦ,  
 καὶ παρ' αὐτὸν ἔστηκεν Ὑγεία· κάθηνται δὲ καὶ  
 οἱ ποιήσαντες τὰ ἄγαλματα Ξερόφιλος καὶ Στρά-  
 των. ἐξ ἀρχῆς δὲ ἰδρύσατο Σφῦρος τὸ ἱερόν.  
 Μαχάονος μὲν υἱός, ἀδελφὸς δὲ Ἀλεξάνορος τοῦ  
 5 παρὰ Σικωνίοις ἐν Τιτάνῃ τιμὰς ἔχοντος. τῆς  
 δὲ Ἀρτέμιδος τῆς Φεραίας—σέβουσι γὰρ καὶ  
 Ἀργεῖοι Φεραίαν Ἀρτεμιν κατὰ ταῦτά Ἀθηναίους  
 καὶ Σικωνίους—τὸ ἄγαλμα καὶ οὗτοί φασιν ἐκ  
 Φερῶν τῶν ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ κομισθῆναι. τάδε δὲ  
 αὐτοῖς οὐχ ὁμολογῶ· λέγουσι γὰρ Ἀργεῖοι  
 Διανείρας ἐν Ἀργεῖ μνῆμα εἶναι τῆς Οἰνέως το-  
 τε Ἑλένου τοῦ Πριάμου, καὶ ἄγαλμα κεῖσθαι  
 παρὰ σφίσι·ν Ἀθηναίς τὸ ἐκκομισθὲν ἐξ Ἰλίου  
 καὶ ἀλῶναι ποιήσαν Ἰλίον. τὸ μὲν δὴ Παλλά-  
 διον—καλεῖται γὰρ οὕτω—δηλὸν ἐστίν ἐς Ἰτα-  
 λίαν κομισθὲν ὑπὸ Αἰνείου· Διανείρα δὲ τῇ  
 τελευτῇ περὶ Τραχίνα ἴσμεν καὶ οὐκ ἐν Ἀργεῖ  
 γενομένην, καὶ ἐστίν ὁ τάφος αὐτῇ πλησίον  
 6 Ἡρακλείας τῆς ὑπὸ τῇ Οἴτῃ. τὰ δὲ ἐς Ἑλένην  
 τὸν Πριάμον δεδήλωκεν ὁ λόγος ἤδη μοι, μετὰ  
 Πύρρου τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως αὐτὸν ἐλθεῖν ἐς Ἥπειρον  
 καὶ ἐπιτροπεύσαι τε τοὺς Πύρρου παῖδας συναι-  
 κοῦντα Ἀνδρομάχῃ καὶ τὴν Κεστρίνην καλου-  
 μένην ἀπὸ Κεστρίνου τοῦ Ἑλένου λαβεῖν τὸ  
 ὄνομα. οὐ μὲν οὐδὲ αὐτῶν λέληθεν Ἀργεῖων  
 τοὺς ἐξηγητὰς ὅτι μὴ πάντα ἐπ' ἀληθείᾳ λέγεται·  
 σφίσι, λέγουσι δὲ ὅμως· οὐ γάρ τι ἔτοιμον μετα-  
 πείσαι τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐναντία ὧν δοξάζουσιν.  
 7 ἄλλα δὲ ἐστίν Ἀργείοις θεάς ἄξια· κατάγαιον

Asclepius at Argos contains at the present day a white-marble image of the god seated, and by his side stands Health. There are also seated figures of Xenophilus and Straton, who made the images. The original founder of the sanctuary was Sphyrus, son of Machaon and brother of the Alexanor who was honoured among the Sicyonians in Titane. The Argives, like the Athenians and Sicyonians, worship Artemis Pheraea, and they, too, assert that the image of the goddess was brought from Pherae in Thessaly. But I cannot agree with them when they say that in Argos are the tombs of Deianeira, the daughter of Oeneus, and of Helenus, son of Priam, and that there is among them the image of Athena that was brought from Troy, thus causing the capture of that city. For the Palladium, as it is called, was manifestly brought to Italy by Aeneas. As to Deianeira, we know that her death took place near Trachis and not in Argos, and her grave is near Heraclea, at the foot of Mount Oeta. The story of Helenus, son of Priam, I have already given: that he went to Epeirus with Pyrrhus, the son of Achilles; that, wedded to Andromache, he was guardian to the children of Pyrrhus; and that the district called Cestrine received its name from Cestrinus, son of Helenus. Now even the guides of the Argives themselves are aware that their account is not entirely correct. Nevertheless they hold to their opinion, for it is not easy to make the multitude change their views. The Argives have other things worth seeing; for instance, an

οικοδόμημα, ἐπ' αὐτῷ δὲ ἦν ὁ χαλκοῦς  
 ὃν Ἀκρίσιος ποτε ἐπὶ φρουρᾷ τῆς  
 ἐποίησε· Περίλαος δὲ καθεῖλεν αὐτὸν τυρ-  
 τοῦτό τε οὖν τὸ οἰκοδόμημά ἐστι καὶ Β  
 μνήμα καὶ Διονύσου ναὸς Κρησίου.  
 γὰρ πολεμήσαντα αὐτὸν καὶ αὖθις ἐλ-  
 λύσειν τοῦ ἔχθους τά τε ἄλλα τιμηθῆναι  
 λέγουσιν ὑπὸ Ἀργείων καὶ τέμενός οἱ  
 8 τοῦτο ἐξαίρετον· Κρησίου δὲ ὕστερον ὡ-  
 διότι Ἀριάδην ἀποθανοῦσαν ἔθαψεν.  
 Λυκίας δὲ λέγει κατασκευαζομένου δεῦ-  
 ναοῦ κεραμεῖαν εὔρεθῆναι σορόν, εἶναι δὲ  
 αὐτήν· καὶ αὐτός τε καὶ ἄλλους Ἀργε-  
 ἔφη τὴν σορόν. πλησίον δὲ τοῦ Διον-  
 Ἀφροδίτης ναὸς ἐστὶν Οὐρανίας.

XXIV. Τὴν δὲ ἀκρόπολιν Λάρισαν μί-  
 σιν ἀπὸ τῆς Πελασγοῦ θυγατρὸς· ἀπ-  
 δὲ καὶ δύο τῶν ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ πόλεων,  
 θαλάσση καὶ ἡ παρὰ τὸν Πηνειόν, ὠνομι-  
 ἀνιόντων δὲ ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἐστὶ  
 Ἀκραίας Ἥρας τὸ ἱερόν, ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ ναὸς  
 λωνος, ὃν Πυθαεὺς πρῶτος παραγενὼς,  
 Δελφῶν λέγεται ποιῆσαι. τὸ δὲ ἄγ-  
 νῦν χαλκοῦν ἐστὶν ὀρθόν, Δειραδιώτης  
 καλούμενος, ὅτι καὶ ὁ τόπος οὗτος  
 Δειράς. ἡ δὲ οἱ μαντικὴ — μαντεύεται  
 καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς — κατέστηκε τρόπον τοῦτο  
 μὲν προφητεύουσά ἐστιν, ἀνδρὸς εὐνῆς ἐι-  
 θυομένης δὲ ἐν νυκτὶ ἀρνὸς κατὰ μῆνα  
 γευσάμενη δὴ τοῦ αἵματος ἡ γυνὴ κατὰ  
 2 τοῦ θεοῦ γίνεται. τοῦ Δειραδιώτου δὲ Ἀρ-  
 ἔχεται μὲν ἱερόν Ἀθηνᾶς Ὁξυδερκοῦ

underground building over which was the bronze chamber which Acrisius once made to guard his daughter. Perilaus, however, when he became tyrant, pulled it down. Besides this building there is the tomb of Crotopus and a temple of Cretan Dionysus. For they say that the god, having made war on Perseus, afterwards laid aside his enmity, and received great honours at the hands of the Argives, including this precinct set specially apart for himself. It was afterwards called the precinct of the Cretan god, because, when Ariadne died, Dionysus buried her here. But Lyceas says that when the temple was being rebuilt an earthenware coffin was found, and that it was Ariadne's. He also said that both he himself and other Argives had seen it. Near the temple of Dionysus is a temple of Heavenly Aphrodite.

XXIV. The citadel they call Larisa, after the laughter of Pelagus. After her were also named two of the cities in Thessaly, the one by the sea and the one on the Peneüs. As you go up the citadel you come to the sanctuary of Hera of the Height, and also a temple of Apollo, which is said to have been first built by Pythaeus when he came from Delphi. The present image is a bronze standing figure called Apollo Deiradiotes, because this place, too, is called Deiras (*Ridge*). Oracular responses are still given here, and the oracle acts in the following way. There is a woman who prophesies, being debarred from intercourse with a man. Every month a lamb is sacrificed at night, and the woman, after tasting the blood, becomes inspired by the god. Adjoining the temple of Apollo Deiradiotes is a sanctuary of Athena Oxyderces (*Sharp-sighted*), dedicated by



μήνης, Διομήδους ἀνάθημα, ὅτι οἱ μαχομένοι ποτὲ  
ἐν Ἰλίῳ τὴν ἀχλὺν ἀφείλεν ἢ θεὸς ἀπὸ τῶν ὀφθαλ-  
μῶν· ἔχεται δὲ τὸ στάδιον, ἐν ᾧ τὸν ἀγῶνα τῷ  
Νεμείῳ Διὶ καὶ τὰ Ἡραϊὰ ἀγούσιν. ἐς δὲ τὴν  
ἀκρόπολιν ἰοῦσιν ἐστὶν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τῆς ὁδοῦ  
τῶν Αἰγύπτου παίδων καὶ ταύτῃ μνήμα. χωρὶς  
μὲν γὰρ ἀπὸ τῶν σωμάτων ἐνταῦθα αἱ κεφα-  
λαί, χωρὶς δὲ ἐν Λέρνῃ σώματα τὰ λοιπὰ· ἐν  
Λέρνῃ γὰρ καὶ ὁ φόνος ἐξεργάσθη τῶν νεανί-  
σκων, ἀποθανόντων δὲ ἀποτέμνουσιν αἱ γυναῖκες  
τὰς κεφαλὰς ἀπόδειξιν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα ὡν  
3 ἐτόλμησαν. ἐπ' ἅκρᾳ δὲ ἐστὶ τῇ Λαρίσῃ Διὸς  
ἐπὶ κλησὶν Λαρισαίου ναός, οὐκ ἔχων ὄροφον· τὸ  
δὲ ἄγαλμα ξύλου πεποιημένον οὐκέτι ἐστηκεν ἦν  
ἐπὶ τῷ βάθρῳ. καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς δὲ ναός ἐστι θείας  
ἄξιος· ἐνταῦθα ἀναθήματα κείται καὶ ἄλλα καὶ  
Ζεὺς ξόανον, δύο μὲν ἢ πεφύκαμεν ἔχον ὀφθαλ-  
μούς, τρίτον δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ μετώπου. τοῦτον τὸν  
Δία Πριάμῳ φασὶν εἶναι τῷ Λαομέδοντος πατρώον  
ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ τῆς αὐλῆς ἰδρυμένον, καὶ ὅτε ἡλίσκετο  
ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων Ἰλίον, ἐπὶ τούτῳ κατέφυγεν ὁ  
Πρίαμος τὸν βωμόν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ λάφυρα ἐνε-  
4 καὶ ἀνάκειται μὲν διὰ τοῦτο ἐνταῦθα· τρεῖς δὲ  
ὀφθαλμούς ἔχει ἐπὶ τῷδε ἂν τις τεκμαίροιτο  
αὐτόν. Δία γὰρ ἐν οὐρανῷ βασιλεύειν, οὔτως  
μὲν λόγος κοινὸς πάντων ἐστὶν ἀνθρώπων. ἱε-  
ρὰ δὲ ἄρχειν φασὶν ὑπὸ γῆς, ἐστὶν ἔπος τῶν Ὀμήρου  
Δία ὀνομάζον καὶ τοῦτον·

Ζεὺς τε καταχθόνιος καὶ ἐπαινή Περσεφύονεια.

Αἰσχύλος δὲ ὁ Εὐφορίωνος καλεῖ Δία καὶ τὸν ἐν

Diomedes, because once when he was fighting at Troy the goddess removed the mist from his eyes. Adjoining it is the race-course, in which they hold the games in honour of Nemean Zeus and the festival of Hera. As you go to the citadel there is on the left of the road another tomb of the children of Aegyptus. For here are the heads apart from the bodies, which are at Lerna. For it was at Lerna that the youths were murdered, and when they were dead their wives cut off their heads, to prove to their father that they had done the dreadful deed. On the top of Larisa is a temple of Zeus, surnamed Larisaeon, which has no roof; the wooden image I found no longer standing upon its pedestal. There is also a temple of Athena worth seeing. Here are placed votive offerings, including a wooden image of Zeus, which has two eyes in the natural place and a third on its forehead. This Zeus, they say, was a paternal god of Priam, the son of Laomedon, set up in the uncovered part of his court, and when Troy was taken by the Greeks Priam took sanctuary at the altar of this god. When the spoils were divided, Sthenelus, the son of Capaneus, received the image, and for this reason it has been dedicated here. The reason for its three eyes one might infer to be this. That Zeus is king in heaven is a saying common to all men. As for him who is said to rule under the earth, there is a verse of Homer<sup>1</sup> which calls him, too, Zeus:—

“ Zeus of the Underworld, and the august Persephonea.”

The god in the sea, also, is called Zeus by Aeschylus,

<sup>1</sup> *Iliad* ix. 457.

θαλάσση. τρισὶν οὖν ὁρῶντα ἐποίησεν ὀφθαλμοῖς ὅστις δὴ ἦν ὁ ποιήσας, ἅτε ἐν ταῖς τρισὶ ταῖς λεγομέναις λήξουσιν ἄρχοντα τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον θεόν.

- 5 'Οδοὶ δὲ ἐξ Ἀργους καὶ κατ' ἄλλα εἰσὶ τῆς Πελοποννήσου καὶ πρὸς Ἀρκαδίας ἐπὶ Τεγέαν. ἐν δεξιᾷ δὲ ὄρος ἐστὶν ἡ Λυκῶνη, δένδρα κυπαρίσσου μάλιστα ἔχουσα. ὠκοδόμηται δὲ ἐπὶ κορυφῇ τοῦ ὄρους Ἀρτέμιδος Ὀρθίας ἱερόν, καὶ ἀγάλματα Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Λητοῦς καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος πεποιήται λευκοῦ λίθου. Πολυκλείτου δὲ φασιν εἶναι ἔργα. καταβάντων δὲ ἐκ τοῦ ὄρους αὐτῆς ἐστὶν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τῆς λεωφόρου ναὸς Ἀρτέμιδος.
- 6 ὀλίγον δὲ ἀπωτέρω ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς ὁδοῦ Χάον ἐστὶν ὄρος ὀνομαζόμενον, ὑπὸ δὲ αὐτῷ δένδρα πέφυκε ἡμερα καὶ ἄνεις τοῦ Ἐρασίνου φανερόν ἐνταῦθα δὴ τὸ ὕδωρ. τέως δὲ ἐκ Στυμφάλου ῥεῖ τῆς Ἀρκαδῶν ὥσπερ ἐξ Εὐρίπου κατὰ Ἐλευσίνα καὶ τὴν ταύτη θάλασσαν οἱ Ῥειτοί. πρὸς δὲ τοῦ Ἐρασίνου ταῖς κατὰ τὸ ὄρος ἐκβολαῖς Διονύσου καὶ Πανὶ θύουσι, τῷ Διονύσῳ δὲ καὶ ἑορτὴν.
- 7 ἄγουσι καλουμένην Τύρβην. ἐπανελθοῦσι δὲ ἐς τὴν ἐπὶ Τεγέας ὁδὸν ἐστὶν ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ ὀνομαζομένου Τρόχου Κεγχρεαί. τὸ δὲ ὄνομα ἐφ' ὅτῳ τῷ χωρίῳ γέγονεν, οὐ λέγουσι, πλὴν εἰ μὴ καὶ τοῦτο ἄρα ὠνομάσθη διὰ τὸν Πειρήνης παῖδα Κεγχρίαν. καὶ πολυάνδρια ἐνταῦθα ἐστὶν Ἀργείων νικησάντων μάχῃ Λακεδαιμονίους περὶ Τσιάς. τὸν δὲ ἀγῶνα τοῦτον συμβάντα εὕρισκον Ἀθηναίους ἄρχοντος Πεισιστράτου, τετάρτῳ δὲ ἔτει τῆς ἐβδόμης καὶ εἰκοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος ἦν Εὐρύβοτος Ἀθηναῖος ἐνίκα στάδιον. κατα-

the son of Euphoriion. So whoever made the image made it with three eyes, as signifying that this one god rules in all the three "allotments" of the universe, as they are called.

From Argos are roads to various parts of the Peloponnesus, including one to Tegea on the side towards Arcadia. On the right is Mount Lycone, which has trees on it, chiefly cypresses. On the top of the mountain is built a sanctuary of Artemis Orthia (*of the Sleep*), and there have been made white-marble images of Apollo, Leto, and Artemis, which they say are works of Polycleitus. On descending again from the mountain you see on the left of the highway a temple of Artemis. A little farther on there is on the right of the road a mountain called Chaon. At its foot grow cultivated trees, and here the water of the Erasinus rises to the surface. Up to this point it flows from Stymphalus in Arcadia, just as the Rheiti, near the sea at Eleusis, flow from the Euripus. At the places where the Erasinus gushes forth from the mountain they sacrifice to Dionysus and to Pan, and to Dionysus they also hold a festival called Tyrbe (*Throng*). On returning to the road that leads to Tegea you see Cenchreae on the right of what is called the Wheel. Why the place received this name they do not say. Perhaps in this case also it was Cenchrias, son of Peirene, that caused it to be so called. Here are common graves of the Argives who conquered the Lacedaemonians in battle at Hysiae. This fight took place, I discovered, when Peisistratus was archon at Athens, in the fourth year of the twenty-seventh Olympiad, in which the Athenian, Eurybotus, won the foot-race.

800-8  
B.C.



βάντος δὲ ἐς τὸ χθαμαλώτερον ἐρείπια Ῥαίων  
ἐστὶ πόλεως ποτε ἐν τῇ Ἀργολίδι, καὶ τὸ  
πταῖσμα Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐνταῦθα γενέσθαι λέ-  
γουσιν.

- XXV. Ἡ δ' ἐς Μαντίνειαν ἄγουσα ἐξ Ἀργους  
ἐστὶν οὐχ ἥπερ καὶ ἐπὶ Τεγέαν, ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ τῶν  
πυλῶν τῶν πρὸς τῇ Δειράδι. ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς ὁδοῦ  
ταύτης ἱερὸν διπλοῦν πεποιήται, καὶ πρὸς ἡλίου  
δύνοντος ἔσδον καὶ κατὰ ἀνατολὰς ἐτέραν ἔχον.  
κατὰ μὲν δὴ τοῦτο Ἀφροδίτης κείται ξανόν,  
πρὸς δὲ ἡλίου δυσμὰς Ἀρεως· εἶναι δὲ τὰ ἀγάλ-  
ματα Πολυνείκους λέγουσιν ἀναθήματα καὶ Ἀρ-  
γείων, ὅσοι τιμωρήσοντες αὐτῷ συνεστρατεύοντο.  
2 προελθοῦσι δὲ αὐτόθεν διαβάντων ποταμὸν χεί-  
μαρρον Χάραδρον καλούμενον ἔστιν Οἰνὴ, τὸ  
ὄνομα ἔχουσα, ὡς Ἀργεῖοί φασιν, ἀπὸ Οἰνέως.  
Οἰνέα γὰρ τὸν βασιλεύσαντα ἐν Αἰτωλίᾳ λέγου-  
σιν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀγρίου παίδων ἐκβληθέντα τῆς  
ἀρχῆς παρὰ Διομήδην ἐς Ἀργος ἀφικέσθαι. ὁ  
δὲ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἐτιμώρησεν αὐτῷ στρατεύσας  
ἐς τὴν Καλυδωνίαν, παραμένειν δὲ οὐκ ἔφη οἱ  
δύνασθαι συνακολουθεῖν δέ, εἰ βούλοιτο, ἐς  
Ἀργος ἐκείνον ἐκέλευεν. ἀφικόμενον δὲ τὰ τε  
ἄλλα ἐθεράπευεν, ὡς πατρὸς θεραπεύειν πατέρα  
εἰκὸς ἦν, καὶ ἀποθανόντα ἔθαψεν ἐνταῦθα. ἀπὸ  
3 τούτου μὲν Οἰνὴ χωρίον ἐστὶν Ἀργείοις· ὑπὲρ  
δὲ Οἰνῆς ὄρος ἐστὶν Ἀρτεμίσιον καὶ ἱερὸν  
Ἀρτέμιδος ἐπὶ κορυφῇ τοῦ ὄρους. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ  
εἰσι τῷ ὄρει καὶ αἱ πηγαὶ τοῦ Ἰνάχου· πηγαὶ  
γὰρ δὴ τῷ ὄντι εἰσὶν αὐτῷ, τὸ δὲ ὕδωρ οὐκ ἐπὶ  
πολὺ ἐξικνεῖται τῆς γῆς.  
4 Ταύτῃ μὲν δὴ θέας οὐδὲν ἔτι ἦν ἄξιον· ἐτέρα δὲ

On coming down to a lower level you reach the ruins of *Hysiae*, which once was a city in Argolis, and here it is that they say the Lacedaemonians suffered their reverse.

XXV. The road from Argos to Mantinea is not the same as that to Tegea, but begins from the gate at the Ridge. On this road is a sanctuary built with two rooms, having an entrance on the west side and another on the east. At the latter is a wooden image of *Aphrodite*, and at the west entrance one of *Ares*. They say that the images are votive offerings of *Polyneices* and of the Argives who joined him in the campaign to redress his wrongs. Farther on from here, across the torrent called *Charadrus* (*Gully*), is *Oenoë*, named, the Argives say, after *Oeneus*. The story is that *Oeneus*, who was king in *Aetolia*, on being driven from his throne by the sons of *Agrius*, took refuge with *Diomedes* at Argos, who aided him by an expedition into *Calydonia*, but said that he could not remain with him, and urged *Oeneus* to accompany him, if he wished, to Argos. When he came, he gave him all the attention that it was right to give a father's father, and on his death buried him here. After him the Argives name the place *Oenoë*. Above *Oenoë* is *Mount Artemisius*, with a sanctuary of *Artemis* on the top. On this mountain are also the springs of the river *Inachus*. For it really has springs, though the water does not run far.

Here I found nothing else that is worth seeing.

- οὐδὲς ἀπὸ τῶν πυλῶν τῶν πρὸς τῇ Δειράδι ἐστὶν  
 ἐπὶ Λύρκειαν. ἐς τοῦτο λέγεται τὸ χωρίον  
 Λυγκέα ἀποσωθῆναι τῶν πεντήκοντα ἀδελφῶν  
 μόνον· καὶ ἡνίκα ἐσώθη, πυρσὸν ἀνέσχευεν ἐντεύ-  
 θεν. συνέκειτο δὲ ἄρα αὐτῷ πρὸς τὴν Ὑπερμή-  
 στραν ἀνασχεῖν τὸν πυρσόν, ἣν διαφυγὼν Δαναὸν  
 ἐς ἀσφαλὲς ἀφίκηται ποι· τὴν δὲ καὶ αὐτὴν ἀνά-  
 ψαι λέγουσιν ἕτερον ἀπὸ τῆς Λαρίσης, δῆλα καὶ  
 ταύτην ποιούσαν ὅτι ἐν οὐδενὶ οὐδὲ αὐτὴ καθέ-  
 στηκεν ἔτι κινδύνῳ. ἐπὶ τούτῳ δὲ Ἀργεῖοι κατὰ  
 5 ἔτος ἕκαστον πυρσῶν ἑορτὴν ἄγουσι. τὸ δὲ χω-  
 ρίον τότε μὲν Λυγκεία ἐκαλεῖτο, οἰκήσαντος δὲ  
 ὕστερον ἐν αὐτῷ Λύρκου—παῖς δὲ ἦν Ἀβαντος  
 νόθος—τὸ ὄνομα δι' αὐτὸν ἔσχηκε· καὶ ἄλλα τέ  
 ἐστὶν οὐκ ἀξιόλογα ἐν τοῖς ἐρείπιοις καὶ εἰκῶν  
 ἐπὶ στήλῃ τοῦ Λύρκου. ἐς μὲν δὴ ταύτην ἐστὶν  
 ἐξ Ἀργεῶν ἐξήκοντα μάλιστα πον σταδία, ἐκ δὲ  
 Λυρκείας ἕτερα τοσαῦτα ἐς Ὀρνείας. Λυρκεία  
 μὲν δὴ πόλεως, ἅτε ἡρημωμένης ἤδη κατὰ τὴν  
 Ἑλλήνων στρατείαν ἐπὶ Ἰλιον, οὐκ ἐποίησαν  
 Ὀμηρὸς ἐν καταλόγῳ μνήμην· Ὀρνεᾶς δὲ—ἐ-  
 γὰρ ὠκοῦντο—, ὥσπερ τῷ τόπῳ τῆς Ἀργείας  
 ἔκειντο, οὕτω καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσι προτέρας  
 6 Φλοιούντά τε καὶ Σικυνῶνα κατέλεξεν. ἐκαλοῦν-  
 τὰ ἀπὸ Ὀρνέως τοῦ Ἐρεχθέως· τοῦ δὲ Ὀρνέω  
 ἦν τούτου Πετρώς, τοῦ δὲ Μενεσθεύς, ὃς Ἀγαμέ-  
 μνονι μετὰ Ἀθηναίων τὴν Πριάμου συγκαθεύλει  
 ἀρχήν. ἀπὸ μὲν δὴ τούτου τὸ ὄνομα ἐγένετο τῇ  
 πόλει, Ἀργεῖοι δὲ ὕστερον τούτων Ὀρνεάτας  
 ἀνέστησαν· ἀναστάντες δὲ σύνοικοι γεγόνασιν  
 Ἀργείοις. ἐστὶ δὲ ἐν ταῖς Ὀρνεαῖς Ἀρτέμιδος  
 τε ἱερὸν καὶ ξόανον ὀρθόν καὶ ἕτερος ναὸς θεοῖς

There is another road, that leads to Lyrcea from the gate at the Ridge. The story is that to this place came Lynceus, being the only one of the fifty brothers to escape death, and that on his escape he raised a beacon here. Now to raise the beacon was the signal he had agreed with Hypermnestra to give if he should escape Danaus and reach a place of safety. She also, they say, lighted a beacon on Larisa as a sign that she too was now out of danger. For this reason the Argives hold every year a beacon festival. At the first the place was called Lyrcea; its present name is derived from Lyrceus, a bastard son of Abas, who afterwards dwelt there. Among the ruins are several things not worth mentioning, besides a figure of Lyrceus upon a slab. The distance from Argos to Lyrcea is about sixty stades, and the distance from Lyrcea to Orneae is the same. Homer in the Catalogue makes no mention of the city Lyrcea, because at the time of the Greek expedition against Troy it already lay deserted; Orneae, however, was inhabited, and in his poem he places it<sup>1</sup> on the list before Phlius and Sicyon, which order corresponds to the position of the towns in the Argive territory. The name is derived from Orneus, the son of Erechtheus. This Orneus begat Peteos, and Peteos begat Menestheus, who, with a body of Athenians, helped Agamemnon to destroy the kingdom of Priam. From him then did Orneae get its name, and afterwards the Argives removed all its citizens, who thereupon came to live at Argos. At Orneae are a sanctuary and an upright wooden image of Artemis; there is besides a temple devoted to all

<sup>1</sup> *Iliad* ii. 571.



πᾶσιν ἐς κοινὸν ἀνειμένους. τὰ δὲ ἐπέκεινα Ὀρνεῶν ἢ τε Σικυνωία καὶ ἡ Φλιασία ἐστίν.

- 7 Ἐρχομένοις δὲ ἐξ Ἀργούς ἐς τὴν Ἐπιδαυρίαν ἐστὶν οἰκοδόμημα ἐν δεξιᾷ πυραμίδι μάλιστα εἰκασμένον, ἔχει δὲ ἀσπίδας σχῆμα Ἀργολικὰς ἐπειργασμένας. ἐνταῦθα Προίτῳ περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς πρὸς Ἀκρίσιον μάχῃ γίνεται, καὶ τέλος μὲν ἴσον τῷ ἀγῶνι συμβῆναι φασὶ καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ διαλαγὰς ὕστερον, ὡς οὐδέτεροι βεβαίως κρατεῖν ἐδύναντο· συμβάλλειν δὲ σφᾶς λέγουσιν ἀσπίσι πρῶτον τότε καὶ αὐτοὺς καὶ τὸ στράτευμα ὥπλισμένους. τοῖς δὲ πεσοῦσιν ἀφ' ἐκατέρων—πολίται γὰρ καὶ συγγενεῖς ἦσαν—ἐποιήθη ταύτῃ μνῆμα ἐν κοινῷ.

- 8 Προῖοῦσι δὲ ἐντεῦθεν καὶ ἐκτραπεῖσιν ἐς δεξιὰν Τίρυνθός ἐστιν ἐρείπια. ἀνέστησαν δὲ καὶ Τίρυνθίους Ἀργεῖοι, συνοίκους προσλαβεῖν καὶ τὸ Ἄργος ἐπαυξῆσαι θελήσαντες. Τίρυνθα δὲ ἥρωα, ἀφ' οὗ τῇ πόλει τὸ ὄνομα ἐγένετο, παῖδα Ἄργου τοῦ Διὸς εἶναι λέγουσι. τὸ δὲ τεῖχος, ὃ δὴ μόνον τῶν ἐρειπίων λείπεται, Κυκλώπων μὲν ἐστὶν ἔργον, πεποιήται δὲ ἀργῶν λίθων, μέγεθος ἔχων ἕκαστος λίθος ὡς ἀπ' αὐτῶν μηδ' ἂν ἀρχὴν κινήσθηναι τὸν μικρότατον ὑπὸ ζευγους ἡμιόνων· λιθία δὲ ἐνήρμοσται πάλαι, ὡς μάλιστα αὐτῶν ἕκαστον ἁρμονίαν τοῖς μεγάλοις λίθοις εἶναι.
- 9 καταβάντων δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, ἐνταῦθα οἱ θάλαμοι τῶν Προίτου θυγατέρων εἰσὶν ἐπανεληθόντων δὲ ἐς τὴν λεωφόρον, ἐπὶ Μῆδειαν ἐς ἀριστερὰν ἤξει. βασιλεύσαι δὲ φασὶν Ἥλεκτρώνα ἐν τῇ Μηδεῖᾳ τὸν πατέρα Ἀλκμήνης ἐπ' ἐμοῦ δὲ Μηδεΐας πλὴν τὸ ἔδαφος ἄλλο οὐδέν.

CORINTH, xxv. 6-9

the gods in common. On the further side of Orneae are Sicyonia and Phliasia.

On the way from Argos to Epidauria there is on the right a building made very like a pyramid, and on it in relief are wrought shields of the Argive shape. Here took place a fight for the throne between Proetus and Acrisius; the contest, they say, ended in a draw, and a reconciliation resulted afterwards, as neither could gain a decisive victory. The story is that they and their hosts were armed with shields, which were first used in this battle. For those that fell on either side was built here a common tomb, as they were fellow citizens and kinsmen.

Going on from here and turning to the right, you come to the ruins of Tiryns. The Tirynthians also were removed by the Argives, who wished to make Argos more powerful by adding to the population. The hero Tiryns, from whom the city derived its name, is said to have been a son of Argus, a son of Zeus. The wall, which is the only part of the ruins still remaining, is a work of the Cyclopes made of unwrought stones, each stone being so big that a pair of mules could not move the smallest from its place to the slightest degree. Long ago small stones were so inserted that each of them binds the large blocks firmly together. Going down seawards, you come to the chambers of the daughters of Proetus. On returning to the highway you will reach Medea on the left hand. They say that Electryon, the father of Alcmena, was king of Medea, but in my time nothing was left of it except

10 ἐλείπετο. κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐς Ἐπίδαυρον εὐθείαν  
ἐστὶ κώμη Ἀήσσα, ναὸς δὲ Ἀθηνᾶς ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ  
ξόανον οὐδέν τι διάφορον ἢ τὸ ἐν ἀκροπόλει τῇ  
Λαρίσῃ. ἐστὶ δὲ ὄρος ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἀήσσης τὸ Ἀρα-  
χναῖον, πάλαι δὲ σάπυς ἐλάτων<sup>1</sup> ἐπὶ Ἰνάχου τὸ  
ὄνομα εἰλήφει. βωμοὶ δὲ εἰσιν ἐν αὐτῷ Διὸς τε  
καὶ Ἥρας· δεῖσαν ὄμβρου σφίσιν ἐνταῦθα θύουσι.

XXVI. Κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἀήσσαν ἔχεται τῆς  
Ἀργείας ἢ Ἐπιδανρίων· πρὶν δὲ ἢ κατ' αὐτὴν  
γενέσθαι τὴν πόλιν, ἐπὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ἀφίξη τοῦ  
Ἀσκληπιοῦ. ταύτην τὴν χώραν οὐκ οἶδα οὔτινες  
πρότερον ᾤκησαν πρὶν Ἐπίδαυρον ἐλθεῖν ἐς  
αὐτήν· οὐ μὲν οὐδὲ τοὺς ἀπογόνους Ἐπιδάουρου  
πυθέσθαι παρὰ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἐδυνάμην. τε-  
λευταῖον δὲ πρὶν ἢ παραγενέσθαι Δωριέας ἐς  
Πελοπόννησον βασιλεύσαί φασι Πιτυρέα Ἰωνος  
ἀπόγονον τοῦ Ξούθου. τοῦτον παραδοῦναι λέ-  
γουσιν ἀμαχεὶ τὴν γῆν Δηφόντῃ καὶ Ἀργείοις·  
2 καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐς Ἀθήνας ὁμοῦ τοῖς πολίταις ἀφικό-  
μενος ἐνταῦθα ᾤκησε, Δηφόντης δὲ καὶ Ἀργεῖοι  
τὴν Ἐπιδανρίαν ἔσχον. ἀπεσχίσθησαν δὲ οὗτοι  
τῶν ἄλλων Ἀργείων Τημένου τελευτήσαντος,  
Δηφόντης μὲν καὶ Ἵρνηθῶ κατ' ἔχθος τῶν  
Τημένου παίδων, ὁ δὲ σὺν αὐτοῖς στρατὸς Δη-  
φόντῃ καὶ Ἵρνηθοῖ πλέον ἢ Κεῖσῳ καὶ τοῖς  
ἀδελφοῖς νέμοντες. Ἐπίδαυρος δὲ, ἀφ' οὗ τὸ  
ὄνομα τῇ γῇ ἐτέθη, ὥς μὲν φασιν Ἥλείοι, Πέ-  
λοπας ἦν κατὰ δὲ Ἀργείων δόξαν καὶ τὰ ἔπη τὰς  
μεγάλας Ἡοίας ἦν Ἐπιδαύρῳ πατὴρ Ἄργος ὁ  
Διὸς· Ἐπιδαύριοι δὲ Ἀπόλλωνι Ἐπίδαυρον  
3 παῖδα προσποιούσιν. Ἀσκληπιοῦ δὲ ἱερὰν μά-

<sup>1</sup> Text corrupt.

the foundations. On the straight road to Epidaurus is a village Lessa, in which is a temple of Athena with a wooden image exactly like the one on the citadel Larisa. Above Lessa is Mount Arachnaeus, which long ago, in the time of Inachus, was named Sappyselaton.<sup>1</sup> On it are altars to Zeus and Hera. When rain is needed they sacrifice to them here.

XXVI. At Lessa the Argive territory joins that of Epidaurus. But before you reach Epidaurus itself you will come to the sanctuary of Asclepius. Who dwelt in this land before Epidaurus came to it I do not know, nor could I discover from the natives the descendants of Epidaurus either. But the last king before the Dorians arrived in the Peloponnesus was, they say, Pityreus, a descendant of Ion, son of Xuthus, and they relate that he handed over the land to Deiphontes and the Argives without a struggle. He went to Athens with his people and dwelt there, while Deiphontes and the Argives took possession of Epidauria. These on the death of Temenus seceded from the other Argives; Deiphontes and Hyrnetho through hatred of the sons of Temenus, and the army with them, because it respected Deiphontes and Hyrnetho more than Ceisus and his brothers. Epidaurus, who gave the land its name, was, the Eleans say, a son of Pelops; but, according to Argive opinion and the poem the *Great Eoëae*,<sup>2</sup> the father of Epidaurus was Argus, son of Zeus, while the Epidaurians maintain that Epidaurus was the child of Apollo. That the land is especially sacred to Asclepius is due to

<sup>1</sup> See opposite page.

<sup>2</sup> A poem attributed to Hesiod.



λιστα εἶναι τὴν γῆν ἐπὶ λόγῳ συμβέβηκε τοιῷδε.  
 Φλεγύαν Ἐπιδαυριοὶ φασιν ἔλθειν εἰς Πελοπόν-  
 νησον πρόφασιν μὲν ἐπὶ θεᾷ τῆς χώρας, ἔργῳ δὲ  
 κατάσκοπον πλήθους τῶν ἐνοικούντων καὶ εἰ τὸ  
 πολὺ μάχιμον εἴη τῶν ἀνθρώπων· ἦν γὰρ δὴ  
 Φλεγύας πολεμικώτατος τῶν τότε καὶ ἐπιὼν  
 ἐκάστοτε ἐφ' οὓς τύχοι τοὺς καρποὺς ἔφερε καὶ  
 4 ἤλαυνε τὴν λείαν. ὅτε δὲ παρεγένετο εἰς Πελο-  
 πόννησον, εἶπετο ἡ θνηγὰτηρ αὐτῷ, λεληθυῖα ἐτι  
 τὸν πατέρα ὅτι ἐξ Ἀπόλλωνος εἶχεν ἐν γαστρὶ.  
 ὡς δὲ ἐν τῇ γῇ τῇ Ἐπιδαυρίῳν ἔτεκεν, ἐκτίθηται  
 τὸν παῖδα εἰς τὸ ὄρος τοῦτο ὃ δὴ Τίτθιον ὀνομά-  
 ζουσιν ἐφ' ἡμῶν, τηνικαῦτα δὲ ἐκαλεῖτο Μύρτιον·  
 ἐκκειμένῳ δὲ ἐδίδον μὲν οἱ γάλα μία τῶν περὶ τὸ  
 ὄρος ποιμαινομένων αἰγῶν, ἐφύλασσε δὲ ὁ κύων  
 ὁ τοῦ αἰπολίου φρουρός. Ἀρεσθάνας δὲ—ὄνομα  
 5 γὰρ τῷ ποιμένι τοῦτο ἦν—ὡς τὸν ἀριθμὸν οὐχ  
 εὗρισκεν ὁμολογοῦντα τῶν αἰγῶν καὶ ὁ κύων ἅμα  
 ἀπεστάτει τῆς ποιμνῆς, οὕτω τὸν Ἀρεσθάναν ἐν  
 πᾶν φασιν ἀφικνεῖσθαι ζητήσεως, εὐρόντα δὲ  
 ἐπιθυμῆσαι τὸν παῖδα ἀνελέσθαι καὶ ὡς ἐγγὺς  
 ἐγένετο, ἀστραπὴν ἰδεῖν ἐκλάμψασαν ἀπὸ τοῦ  
 παιδός, νομίσαντα δὲ εἶναι θεῖόν τι, ὥσπερ ἦν,  
 ἀποτραπέσθαι. ὁ δὲ αὐτίκα ἐπὶ γῆν καὶ θάλασσαν  
 πᾶσαν ἠγγέλλετο τά τε ἄλλα ὅποσα βούλοιο  
 εὐρίσκειν ἐπὶ τοῖς κάμνουσι καὶ ὅτι ἀνίστησι  
 6 τεθνεώτας. λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἄλλος ἐπ' αὐτῷ  
 λόγος, Κορωνίδα κύουσιν Ἀσκληπιὸν Ἰσχυὶ τῷ  
 Ἐλάτῳ συγγενέσθαι, καὶ τὴν μὲν ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὸ  
 Ἀρτέμιδος ἀμυνομένης τῆς εἰς τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα  
 ὕβρεως, ἐξημμένης δὲ ἤδη τῆς πυρᾶς ἀρπάσαι  
 7 λέγεται τὸν παῖδα Ἑρμῆς ἀπὸ τῆς φλογός. ὁ

the following reason. The Epidaurians say that Phlegyas came to the Peloponnesus, ostensibly to see the land, but really to spy out the number of the inhabitants, and whether the greater part of them was warlike. For Phlegyas was the greatest soldier of his time, and making forays in all directions he carried off the crops and lifted the cattle. When he went to the Peloponnesus, he was accompanied by his daughter, who all along had kept hidden from her father that she was with child by Apollo. In the country of the Epidaurians she bore a son, and exposed him on the mountain called Nipple at the present day, but then named Myrtium. As the child lay exposed he was given milk by one of the goats that pastured about the mountain, and was guarded by the watch-dog of the herd. And when Aresthanas (for this was the herdsman's name) discovered that the tale of the goats was not full, and that the watch-dog also was absent from the herd, he left, they say, no stone unturned, and on finding the child desired to take him up. As he drew near, he saw lightning that flashed from the child, and, thinking that it was something divine, as in fact it was, he turned away. Presently it was reported over every land and sea that Asclepius was discovering everything he wished to heal the sick, and that he was raising dead men to life. There is also another tradition concerning him. Coronis, they say, when with child with Asclepius, had intercourse with Ischys, son of Elatus. She was killed by Artemis to punish her for the insult done to Apollo, but when the pyre was already lighted Hermes is said to have snatched the child from the

PAUSANIAS: DESCRIPTION OF GREECE

δὲ τρίτος τῶν λόγων ἤκιστα ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν ἀληθὲς  
 ἔστιν, Ἀρσινόης ποιήσας εἶναι τῆς Λευκίππου  
 παῖδα Ἀσκληπιόν. Ἀπολλοφάνει γὰρ τῷ Ἀρ-  
 κάδι ἐς Δελφοὺς ἐλθόντι καὶ ἐρομένῳ τὸν θεὸν εἰ  
 γένοιτο ἐξ Ἀρσινόης Ἀσκληπιὸς καὶ Μεσσηνίοις  
 πολίτης εἶη, ἔχρησεν ἡ Πυθία·

ὦ μέγα χάρμα βροτοῖς βλαστῶν Ἀσκληπιέ  
 πᾶσιν,

ὃν Φλεγυλὶς ἔτικτεν ἐμοὶ φιλότῃτι μῆγῃσα  
 ἱμερόεσσα Κορωνὶς ἐνὶ κραναῇ Ἐπιδαύρῳ.

οὗτος ὁ χρησμὸς δηλοῖ μάλιστα οὐκ ὄντα Ἀσ-  
 κληπιὸν Ἀρσινόης, ἀλλὰ Ἡσιόδου ἢ τῶν τινα  
 ἐμπεποιηκότων ἐς τὰ Ἡσιόδου τὰ ἔπη συνθέντα  
 8 ἐς τὴν Μεσσηνίων χάριν. μαρτυρεῖ δέ μοι καὶ  
 τόδε ἐν Ἐπιδαύρῳ τὸν θεὸν γενέσθαι· τὰ γὰρ  
 Ἀσκληπιεῖα εὐρίσκω τὰ ἐπιφανέστατα γεγονότα  
 ἐξ Ἐπιδαύρου. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ Ἀθηναῖοι, τῆς  
 τελετῆς λέγοντες Ἀσκληπιῷ μεταδοῦναι, τὴν  
 ἡμέραν ταύτην Ἐπιδαύρια ὀνομάζουσι καὶ θεὸν  
 ἀπ' ἐκείνου φασὶν Ἀσκληπιὸν σφισι νομισθῆναι·  
 τοῦτο δὲ Ἀρχίας ὁ Ἀρισταίχμου, τὸ συμβὰν  
 σπᾶσμα θηρεύοντί οἱ περὶ τὸν Πίνδασον ἱαθεῖς  
 ἐν τῇ Ἐπιδαυρίᾳ, τὸν θεὸν ἐπηγάγετο ἐς Πέρ-  
 9 γαμον. ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Περγαμηνῶν Σμυρναίοις  
 γέγονεν ἐφ' ἡμῶν Ἀσκληπιεῖον τὸ ἐπὶ θαλάσῃ.  
 τὸ δ' ἐν Βαλάγγραις ταῖς Κυρηναίων ἐστὶν Ἀσ-  
 κληπιὸς καλούμενος Ἰατρὸς ἐξ Ἐπιδαύρου καὶ  
 οὗτος. ἐκ δὲ τοῦ παρὰ Κυρηναίοις τὸ ἐν Λεβήνῃ

flames. The third account is, in my opinion, the farthest from the truth; it makes Asclepius to be the son of Arsinoë, the daughter of Leucippus. For when Apollophanes, the Arcadian, came to Delphi and asked the god if Asclepius was the son of Arsinoë and therefore a Messenian, the Pythian priestess gave this response:—

“ O Asclepius, born to bestow great joy upon  
mortals,  
Pledge of the mutual love I enjoyed with Phlegyas’  
daughter,  
Lovely Coronis, who bare thee in rugged land,  
Epidaurus.”

This oracle makes it quite certain that Asclepius was not a son of Arsinoë, and that the story was a fiction invented by Hesiod, or by one of Hesiod’s interpolators, just to please the Messenians. There is other evidence that the god was born in Epidaurus; for I find that the most famous sanctuaries of Asclepius had their origin from Epidaurus. In the first place, the Athenians, who say that they gave a share of their mystic rites to Asclepius, call this day of the festival Epidauria, and they allege that their worship of Asclepius dates from then. Again, when Archias, son of Aristaechnus, was healed in Epidauria after spraining himself while hunting about Pindasus, he brought the cult to Pergamus. From the one at Pergamus has been built in our own day the sanctuary of Asclepius by the sea at Smyrna. Further, at Balagrae of the Cyreneans there is an Asclepius called Healer, who like the others came from Epidaurus. From the one at Cyrene was founded the sanctuary of Asclepius



τῇ Κρητῶν ἐστὶν Ἀσκληπιεῖον. διάφορον δὲ  
Κυρηναίοις τοσόνδε ἐς Ἐπιδαυρίους ἐστίν, ὅτι  
αἶγας οἱ Κυρηναῖοι θύουσιν, Ἐπιδαυρίοις οὐ  
10 καθεστηκότος. θεὸν δὲ Ἀσκληπιὸν νομισθέντα  
ἐξ ἀρχῆς καὶ οὐκ ἀνὰ χρόνον λαβόντα τὴν φήμην  
τεκμηρίοις καὶ ἄλλοις εὐρίσκω καὶ Ὀμήρου  
μαρτυρεῖ μοι τὰ περὶ Μαχάονος ὑπὸ Ἀγαμέμνονος  
εἰρημένα

Ταλθύβι', ὅτι τάχιστα Μαχάονα δεῦρο κά-  
λεσσον  
φῶτ' Ἀσκληπιοῦ υἱόν,

ὡς ἂν εἰ λέγοι θεοῦ παῖδα ἄνθρωπον.

XXVII. Τὸ δὲ ἱερὸν ἅλσος τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ  
περιέχουσιν ὄροι πανταχόθεν· οὐδὲ ἀποθνήσκου-  
σιν ἄνθρωποι οὐδὲ τίκτουσιν αἱ γυναῖκες σφισιν  
ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου, καθὰ καὶ ἐπὶ Δήλῳ  
τῇ νήσῳ τὸν αὐτὸν νόμον. τὰ δὲ θυόμενα, ἣν  
τέ τις Ἐπιδαυρίων αὐτῶν ἦν τε ξένος ὁ θύων  
ἢ, καταναλίσκουσιν ἐντὸς τῶν ὄρων· τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ  
2 γινόμενον οἶδα καὶ ἐν Τιτάνῃ. τοῦ δὲ Ἀσκλη-  
πιοῦ τὸ ἄγαλμα μεγέθει μὲν τοῦ Ἀθήνησιν  
Ὀλυμπίου Διὸς ἥμισυ ἀποδεῖ, πεποίηται δὲ  
ἐλέφαντος καὶ χρυσοῦ· μηνύει δὲ ἐπίγραμμα τοῦ  
εἰργασμένον εἶναι Θρασυμήδην Ἀριγνώτου Πά-  
ριον. κύβηται δὲ ἐπὶ θρόνου βακτηρίαν κρατῶν,  
τὴν δὲ ἑτέραν τῶν χειρῶν ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς ἔχει  
τοῦ δράκοντος, καὶ οἱ καὶ κύων παρακατα-  
κείμενος πεποίηται. τῷ θρόνῳ δὲ ἡρώων ἐπειρ-  
γασμένα Ἀργείων ἐστὶν ἔργα, Βελλεροφόντου  
τὸ ἐς τὴν Χίμαιραν καὶ Περσεύς ἀφελὼν τὴν

at Lebene, in Crete. There is this difference between the Cyreneans and the Epidaurians, that whereas the former sacrifice goats, it is against the custom of the Epidaurians to do so. That Asclepius was considered a god from the first, and did not receive the title only in course of time, I infer from several signs, including the evidence of Homer,<sup>1</sup> who makes Agamemnon say about Machaon :—

“ Talthybius, with all speed go summon me hither  
Machaon,  
Mortal son of Aselepius.”

As who should say, “human son of a god.”

XXVII. The sacred grove of Asclepius is surrounded on all sides by boundary marks. No death or birth takes place within the enclosure ; the same custom prevails also in the island of Delos. All the offerings, whether the offerer be one of the Epidaurians themselves or a stranger, are entirely consumed within the bounds. At Titane too, I know, there is the same rule. The image of Asclepius is, in size, half as big as the Olympian Zeus at Athens, and is made of ivory and gold. An inscription tells us that the artist was Thrasymedes, a Parian, son of Arignotus. The god is sitting on a seat grasping a staff; the other hand he is holding above the head of the serpent; there is also a figure of a dog lying by his side. On the seat are wrought in relief the exploits of Argive heroes, that of Bellerophon against the Chimaera, and Perseus, who has cut off the head of

<sup>1</sup> *Iliad* iv. 193.

- Μεδούσης κεφαλὴν. τοῦ ναοῦ δέ ἐστι πέραν  
 3 ἐνθα οἱ ἰκέται τοῦ θεοῦ καθεύδουσιν. οἰκῆμα  
 δὲ περιφερὲς λίθου λευκοῦ καλούμενον Θάλος  
 ὠκοδόμηται πλησίον, θεάς ἄξιον· ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ  
 Πανσίου γράψαντος βέλη μὲν καὶ τόξον ἐστὶν  
 ἀφεικῶς Ἔρως, λύραν δὲ αὐτῷ αὐτῶν ἀράμενος  
 φέρει. γέγραπται δὲ ἐνταῦθα καὶ Μέθη, Παν-  
 σίου καὶ τοῦτο ἔργον, ἐξ ὑαλίνης φιάλης πίνουσα·  
 ἴδοις δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ γραφῇ φιάλην τε ὑάλου καὶ  
 δι' αὐτῆς γυναικὸς πρόσωπον. στήλαι δὲ εἰστή-  
 κεσαν ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου τὸ μὲν ἀρχαῖον καὶ  
 πλέονες, ἐπ' ἐμοῦ δὲ ἕξ λουπαί· ταύταις ἐγγεγραμ-  
 μένα καὶ ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν ἐστὶν ὀνόματα  
 ἀκεσθέντων ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ, προσέτι δὲ  
 καὶ νόσημα ὃ τι ἕκαστος ἐνόσησε καὶ ὅπως ἰάθη·  
 4 γέγραπται δὲ φωνῇ τῇ Δωρίδι. χωρὶς δὲ ἀπὸ  
 τῶν ἄλλων ἐστὶν ἀρχαία στήλη ἵππους δὲ  
 Ἴππόλυτον ἀναθεῖναι τῷ θεῷ φησὶν εἴκοσι.  
 ταύτης τῆς στήλης τῷ ἐπιγράμματι ὁμολογοῦντα  
 λέγουσιν Ἀρικιεῖς, ὡς τεθνεῶτα Ἴππόλυτον ἐκ  
 τῶν Θησέως ἀρῶν ἀνέστησεν Ἀσκληπιός· ὃ δὲ  
 ὡς αὐθις ἐβίω, οὐκ ἤξιον νέμειν τῷ πατρὶ  
 συγγνώμην, ἀλλὰ ὑπεριδὼν τὰς δεήσεις ἐς Ἴτα-  
 λίαν ἔρχεται παρὰ τοὺς Ἀρικιεῖς, καὶ ἐβασίλευσέ  
 τε αὐτόθι καὶ ἀνῆκε τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι τέμενος, ἐνθα  
 ἄχι ἐμοῦ μονομαχίας ἄθλα ἦν καὶ ἱεράσθαι τῇ  
 θεῷ τὸν νικῶντα· ὃ δὲ ἀγὼν ἐλευθέρων μὲν προ-  
 ἔκειτο οὐδενί, οἰκέταις δὲ ἀποδρᾶσι τοὺς δεσπότας.  
 5 Ἐπιδαυρίοις δὲ ἐστὶ θέατρον ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ μάλιστα  
 ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν θεάς ἄξιον· τὰ μὲν γὰρ Ῥωμαίων  
 πολὺν δὴ τι ὑπερῆκε τῶν πανταχοῦ τῷ κόσμῳ,  
 μεγέθει δὲ Ἀρκάδων τὸ ἐν Μεγάλῃ πόλει· ἀρ-

Medusa. Over against the temple is the place where the suppliants of the god sleep. Near has been built a circular building of white marble, called *Tholos* (Round House), which is worth seeing. In it is a picture by Pausias<sup>1</sup> representing Love, who has cast aside his bow and arrows, and is carrying instead of them a lyre that he has taken up. Here there is also another work of Pausias, Drunkenness drinking out of a crystal cup. You can see even in the painting a crystal cup and a woman's face through it. Within the enclosure stood slabs; in my time six remained, but of old there were more. On them are inscribed the names of both the men and the women who have been healed by Asclepius, the disease also from which each suffered, and the means of cure. The dialect is Doric. Apart from the others is an old slab, which declares that Hippolytus dedicated twenty horses to the god. The Aricians tell a tale that agrees with the inscription on this slab, that when Hippolytus was killed, owing to the curses of Theseus, Asclepius raised him from the dead. On coming to life again he refused to forgive his father; rejecting his prayers, he went to the Aricians in Italy. There he became king and devoted a precinct to Artemis, where down to my time the prize for the victor in single combat was the priesthood of the goddess. The contest was open to no freeman, but only to slaves who had run away from their masters. The Epidaurians have a theatre within the sanctuary, in my opinion very well worth seeing. For while the Roman theatres are far superior to those anywhere else in their splendour, and the Arcadian theatre at Megalo-

<sup>1</sup> A famous painter of Sicily.



- μονίας δὲ ἡ κάλλους ἔνεκα ἀρχιτέκτων ποῖος  
 ἐς ἄμιλλαν Πολυκλείτῳ γένοιτο' ἂν ἀξιοχρεῶσι  
 Πολύκλειτος γὰρ καὶ θέατρον τοῦτο καὶ οἶκμα  
 τὸ περιφερὲς ὁ ποιήσας ἦν. ἐντὸς δὲ τοῦ ἄλσους  
 ναὸς τέ ἐστιν Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ ἄγαλμα Ἡπιόνης καὶ  
 Ἀφροδίτης ἱερὸν καὶ Θέμιδος καὶ στάδιον, οἷα  
 Ἕλλησι τὰ πολλὰ γῆς χῶμα, καὶ κρήνη τῷ τε  
 ὀρόφῳ καὶ κόσμῳ τῷ λοιπῷ θέας ἀξία. ὅποσα δὲ  
 Ἀντωνίνος ἀνὴρ τῆς συγκλήτου βουλῆς ἐφ' ἡμῶν  
 ἐποίησεν, ἔστι μὲν Ἀσκληπιοῦ λουτρόν, ἔστι δὲ  
 ἱερὸν θεῶν οὓς Ἐπιδώτας ὀνομάζουσιν· ἐποίησε  
 δὲ καὶ Ἑγεία ναὸν καὶ Ἀσκληπιῶ καὶ Ἀπόλλωνι  
 ἐπὶ κλησὶν Αἰγυπτίοις. καὶ ἦν γὰρ στοὰ καλου-  
 μένη Κότνος, καταρρυέντος δὲ οἱ τοῦ ὀρόφου  
 διέφθαρτο ἥδη πᾶσα ἅτε ὥμης τῆς πλίνθου ποιη-  
 θείσα· ἀνφοδόμησε καὶ ταύτην. Ἐπιδαυρίων δὲ  
 οἱ περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν μάλιστα ἐταλαιπώρουν, ὅτι  
 μήτε αἱ γυναῖκες ἐν σκέπῃ σφίσιν ἔτικτον καὶ ἡ  
 τελευτὴ τοῖς κάμνουσιν ὑπαίθριος ἐγίνετο· ὁ δὲ  
 καὶ ταῦτα ἐπανορθούμενος κατεσκευάσατο οἶκη-  
 σιν· ἐνταῦθα ἥδη καὶ ἀποθανεῖν ἀνθρώπῳ καὶ  
 τεκεῖν γυναικὶ ὅσιον.
- 7 Ὁρη δὲ ἐστὶν ὑπὲρ τὸ ἄλσος τό τε Τίθιον καὶ  
 ἕτερον ὀνομαζόμενον Κυνὸρτιον, Μαλεάτου δὲ  
 Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερὸν ἐν αὐτῷ. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τῶν  
 ἀρχαίων· τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ὅσα περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ  
 Μαλεάτου καὶ ἔλυντρον κρήνης, ἐς ὃ τὸ ὕδωρ  
 συλλέγεται σφισι τὸ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ, Ἀντωνίνος  
 καὶ ταῦτα Ἐπιδαυρίοις ἐποίησεν. XXVIII.  
 δράκοντες δὲ<sup>1</sup> οἱ λοιποὶ καὶ ἕτερον γένος ἐς τὸ  
 ξανθότερον ῥέπου τῆς χροᾶς ἱεροὶ μὲν τοῦ Ἀσκλη-

<sup>1</sup> The text here is probably corrupt.

polis is unequalled for size, what architect could seriously rival Polycleitus in symmetry and beauty? For it was Polycleitus<sup>1</sup> who built both this theatre and the circular building. Within the grove are a temple of Artemis, an image of Epione, a sanctuary of Aphrodite and Themis, a race-course consisting, like most Greek race-courses, of a bank of earth, and a fountain worth seeing for its roof and general splendour. A Roman senator, Antoninus, made in our own day a bath of Asclepius and a sanctuary of the gods they call Bountiful. He made also a temple to Health, Asclepius, and Apollo, the last two surnamed Egyptian. He moreover restored the portico that was named the Portico of Cotys, which, as the brick of which it was made had been unburnt, had fallen into utter ruin after it had lost its roof. As the Epidaurians about the sanctuary were in great distress, because their women had no shelter in which to be delivered and the sick breathed their last in the open, he provided a dwelling, so that these grievances also were redressed. Here at last was a place in which without sin a human being could die and a woman be delivered.

138 or  
161 A.D.

Above the grove are the Nipple and another mountain called Cynortium; on the latter is a sanctuary of Maleatian Apollo. The sanctuary itself is an ancient one, but among the things Antoninus made for the Epidaurians are various appurtenances for the sanctuary of the Maleatian, including a reservoir into which the rain-water collects for their use. XXVIII. The serpents, including a peculiar kind of a yellowish colour, are considered sacred

<sup>1</sup> Probably the younger artist of that name.

- πιού νομίζονται καὶ εἰσὶν ἀνθρώποις ἡμεροί, τρέφει δὲ μόνῃ σφᾶς ἢ τῶν Ἐπιδαυρίων γῆ· τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ εὐρίσκω καὶ ἄλλαις χώραις συμβεβηκός· Λιβύῃ μὲν γε μόνῃ κροκοδείλους τρέφει χερσαίους διπήχεων οὐκ ἐλάσσονας, παρὰ δὲ Ἰνδῶν μόνων ἄλλα τε κομίζεται καὶ ὄρνιθες οἱ ψιττακοί. τοὺς δὲ ὄφεις οἱ Ἐπιδαυριοὶ τοὺς μεγάλους ἐς πλεόν πηχῶν καὶ τριάκοντα προήκοντας, οἳ παρὰ τε Ἰνδοῖς τρέφονται καὶ ἐν Λιβύῃ, ἄλλο δὴ τι γένος φασὶν εἶναι καὶ οὐ
- 2 δράκοντας. ἐς δὲ τὸ ὄρος ἀνιοῦσι τὸ Κόρυφον, ἔστι καθ' ὁδὸν Στρεπτήης καλουμένης ἐλαίας φυτόν, αἰτίου τοῦ περιαγαγόντος τῇ χειρὶ Ἑρακλέους ἐς τοῦτο τὸ σχῆμα. εἰ δὲ καὶ Ἀσιναίοις τοῖς ἐν τῇ Ἀργολίδι ἔθηκεν ὄρον τοῦτον, οὐκ ἂν ἔγωγε εἰδείην, ἐπεὶ μηδὲ ἐτέρωθι ἀναστάτου γενομένης χώρας τὸ σαφές ἐστι οἷόν τε τῶν ὄρων ἐξευρεῖν. ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ ἄκρᾳ τοῦ ὄρους Κορυφαίας ἐστὶν ἱερὸν Ἀρτέμιδος, οὗ καὶ Τελέσιλλα ἐποιήσατο ἐν ᾧσματι μνήμην.
- 3 Κατιοῦσι δὲ ἐς τῶν Ἐπιδαυρίων τὴν πόλιν χωρίον ἐστὶ πεφυκυίας ἀγριελαίους ἔχον· Τρηνήθιον δὲ καλοῦσι τὸ χωρίον. τὰ δὲ ἐς αὐτό, ὡς Ἐπιδαυριοὶ τε λέγουσι καὶ εἰκὸς ἔχει, γράψω. Κεῖσος καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ Τημένου παῖδες μάλιστα ᾗδεσαν Δημόφοντην λυπήσοντες, εἰ διαλύσαι πως ἂν αὐτοῦ τὴν Τρηνήθῳ δυνηθεῖεν· ἀφίκοντο οὖν ἐς Ἐπιδαυρον Κερύνης καὶ Φάλκης· Ἀγραίῳ γὰρ τῷ νεωτάτῳ τὰ ποιούμενα οὐκ ἤρεσκεν. οὗτοι δὲ στήσαντες τὸ ἄρμα ὑπὸ τὸ τείχος κήρυκα ἀποστέλλουσι παρὰ τὴν ἀδελφὴν, ἐλθεῖν δῆθεν ἐς

to Asclepius, and are tame with men. These are peculiar to Epidauria, and I have noticed that other lands have their peculiar animals. For in Libya only are to be found land crocodiles at least two cubits long; from India alone are brought, among other creatures, parrots. But the big snakes that grow to more than thirty cubits, such as are found in India and in Libya, are said by the Epidaurians not to be serpents, but some other kind of creature. As you go up to Mount Coryphum you see by the road an olive tree called Twisted. It was Heracles who gave it this shape by bending it round with his hand, but I cannot say whether he set it to be a boundary mark against the Asinaeans in Argolis, since in no land, which has been depopulated, is it easy to discover the truth about the boundaries. On the top of the mountain there is a sanctuary of Artemis Coryphaea (*of the Peak*), of which Telesilla<sup>1</sup> made mention in an ode.

On going down to the city of the Epidaurians, you come to a place where wild olives grow; they call it Hynethium. I will relate the story of it, which is probable enough, as given by the Epidaurians. Ceisus and the other sons of Temenus knew that they would grieve Deiphontes most if they could find a way to part him and Hynetho. So Cerynes and Phalces (for Agraeus, the youngest, disapproved of their plan) came to Epidaurus. Staying their chariot under the wall, they sent a herald to their sister, pretending that they wished

<sup>1</sup> A famous lyric poetess. See p. 355.



- 4 λόγους αὐτῇ βουλόμενοι. ὥς δὲ ὑπήκουσε καλοῦ-  
 σιν, ἐνταῦθα οἱ νεανίσκοι πολλὰ μὲν Δηιφόντου  
 κατηγόρου, πολλὰ δὲ αὐτὴν ἰκέτεον ἐκείνην  
 ἐπαυήκειν ἐς Ἄργος, ἅλλα τε ἐπαγγελλόμενοι καὶ  
 ἀνδρὶ δώσειν αὐτὴν Δηιφόντου τὰ πάντα ἀμείνονι  
 καὶ ἀνθρώπων πλειόνων καὶ γῆς ἄρχοντι εὐδαιμο-  
 νεστέρας. Ἵρνηθῶ δὲ τοῖς λεχθεῖσιν ἀλγήσασα  
 ἀπεδίδου σφίσι τὴν ἴσην, Δηιφόντην μὲν αὐτῇ  
 τε ἄνδρα ἄρεστόν εἶναι φήσασα καὶ Τημέ-  
 νου γενέσθαι γαμβρὸν οὐ μεμπτόν, ἐκείνοις δὲ Τημέ-  
 νου προσήκειν σφαγεῦσιν ὀνομάζεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ  
 5 παισίν, καὶ τὴν μὲν οὐδὲν ἔτι ἀποκρινάμενοι  
 συλλαμβάνουσιν, ἀναθέντες δὲ ἐς τὸ ἄρμα ἀπή-  
 λαινον· Δηιφόντῃ δὲ ἀγγέλλει τις τῶν Ἐπι-  
 δαυρίων ὥς Κερύνης καὶ Φάλκης ἄγοντες οἰχοῦτο  
 ἄκουσαν Ἵρνηθῶ. ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς τε ὥς τάχους  
 εἶχεν ἤμυνε καὶ οἱ Ἐπιδαυριοὶ πυνθανόμενοι  
 προσεβοήθουν. Δηιφόντης δὲ Κερύνην μὲν ὥς  
 κατελάμβανεν ἀναιρεῖ βαλὼν, Φάλκην δὲ ἐχό-  
 μενον Ἵρνηθοῦς βαλεῖν μὲν ἔδεισε, μὴ ἀμαρτῶν  
 γένοιτο αὐτῆς ἐκείνης φονεύς, συμπλακεῖς δὲ  
 ἐπειράτο ἀφαιρεῖσθαι. Φάλκης δὲ ἀντεχόμενος  
 καὶ ἔλκων βιαιότερον ἀπέκτεινε ἔχουσιν ἐν  
 6 γαστρὶ. καὶ ὁ μὲν συνείς, οἷα ἐς τὴν ἀδελφὴν  
 ἐξειργασμένος ἔργα ἦν, ἤλαυνε τὸ ἄρμα ἀφειδέ-  
 στερον, προλαβεῖν τῆς ὁδοῦ σπεύδων πρὶν ἢ  
 πάντας ἐπ' αὐτὸν συλλεχθῆναι τοὺς Ἐπιδαυρίους·  
 Δηιφόντης δὲ σὺν τοῖς παισίν—ἐγεγόνεσαν γὰρ  
 καὶ παῖδες αὐτῷ πρότερον ἔτι υἱοὶ μὲν Ἀντιμένης  
 καὶ Ξάνθιππός τε καὶ Ἀργεῖος, θυγάτηρ δὲ  
 Ὀρσοβία· ταύτην Πάμφυλον τὸν Αἰγυμίου λέ-  
 γουσιν ὕστερον γῆμαι—τότε δὲ ἀναλαβόντες τὸν

to parley with her. When she obeyed their summons, the young men began to make many accusations against Deiphontes, and besought her much that she would return to Argos, promising, among other things, to give her to a husband in every respect better than Deiphontes, one who ruled over more subjects and a more prosperous country. But Hyrnetho, pained at their words, gave as good as she had received, retorting that Deiphontes was a dear husband to her, and had shown himself a blameless son-in-law to Temenus; as for them, they ought to be called the murderers of Temenus rather than his sons. Without further reply the youths seized her, placed her in the chariot, and drove away. An Epidaurian told Deiphontes that Cerynes and Phalces had gone, taking with them Hyrnetho against her will; he himself rushed to the rescue with all speed, and as the Epidaurians learned the news they reinforced him. On overtaking the runaways, Deiphontes shot Cerynes and killed him, but he was afraid to shoot at Phalces, who was holding Hyrnetho, lest he should miss him and become the slayer of his wife; so he closed with them and tried to get her away. But Phalces, holding on and dragging her with greater violence, killed her, as she was with child. Realising what he had done to his sister, he began to drive the chariot more recklessly, as he was anxious to gain a start before all the Epidaurians could gather against him. Deiphontes and his children—for before this children had been born to him, Antimenes, Xanthippus, and Argeüs, and a daughter, Orsobia, who, they say, afterwards married Pamphylus, son of Aegimius—took up the

νεκρὸν τῆς Ἑρμηνεύσεως κομίζουσιν ἐς τοῦτο τὸ  
 7 χωρίον τὸ ἀνὰ χρόνον Ἑρμηνεύειν κληθέν. καὶ οἱ  
 ποιήσαντες ἡρώων τιμὰς καὶ ἄλλας δεδώκασι καὶ  
 ἐπὶ τοῖς πεφυκόσιν ἐλαίοις, καὶ εἰ δὴ τι ἄλλο  
 ξύλον ἔστω, καθέστηκε νόμος τὰ θραυόμενα  
 μηδὲνα ἐς οἶκον φέρεσθαι μηδὲ χρᾶσθαι σφισιν  
 ἐς μηδὲν, κατὰ χώραν δ' αὐτοῦ λείπουσιν ἱερὰ  
 εἶναι τῆς Ἑρμηνεύσεως.

8 Οὐ πόρρω δὲ τῆς πόλεως Μελίσσης μνημί-  
 ἐστιν, ἣ Περιάνδρῳ συνώκησε τῷ Κυψέλου, καὶ  
 ἕτερον Προκλέους πατρός τῆς Μελίσσης. ἐτυ-  
 μώνει δὲ καὶ οὗτος Ἐπιδaurίων, καθὰ δὴ καὶ ὁ  
 γαμβρός οἱ Περιάνδρος Κορίνθου. XXIX. αὕτη  
 δὲ τῶν Ἐπιδaurίων ἡ πόλις παρείχετο ἐς μνήμην  
 τάδε ἀξιολογώτατα· τέμενος δὴ ἐστὶν Ἀσκληπιοῦ  
 καὶ ἀγάλματα ὁ θεὸς αὐτὸς καὶ Ἡπιόνη, γυναῖκα  
 δὲ εἶναι τὴν Ἡπιόνην Ἀσκληπιοῦ φασί· ταῦτά  
 ἐστὶν ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ λίθου Παρίου. ναὸς δὲ ἐν τῇ  
 πόλει καὶ Διονύσου καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος ἐστὶν ἄλλος·  
 εἰκάσαις ἂν θηρευούσῃ τὴν Ἀρτεμιν. Ἀφροδίτης  
 τε ἱερὸν πεποιήται· τὸ δὲ πρὸς τῷ λιμένι ἐπὶ  
 ἄκρας ἀνεχούσης ἐς θάλασσαν λέγουσιν Ἦρας  
 εἶναι. τὴν δὲ Ἀθηναίαν ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει, ξόανον  
 θεᾶς ἄξιον, Κισσαίαν ἐπονομάζουσιν.

2 Αἰγινῆται δὲ οἰκοῦσιν ἔχοντες τὴν νῆσον ἀπαν-  
 τικρὴν τῆς Ἐπιδaurίας. ἀνθρώπους δ' οὐκ εὐθὺς  
 ἐξ ἀρχῆς λέγουσιν ἐν αὐτῇ γενέσθαι· Διὸς δὲ ἐν  
 ἔρημον κομίσαντος Αἰγιναν τὴν Ἀσωποῦ τῇ μὲν  
 τὸ ὄνομα ἐτέθη τοῦτο ἀντὶ Οἰνώης, Αἰακοῦ δὲ  
 αἰτήσαντος ὥς ἠῤῥήθη παρὰ Διὸς οἰκῆτορας.  
 οὕτω οἱ τὸν Δία ἀνείναι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους φασὶν  
 ἐκ τῆς γῆς. βασιλεύσαντα δὲ ἐν τῇ γῇ πλὴν

body of Hyrnetho and carried it to this place, in course of time was named Hyrnethium. built for her a hero-shrine, and bestowed upon various honours; in particular, the custom was established that nobody should carry home, or use for any purpose, the pieces that break off the olive trees, or other trees, that grow there; these are left on the spot to be sacred to Hyrnetho.

Far from the city is the tomb of Melissa, who was the daughter of Periander, the son of Cypselus, and another daughter of Periander, the father of Melissa. He, too, was the father of Epidaurus, as Periander, his son-in-law, was the father of Epidaurus. c. 500  
B.C.

XXIX. The most noteworthy things which I found the city of Epidaurus itself had were these. There is, of course, a precinct of Apollo, with images of the god himself and of his wife, Epione, they say, was the wife of Asclepius. There are statues of Parian marble, and are set up in the precinct. There is also in the city a temple of Dionysus and of Artemis. The figure of Artemis one might think to be the goddess hunting. There is also a statue of Aphrodite, while the one at the harbour, of great height that juts out into the sea, they say is of wood. The Athena on the citadel, a wooden statue, worth seeing, they surname Cissaea (*ivy-leaved*).

The Aeginetans dwell in the island over against the Peloponnese. It is said that in the beginning there were no men in it; but after Zeus brought to it, uninhabited, Aegina, daughter of Asopus, its name was changed from Oenone to Aegina; and when Aeacus, on growing up, asked Zeus for settlers, he, they say, raised up the inhabitants out of the earth. They can mention no king of the island



- Αἰακὸν οὐδένα εἰπεῖν ἔχουσιν, ἐπεὶ μὴδὲ τῶν Αἰακοῦ παίδων τινὰ ἴσμεν καταμείναντα, Πηλεὶ μὲν συμβὰν καὶ Τελαμῶνι ἐπὶ φόνῳ φεύγειν τῷ Φώκου, τῶν δὲ αὐτῷ Φώκου παίδων περὶ τὸν Παρνασσὸν οἰκησάντων ἐν τῇ νῦν καλουμένῃ Φωκίῃ.
- 3 τὸ δὲ ὄνομα προὔπηρχεν ἤδη τῇ χώρᾳ, Φώκου τοῦ Ὀρνυτίωνος γενεᾷ πρότερον ἐς αὐτὴν ἐλθόντος. ἐπὶ μὲν δὴ Φώκου τούτου ἡ περὶ Τιθορέαν τε καὶ Παρνασσὸν ἐκαλεῖτο Φωκίς· ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ Αἰακοῦ καὶ πᾶσιν ἐξενίκησεν, ὅσοι Μινυαῖς τί εἰσιν Ὀρχομενίοις ὁμοιοὶ καὶ ἐπὶ Σκάρφειαν τὴν
- 4 Λοκρῶν καθήκουσι. γεγόνασι δὲ ἀπὸ μὲν Πηλέως οἱ ἐν Ἡπείρῳ βασιλεῖς, Τελαμῶνος δὲ τῶν παίδων Αἴαντος μὲν ἐστὶν ἀφανέστερον γένος οἷα ἰδιωτεύσαντος ἀνθρώπου, πλὴν ὅσον Μιλτιάδης, ὃς Ἀθηναίοις ἐς Μαραθῶνα ἡγήσατο, καὶ Κίμων ὁ Μιλτιάδου προῆλθεν ἐς δόξαν· οἱ δὲ Τευκρίδαι βασιλεῖς διέμειναν Κυπρίων ἄρχοντες ἐς Εὐαγόραν. Φώκῳ δὲ Ἄσιος ὁ τὰ ἔπη ποιήσας γενέσθαι φησὶ Πανοπέα καὶ Κρίσον· καὶ Πανοπέως μὲν ἐγένετο Ἐπειὸς ὁ τὸν ἵππον τὸν δούρειον, ὃς Ὀμηρὸς ἐποίησεν, ἐργασάμενος, Κρίσου δὲ ἦν ἀπόγονος τρίτος Πυλάδης, Στροφίου τε ὦν τοῦ Κρίσου καὶ Ἀναξιβίας ἀδελφῆς Ἀγαμέμνονος. γένῃ μὲν τοσαῦτα τῶν καλουμένων Αἰακίδων.
- 5 ἐξεχώρησε δὲ ἐτέρωσε ἀπ' ἀρχῆς. χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον μοῖρα Ἀργείων τῶν Ἐπίδauρον ὁμῶς Δηιφόντῃ κατασχόντων, διαβᾶσα ἐς Αἰγίναν καὶ Αἰγινήταις τοῖς ἀρχαίοις γενόμενοι σύννοικοι, τὰ Δωριέων ἔθνη καὶ φωνὴν κατεστήσαντο ἐν τῇ νήσῳ, προελθοῦσι δὲ Αἰγινήταις ἐς μέγα δυνάμειος, ὥς Ἀθηναίων γενέσθαι ναυσὶν ἐπικρατε-

except Aeacus, since we know of none even of the sons of Aeacus who stayed there; for to Peleus and Telamon befell exile for the murder of Phocus, while the sons of Phocus made their home about Parnassus, in the land that is now called Phocis. This name had already been given to the land, at the time when Phocus, son of Ornytion, came to it a generation previously. In the time, then, of this Phocus only the district about Tithorea and Parnassus was called Phocis, but in the time of Aeacus the name spread to all from the borders of the Minyae at Orchomenos to Scarphea among the Locri. From Peleus sprang the kings in Epeirus; but as for the sons of Telamon, the family of Ajax is undistinguished, because he was a man who lived a private life; though Miltiades, who led the Athenians to Marathon, and Cimon, the son of Miltiades, 400 B.C. achieved renown; but the family of Teucer continued to be the royal house in Cyprus down to the time of Evagoras. Asius the epic poet says that to Phocus were born Panopeus and Crisus. To Panopeus was born Epeius, who made, according to Homer, the wooden horse; and the grandson of Crisus was Pylades, whose father was Strophius, son of Crisus, while his mother was Anaxibia, sister of Agamemnon. Such was the pedigree of the Aeacidae (*family of Aeacus*), as they are called, but they departed from the beginning to other lands. Subsequently a division of the Argives who, under Deiphontes, had seized Epidaurus, crossed to Aegina, and, settling among the old Aeginetans, established in the island Dorian manners and the Dorian dialect. Although the Aeginetans rose to great power, so that their navy was superior to that of Athens, and

στέρους καὶ ἐν τῷ Μηδικῷ πολέμῳ παρασχέσθαι  
 πλοῖα μετὰ γε Ἀθηναίους πλείστα, οὐ παρέμεινον  
 ἐς ἅπαν ἡ εὐδαιμονία, γενόμενοι δὲ ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων  
 ἀνάστατοι Θυρέαν τὴν ἐν τῇ Ἀργολίδι Λακεδαί-  
 μονίων δόντων ὤκησαν. καὶ ἀπέλαβον μὲν τὴν  
 νῆσον, ὅτε περὶ Ἑλλήσποντον αἱ Ἀθηναίων  
 τριήρεις ἐλήφθησαν, πλούτου δὲ ἡ δυνάμεις  
 οὐκέτι ἐξεγένετο ἐς ἴσον προελθεῖν σφισιν.

- 6 Προσπλεύσαι δὲ Αἰγινά ἐστι νήσων τῶν Ἑλ-  
 ληνίδων ὑπορωτάτη· πέτραι τε γὰρ ὕψαλοι περι-  
 πᾶσαν καὶ χοιράδες ἀνεστήκασιν. μηχανήσασθαι  
 δὲ ἐξεπίτηδες ταῦτα Αἰακὸν φασὶ ληστειῶν τῶν  
 ἐκ θαλάσσης φόβῳ, καὶ πολεμίους ἀνδράσι μὴ  
 ἄνευ κινδύνου εἶναι. πλησίον δὲ τοῦ λιμένος ἐν  
 ᾧ μάλιστα ὁρμίζονται ναὸς ἐστὶν Ἀφροδίτης,  
 ἐν ἐπιφανεστάτῳ δὲ τῆς πόλεως τὸ Αἰάκειον  
 καλούμενον, περίβολος τετράγωνος λευκοῦ λί-  
 7 θου. ἐπειργασμένοι δὲ εἰσι κατὰ τὴν ἔσοδον οἱ  
 παρὰ Αἰακὸν ποτε ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων σταλέντες  
 αἰτίαν δὲ τὴν αὐτὴν Αἰγινήταις καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ  
 λέγουσιν. αὐχμὸς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐπὶ χρόνον ἐπίεξε  
 καὶ οὔτε τὴν ἐκτὸς ἰσθμοῦ χώραν οὔτε Πελοπον-  
 νησίους ἔεν ὁ θεός, ἐς δὲ ἐς Δελφοὺς ἀπέστειλαν  
 ἐρησομένους τὸ αἶτιον ὃ τι εἴη καὶ αἰτήσοντας  
 ἅμα λύσιν τοῦ κακοῦ. τοῦτοισι ἡ Πυθία εἶπε Δία  
 ἰλάσκεσθαι, χρῆναι δέ, εἴπερ ὑπακούσει σφίσιν,  
 8 Αἰακὸν τὸν ἱκετεύοντα εἶναι. οὕτως Αἰακοῦ  
 δεησομένους ἀποστέλλουσιν ἀφ' ἐκάστης πόλεως  
 καὶ ὁ μὲν τῷ Πανελληνίῳ Διὶ θύσας καὶ εὐχά-  
 μενος τὴν Ἑλλάδα γῆν ἐποίησεν ὑεσθαι, τὸν δὲ  
 ἐλθόντων ὡς αὐτὸν εἰκόνας ταύτας ἐποιήσαντο

in the Persian war supplied more ships than any state except Athens, yet their prosperity was not permanent; but when the island was depopulated by the Athenians, they took up their abode at Thyrea, in Argolis, which the Lacedaemonians gave them to dwell in. They recovered their island when the Athenian warships were captured in the Hellespont, yet it was never given them to rise again to their old wealth or power.

481 B.C.

405 B.C.

Of the Greek islands, Aegina is the most difficult of access, for it is surrounded by sunken rocks and reefs which rise up. The story is that Aeacus devised this feature of set purpose, because he feared piratical raids by sea, and wished the approach to be perilous to enemies. Near the harbour in which vessels mostly anchor is a temple of Aphrodite, and in the most conspicuous part of the city what is called the shrine of Aeacus, a quadrangular enclosure of white marble. Wrought in relief at the entrance are the envoys whom the Greeks once dispatched to Aeacus. The reason for the embassy given by the Aeginetans is the same as that which the other Greeks assign. A drought had for some time afflicted Greece, and no rain fell either beyond the Isthmus or in the Peloponnesus, until at last they sent envoys to Delphi to ask what was the cause and to beg for deliverance from the evil. The Pythian priestess bade them propitiate Zeus, saying that he would not listen to them unless the one to supplicate him were Aeacus. And so envoys came with a request to Aeacus from each city. By sacrifice and prayer to Zeus, God of all the Greeks (*Panellenios*), he caused rain to fall upon the earth, and the Aeginetans made these likenesses of



- οὐ Αἰγινῆται. τοῦ περιβόλου δὲ ἐντὸς ἐλαῖαι πεφύκασιν ἐκ παλαιοῦ καὶ βωμός ἐστιν οὐ πολὺ ἀνέχων ἐκ τῆς γῆς· ὥς δὲ καὶ μνῆμα οὗτος ὁ βωμός εἴη Αἰακοῦ, λεγόμενόν ἐστιν ἐν ἀπορρήτῃ.
- 9 παρὰ δὲ τὸ Αἰάκειον Φῶκον τάφος χῶμά ἐστι περιεχόμενον κύκλῳ κρηπίδι, ἐπικείται δὲ οἱ λίθος τραχύς· καὶ ἥνικα Φῶκον Τελαμῶν καὶ Πηλεὺς προηγάγοντο ἐς ἀγῶνα πεντάθλου καὶ περιῆλθεν ἐς Πηλέα ἀφεῖναι τὸν λίθον—οὗτος γὰρ ἀντὶ δίσκου σφίσιν ἦν—, ἐκὼν τυγχάνει τοῦ Φῶκου. ταῦτα δὲ ἐχαρίζοντο τῇ μητρί· αὐτοὶ μὲν γὰρ ἐγεγόνεσαν ἐκ τῆς Σκίρωνος θυγατρὸς, Φῶκος δὲ οὐκ ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἀδελφῆς Θέτιδος ἦν, εἰ δὴ τὰ οὗτα λέγουσιν Ἕλληνες. Πυλάδης τέ μοι καὶ διὰ ταῦτα φαίνεται καὶ οὐκ Ὀρέστου φιλία μόνον βουλευσάι Νεσποτόλεμῳ
- 10 τὸν φόνον. τότε δὲ ὥς τῷ δίσκῳ πληγεῖς ἀπέθανεν ὁ Φῶκος, φεύγουσιν ἐπιβάντες νεὼς οἱ Ἑνδηίδος παῖδες· Τελαμῶν δὲ ὕστερα κήρυκα ἀποστέλλων ἡρνεῖτο μὴ βουλευσάι Φῶκῳ θάνατον. Αἰακὸς δὲ ἐς μὲν τὴν νῆσον ἀποβαίνειν αὐτὸν οὐκ εἶα, ἐστηκότα δὲ ἐπὶ νεώς, εἰ δὲ ἐθέλοι, χῶμα ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ χῶσαντα ἐκέλευεν ἐντεῦθεν ἀπολογησάσθαι. οὕτως ἐς τὸν Κρυπτὸν καλούμενον λιμένα ἐσπλεύσας νυκτῶρ ἐποίει χῶμα· καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἐξεργασθὲν καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς ἔτι μένει καταγνωσθεῖς δὲ οὐκ ἀναίτιος εἶναι Φῶκῳ τῆς τελευτῆς, τὸ δεύτερον ἐς Σαλαμῖνα ἀπέπλευσε.
- 11 τοῦ λιμένος δὲ οὐ πόρρω τοῦ Κρυπτοῦ θεατρὸν ἐστι θέας ἄξιον, κατὰ τὸ Ἐπιδαυρίον μάλιστα μέγεθος καὶ ἐργασίαν τὴν λοιπὴν. τοῦτου δι' ὅπισθεν ὠκοδόμηται σταδίου πλευρὰ μία, ἀνέ-

those who came to him. Within the enclosure are olive trees that have grown there from of old, and there is an altar which is raised but a little from the ground. That this altar is also the tomb of Aeacus is told as a holy secret. Beside the shrine of Aeacus is the grave of Phocus, a barrow surrounded by a basement, and on it lies a rough stone. When Telamon and Peleus had induced Phocus to compete at the *pentathlon*, and it was now the turn of Peleus to hurl the stone, which they were using for a quoit, he intentionally hit Phocus. The act was done to please their mother; for, while they were both born of the daughter of Sciron, Phocus was not, being, if indeed the report of the Greeks be true, the son of a sister of Thetis. I believe it was for this reason, and not only out of friendship for Orestes, that Pylades plotted the murder of Neoptolemus. When this blow of the quoit killed Phocus, the sons of Endeis boarded a ship and fled. Afterwards Telamon sent a herald denying that he had plotted the death of Phocus. Aeacus, however, refused to allow him to land on the island, and bade him make his defence standing on board ship, or, if he wished, from a mole raised in the sea. So he sailed into the harbour called Secret, and proceeded to make a mole by night. This was finished, and still remains at the present day. But Telamon, being condemned as implicated in the murder of Phocus, sailed away a second time and came to Salamis. Not far from the Secret Harbour is a theatre worth seeing; it is very similar to the one at Epidaurus, both in size and in style. Behind it is built one side of a race-

χούσά τε αὐτὴ τὸ θέατρον καὶ ἀντὶ ἐρείσματος ἀνάλογον ἐκείνῳ χρωμένη.

XXX. Ναοὶ δὲ οὐ πολὺ ἀλλήλων ἀφεστηκότες ὁ μὲν Ἀπόλλωνός ἐστιν, ὁ δὲ Ἀρτέμιδος, Διόνυσος δὲ αὐτῶν ὁ τρίτος. Ἀπόλλωνι μὲν δὴ ξόανον γυμνὸν ἐστὶ τέχνης τῆς ἐπιχωρίου, τῇ δὲ Ἀρτέμιδι ἐστὶν ἐσθῆς, κατὰ ταῦτά δὲ καὶ τῷ Διόνυσῳ· καὶ γένεια Διόνυσος ἔχων πεποιήται. τοῦ δὲ Ἀσκληπιοῦ τὸ ἱερὸν ἐστὶ μὲν ἐτέρωθι καὶ οὐ ταύτῃ, λίθου δὲ ἄγαλμα καθήμενον. θεῶν δὲ Αἰγινῆται τιμῶσιν Ἐκάτην μάλιστα καὶ τελετὴν ἄγουσιν ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος Ἐκάτης, Ὀρφέα σφίσι τὸν Θράκα καταστήσασθαι τὴν τελετὴν λέγοντες. τοῦ περιβόλου δὲ ἐντὸς ναός ἐστι, ξόανον δὲ ἔργον Μύρωνος, ὁμοίως ἐν πρόσωπόν τε καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν σῶμα. Ἀλκαμένης δὲ ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν πρῶτος ἀγάλματα Ἐκάτης τρία ἐποίησε προσεχόμενα ἀλλήλοις, ἣν Ἀθηναῖοι καλοῦσιν Ἐπιπυργιδίαν· ἔστηκε δὲ παρὰ τῆς Ἀπτέρου Νίκης τὸν ναόν. ἐν Αἰγίνῃ δὲ πρὸς τὸ ὄρος τοῦ Πανελληνίου Διὸς ἰοῦσιν, ἐστὶν Ἀφαίας ἱερὸν, ἐς ἣν καὶ Πίνδαρος ᾄσμα Αἰγινήταις ἐποίησε. φασὶ δὲ οἱ Κρήτες—τούτοις γάρ ἐστι τὰ ἐς αὐτὴν ἐπιχώρια—Καρμάνορος τοῦ καθήραντος Ἀπόλλωνα ἐπὶ φόνῳ τῷ Πύθωνος παῖδα Εὐβουλον εἶναι, Διὸς δὲ καὶ Κάρμης τῆς Εὐβούλου Βριτόμαρτιν γενέσθαι· χαίρειν δὲ αὐτὴν δρόμοις τε καὶ θήραις καὶ Ἀρτέμιδι μάλιστα φίλην εἶναι. Μίνω δὲ ἐρασθέντα φεύγουσα ἔρριψεν ἑαυτὴν ἐς δίκτυα ἀφειμένα ἐπ' ἰχθύων θήρα. ταύτην μὲν θεὸν ἐποίησεν Ἀρτεμις, σέβουσιν δὲ οὐ Κρήτες μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ

course, which not only itself holds up the theatre, but also in turn uses it as a support.

XXX. There are three temples close together, one of Apollo, one of Artemis, and a third of Dionysus. Apollo has a naked wooden image of native workmanship, but Artemis is dressed, and so, too, is Dionysus, who is, moreover, represented with a beard. The sanctuary of Asclepius is not here, but in another place, and his image is of stone, and seated. Of the gods, the Aeginetans worship most Hecate, in whose honour every year they celebrate mystic rites which, they say, Orpheus the Thracian established among them. Within the enclosure is a temple; its wooden image is the work of Myron, and it has one face and one body. It was Alcamenes,<sup>1</sup> in my opinion, who first made three images of Hecate attached to one another, a figure called by the Athenians *Epipurgidia* (*on the Tower*); it stands beside the temple of the Wingless Victory. In Aegina, as you go towards the mountain of Zeus, God of all the Greeks, you reach a sanctuary of Aphaea, in whose honour Pindar composed an ode for the Aeginetans. The Cretans say (the story of Aphaea is Cretan) that Carmanor, who purified Apollo after he had killed Pytho, was the father of Eubulus, and that the daughter of Zeus and of Carme, the daughter of Eubulus, was Britomartis. She took delight, they say, in running and in the chase, and was very dear to Artemis. Fleeing from Minos, who had fallen in love with her, she threw herself into nets which had been cast (*apheimena*) for a draught of fishes. She was made a goddess by Artemis, and she is worshipped, not only by the Cretans, but also by

*Pl. C.*  
480 B.C.

<sup>1</sup> A contemporary of Pheidias.



- Αἰγινῆται, λέγοντες φαίνεσθαι σφισιν ἐν τῇ  
 νήσῳ τὴν Βριτόμαρτιν. ἐπὶ κλησίς δέ οἱ παρά τε  
 Αἰγινῆταις ἐστὶν Ἀφαία καὶ Δίκτυννα ἐν Κρήτῃ.  
 4 τὸ δὲ Πανελλήνιον, ὅτι μὴ τοῦ Διὸς τὸ ἱερόν,  
 ἄλλο τὸ ὄρος ἀξιόλογον εἶχεν οὐδέν. τοῦτο δὲ τὸ  
 ἱερόν λέγουσιν Αἰακὸν ποιῆσαι τῷ Δίῳ· τὰ δὲ ἐς  
 τὴν Αὐξησίαν καὶ Δαμίαν, ὥς οὐχ ὕεν ὁ θεὸς  
 Ἐπιδαυρίοις, ὥς τὰ ξόανα ταῦτα ἐκ μαντείας  
 ἐποίησαντο ἐλαίας παρ' Ἀθηναίων λαβόντες, ὥς  
 Ἐπιδάυριοι μὲν οὐκ ἀπέφερον ἔτι Ἀθηναίοις ἂ  
 ἐτάξαντο οἷα Αἰγινητῶν ἔχοντων τὰ ἀγάλματα,  
 Ἀθηναίων δὲ ἀπώλοντο οἱ διαβάντες διὰ ταῦτα  
 ἐς Αἶγινα, ταῦτα εἰπόντος Ἡροδότου καθ' ἕκα-  
 στον αὐτῶν ἐπ' ἀκριβὲς οὐ μοι γράφειν κατὰ  
 γνώμην ἦν εὖ προειρημένα, πλὴν τοσούτῳ γε ὅτι  
 εἶδόν τε τὰ ἀγάλματα καὶ ἔθυσά σφισι κατὰ τὰ  
 αὐτὰ καθὰ δὴ καὶ Ἐλευσῖνι θύειν νομίζουσιν.  
 5 Αἰγίνης μὲν δὴ Αἰακοῦ ἔνεκα καὶ ἔργων ὅποσα  
 ἀπεδείξατο ἐς τοσόνδε ἔστω μνήμη· τῆς δὲ Ἐπι-  
 δαυρίας ἔχονται Τροιζήνιοι, σεμνύνοντες εἰπερ  
 καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς τὰ ἐγχώρια· φασὶ δὲ Ὀρον γενέ-  
 σθαι σφίσιν ἐν τῇ γῇ πρῶτον. ἐμοὶ μὲν οὖν  
 Αἰγυπτίον φαίνεται καὶ οὐδαμῶς Ἑλληνικὸν  
 ὄνομα Ὀρος εἶναι· βασιλεῦσαι δ' οὖν φασιν αὐ-  
 τὸν καὶ Ὀραίαν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καλεῖσθαι τὴν γῆν.  
 Ἀλθηπον δὲ Ποσειδῶνος παῖδα καὶ Ληίδος τῆς  
 Ὀρου, παραλαβόντα μετὰ Ὀρον τὴν ἀρχήν.  
 6 Ἀλθηπῖαν ὀνομάσαι τὴν γῆν. ἐπὶ τούτῳ βασι-  
 λεύοντος Ἀθηναίων καὶ Ποσειδῶνα ἀμφισβητήσαι  
 λέγουσι περὶ τῆς χώρας, ἀμφισβητήσαντας δὲ  
 ἔχειν ἐν κοινῷ· προστάξει γάρ οὕτω Δία σφίσι.

the Aeginetans, who say that Britomartis shows herself in their island. Her surname among the Aeginetans is Aphaea; in Crete it is Dictynna (*Goddess of Nets*). The Mount of all the Greeks, except for the sanctuary of Zeus, has, I found, nothing else worthy of mention. This sanctuary, they say, was made for Zeus by Aeacus. The story of Auxesia and Damia, how the Epidaurians suffered from drought, how in obedience to an oracle they had these wooden images made of olive wood that they received from the Athenians, how the Epidaurians left off paying to the Athenians what they had agreed to pay, on the ground that the Aeginetans had the images, how the Athenians perished who crossed over to Aegina to fetch them—all this, as Herodotus<sup>1</sup> has described it accurately and in detail, I have no intention of relating, because the story has been well told already; but I will add that I saw the images, and sacrificed to them in the same way as it is customary to sacrifice at Eleusis.

So much I must relate about Aegina, for the sake of Aeacus and his exploits. Bordering on Epidauria are the Troezenians, unrivalled glorifiers of their own country. They say that Orus was the first to be born in their land. Now, in my opinion, Orus is an Egyptian name and utterly un-Greek; but they assert that he became their king, and that the land was called Oraea after him; and that Althepus, the son of Poseidon and of Leis, the daughter of Orus, inheriting the kingdom after Orus, named the land Althepia. During his reign, they say, Athena and Poseidon disputed about the land, and after disputing held it in common, as Zeus commanded

<sup>1</sup> Herodotus v. 82-87.

καὶ διὰ τοῦτο Ἀθηναῖν τε σέβουσι Πολιάδα καὶ  
 Σθενιαάδα ὀνομάζοντες τὴν αὐτὴν καὶ Ποσειδῶνα  
 Βασιλέα ἐπικλήσιν· καὶ δὴ καὶ νόμισμα αὐτοῖς  
 τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἐπίσημα ἔχει τρίαῖναι καὶ Ἀθηναῖς  
 7 πρόσωπον. μετὰ δὲ Ἀλθηπον Σάρων ἐβασί-  
 λευσεν. ἔλεγον δὲ ὅτι οὗτος τῇ Σαρωνίδι τὸ  
 ἱερὸν Ἀρτέμιδι ᾠκοδόμησεν ἐπὶ θαλάσῃ τελ-  
 ματώδει καὶ ἐπιπολῆς μᾶλλον, ὥστε καὶ Φοιβαία  
 λίμνη διὰ τοῦτο ἐκαλεῖτο. Σάρωνα δὲ—θηρεῖν  
 γὰρ δὴ μάλιστα ἤρητο—κατέλαβεν ἔλαφον διώ-  
 κοντα ἐς θάλασσαν συνεσπεσεῖν φευγούσῃ· καὶ  
 ἥ τε ἔλαφος ἐνήχeto ἀπωτέρω τῆς γῆς καὶ ὁ  
 Σάρων εἶχeto τῆς ἄγρας, ἐς ὃ ὑπὸ προθυμίας  
 ἀφίκετο ἐς τὸ πέλαγος· ἤδη δὲ κάμνοντα αὐτὸν  
 καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν κυμάτων κατακλυζόμενον ἐπέλαβε  
 τὸ χρεῶν. ἐκπεσόντα δὲ τὸν νεκρὸν κατὰ τὴν  
 Φοιβαίαν λίμνην ἐς τὸ ἄλσος τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος  
 ἐντὸς τοῦ ἱεροῦ περιβόλου θάπτουσι, καὶ λίμνην  
 ἀπὸ τούτου Σαρωνίδα τὴν ταύτην θάλασσαν  
 8 καλοῦσιν ἀντὶ Φοιβαίας. τοὺς δὲ ὕστερον βασι-  
 λεύσαντας οὐκ ἴσασιν ἄχρι Ὑπέρητος καὶ Ἀνθα-  
 τούτους δὲ εἶναι Ποσειδῶνος καὶ Ἀλκυόνης Ἀτ-  
 λαντος θυγατρὸς, καὶ πόλεις αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ χώρῃ  
 φασὶν Ὑπέρειαν τε καὶ Ἀνθειαν οἰκίσαι· Ἀέτιον  
 δὲ τὸν Ἀνθα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ παραλα-  
 βόντα τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν ἑτέραν τῶν πόλεων Ποσει-  
 δωνιάδα ὀνομάσαι. Τροίξηνος δὲ καὶ Πιτθέως  
 παρὰ Ἀέτιον ἐλθόντων βασιλεῖς μὲν τρεῖς ἀντὶ  
 ἐνὸς ἐγένοντο, ἴσχυον δὲ οἱ παῖδες μᾶλλον οἱ  
 9 Πέλοπος. σημεῖον δὲ ἀποθανόντος γὰρ Τροί-  
 ξηνος Πιτθεὺς ἐς τὴν νῦν πόλιν συναγαγὼν τοὺς  
 ἀνθρώπους ὠνόμασεν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ Τροίξηνα,

them to do. For this reason they worship both Athena, whom they name both Polias (*Urban*) and Sthenias (*Strong*), and also Poseidon, under the surname of King. And moreover their old coins have as device a trident and a face of Athena. After Althepus, Saron became king. They said that this man built the sanctuary for Saronian Artemis by a sea which is marshy and shallow, so that for this reason it was called the Phoebean lagoon. Now Saron was very fond of hunting. As he was chasing a doe, it so chanced that it dashed into the sea and he dashed in after it. The doe swam further and further from the shore, and Saron kept close to his prey, until his ardour brought him to the open ocean. Here his strength failed, and he was drowned in the waves. The body was cast ashore at the grove of Artemis by the Phoebean lagoon, and they buried it within the sacred enclosure, and after him they named the sea in these parts the Saronic instead of the Phoebean lagoon. They know nothing of the later kings down to Hyperes and Anthas. These they assert to be sons of Poseidon and of Aleyone, daughter of Atlas, adding that they founded in the country the cities of Hyperea and Anthea; Aëtius, however, the son of Anthas, on inheriting the kingdoms of his father and of his uncle, named one of the cities Poseidonias. When Troezen and Pittheus came to Aëtius there were three kings instead of one, but the sons of Pelops enjoyed the balance of power. Here is evidence of it. When Troezen died, Pittheus gathered the inhabitants together, incorporating both Hyperea and Anthea into the modern city,



συλλαβὼν Ὑπέρειάν τε καὶ Ἀνθειαν. πολλοὶ  
δὲ ἔτεσιν ὕστερον ἐς ἀποικίαν ἐκ Τροίξηνος στα-  
λέντες Ἀλικαρνασσὸν ἐν τῇ Καρίᾳ καὶ Μίνδῳ  
ἀπόικισαν οἱ γεγενοῖτες ἀπὸ Ἀετίου τοῦ Ἀἰθα.  
Τροίξηνος δὲ οἱ παῖδες Ἀνάφλυστος καὶ Σφήητος  
μετοικοῦσιν ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν, καὶ οἱ δῆμοι τὰ  
ὀνόματα ἔχουσιν ἀπὸ τούτων. τὰ δὲ ἐς Θησέα  
θυγατριδοῦν Πιθέως εἰδόσι τὰ ἐς αὐτὸν οὐ γρά-  
10 φω, δεῖ δὲ με τοσόνδε ἔτι δηλώσαι. Ἡρακλειδῶν  
γὰρ κατελθόντων ἐδέξαντο καὶ οἱ Τροίξηνιοι  
συνοίκους Δωριέων τῶν ἐξ Ἀργούς καὶ πρότερον  
ἔτι Ἀργείων ὄντες κατήκοοι καὶ σφᾶς καὶ  
Ὀμηρος ἐν καταλόγῳ φησὶν ὑπὸ Διομήδους  
ἄρχεσθαι. Διομήδης γὰρ καὶ Εὐρύαλος ὁ Μη-  
κιστέως Κυάνιππον τὸν Αἰγιαλέως παῖδα ὄντα  
ἐπιτροπεύοντες Ἀργείων ἠγήσαντο ἐς Τροίαν.  
Σθένελος δὲ, ὡς ἐδήλωσα ἐν τοῖς πρότερον, οἰκίας  
τε ἦν ἐπιφανεστέρας, τῶν Ἀναξαγοριδῶν καλου-  
μένων, καὶ ἡ βασιλεία τούτῳ μάλιστα ἦν ἡ  
Ἀργείων προσήκουσα. τοσαῦτα Τροίξηνιοις ἐχό-  
μενα ἱστορίας ἦν, παρὲξ ἡ ὅσαι πόλεις παρ'  
αὐτῶν φασιν ἀποικισθῆναι· κατασκευὴν δὲ ἱερῶν  
καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἐς ἐπίδειξιν, τὸ ἐντεῦθεν ἐπέξειμι.

XXXI. Ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ Τροίξηνίων ναὸς καὶ  
ἀγάλματα Ἀρτέμιδος ἐστὶ Σωτείρας· Θησέα δὲ  
ἐλέγετο ἰδρυσάσθαι καὶ ὀνομάσαι Σώτειραν,  
ἠνῖκα Ἀστερίωνα τὸν Μίνω καταγωνισάμενος  
ἀνέστρεψεν ἐκ τῆς Κρήτης. ἀξιολογώτατον δὲ  
εἶναι τοῦτο ἔδοξέν οἱ τῶν κατειργασμένων, οὐ  
τοσοῦτον ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν ὅτι ἀνδρεία τοὺς ἀποθανόν-  
τας ὑπὸ Θησέως ὑπερέβαλεν ὁ Ἀστερίων, ἀλλὰ  
τό τε τοῦ λαβυρίνθου δυσέξοδον καὶ τὸ λαθόντα

which he named Troezen after his brother. Many years afterwards the descendants of Aëtius, son of Anthas, were dispatched as colonists from Troezen, and founded Halicarnassus and Myndus in Caria. Anaphlystus and Sphettus, sons of Troezen, migrated to Attica, and the parishes are named after them. As my readers know it already, I shall not relate the story of Theseus, the grandson of Pittheus. There is, however, one incident that I must add. On the return of the Heracleidae, the Troezenians too received Dorian settlers from Argos. They had been subject at even an earlier date to the Argives; Homer, too, in the Catalogue, says that their commander was Diomedes. For Diomedes and Euryalus, son of Mecisteus, who were guardians of the boy Cyanippus, son of Aegialeus, led the Argives to Troy. Sthenelus, as I have related above, came of a more illustrious family, called the Anaxagoridae, and he had the best claim to the Kingdom of Argos. Such is the story of the Troezenians, with the exception of the cities that claim to be their colonies. I will now proceed to describe the appointments of their sanctuaries and the remarkable sights of their country.

XXXI. In the market-place of Troezen is a temple of Artemis Saviour, with images of the goddess. It was said that the temple was founded and the name Saviour given by Theseus when he returned from Crete after overcoming Asterion the son of Minos. This victory he considered the most noteworthy of his achievements, not so much, in my opinion, because Asterion was the bravest of those killed by Theseus, but because his success in unravelling the difficult Maze and in escaping unnoticed after the

- ἀποδρᾶναι μετὰ τὸ ἔργον ἐποίησεν εἰκότα τὸν λόγον ὡς προνοία θεία καὶ αὐτὸς ἀνασθθεῖη
- 2 Ὁησεὺς καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ εἰσι τῷ ναῷ βωμοὶ θεῶν τῶν λεγομένων ὑπὸ γῆν ἄρχειν, καὶ φασιν ἔξ "Αιδου Σεμέλην τε ὑπὸ Διονύσου κομισθῆναι ταύτῃ καὶ ὡς Ἡρακλῆς ἀναγάγοι τὸν κύνα τοῦ "Αιδου· ἐγὼ δὲ Σεμέλην μὲν οὐδὲ ἀποθανεῖν ἀρχὴν πείθομαι Διὸς γε οὖσαν γυναῖκα, τὰ δὲ ἐς τὸν ὀνομαζόμενον "Αιδου κύνα ἐτέρωθι ἔσται μοι δῆλα ὅποια εἶναί μοι δοκεῖ.
- 3 "Οπισθεν δὲ τοῦ ναοῦ Πιτθέως μνημῆα ἔστι, τρεῖς δὲ ἐπ' αὐτῷ θρόνοι κεῖνται λίθου λευκοῦ· δικάζειν δὲ Πιτθέα καὶ ἄνδρας δύο σὺν αὐτῷ λέγουσιν ἐπὶ τῶν θρόνων. οὐ πόρρω δὲ ἱερὸν Μουσῶν ἔστι, ποιῆσαι δὲ ἔλεγον αὐτὸ "Αρδαλον παῖδα Ἡφαίστου· καὶ αὐλὸν τε εὐρεῖν νομίζουσι τὸν "Αρδαλον τοῦτον καὶ τὰς Μούσας ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καλοῦσιν Ἀρδαλίδας· ἐνταῦθα Πιτθέα διδάξαι λόγων τέχνην φασί, καὶ τι βιβλίον Πιτθέως δὴ σύγγραμμα ὑπὸ ἀνδρὸς ἐκδοθὲν Ἐπιδαυρίου καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπελεξάμην. τοῦ Μουσείου δὲ οὐ πόρρω βωμός ἐστιν ἀρχαῖος, Ἀρδάλου καὶ τοῦτον ὡς φασιν ἀναθέντος· ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτῷ Μούσαις καὶ Ὑπνῷ θύουσι, λέγοντες τὸν Ὑπνον θεὸν μάλιστα εἶναι
- 4 φίλον ταῖς Μούσαις. πλησίον δὲ τοῦ θεάτρου Λυκείας ναὸν Ἀρτέμιδος ἐποίησεν Ἰππόλυτος· ἐς δὲ τὴν ἐπὶ κλησιν οὐδὲν εἶχον πυθέσθαι παρὰ τῶν ἐξηγητῶν, ἀλλὰ ἡ λύκος ἐφαίνετό μοι τὴν Τροιζηνίαν λυμαινόμενους ἐξελεῖν ὁ Ἰππόλυτος ἡ Ἀμαζόσι, παρ' ὧν τὰ πρὸς μητρὸς ἦν, ἐπὶ κλησιν τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἔστιν αὕτη· εἴη δ' ἂν ἔτι καὶ ἄλλο

exploit made credible the saying that it was divine providence that brought Theseus and his company back in safety. In this temple are altars to the gods said to rule under the earth. It is here that they say Semele was brought out of Hell by Dionysus, and that Heracles dragged up the Hound of Hell.<sup>1</sup> But I cannot bring myself to believe even that Semele died at all, seeing that she was the wife of Zeus; while, as for the so-called Hound of Hell, I will give my views in another place.<sup>2</sup>

Behind the temple is the tomb of Pittheus, on which are placed three seats of white marble. On them they say that Pittheus and two men with him used to sit in judgment. Not far off is a sanctuary of the Muses, made, they told me, by Ardalus, son of Hephaestus. This Ardalus they hold to have invented the flute, and after him they name the Muses Ardalides. Here, they say, Pittheus taught the art of rhetoric, and I have myself read a book purporting to be a treatise by Pittheus, published by a citizen of Epidaurus. Not far from the Muses' Hall is an old altar, which also, according to report, was dedicated by Ardalus. Upon it they sacrifice to the Muses and to Sleep, saying that Sleep is the god that is dearest to the Muses. Near the theatre a temple of Artemis Lycea (*Wolfish*) was made by Hippolytus. About this surname I could learn nothing from the local guides, but I gathered that either Hippolytus destroyed wolves that were ravaging the land of Troezen, or else that Lycea is a surname of Artemis among the Amazons, from whom he was descended through his mother. Perhaps there may be another explanation that I am

<sup>1</sup> Cerberus, the fabulous watch-dog.

<sup>2</sup> Pausanias III. xxv. § 6.



οὐ γινωσκόμενον ὑπὸ ἐμοῦ. τὸν δὲ ἔμπροσθεν  
 τοῦ ναοῦ λίθον, καλούμενον δὲ ἱερόν, εἶναι λέγου-  
 σιν ἐφ' οὗ ποτε ἄνδρες Τροιζηνίων ἐννέα Ὀρέστῃν  
 5 ἐκάθησαν ἐπὶ τῷ φόνῳ τῆς μητρός. εἰσὶ δὲ οὐ  
 μακρὰν τῆς Λυκείας Ἀρτέμιδος βωμοὶ διεστη-  
 κότες οὐ πολὺ ἀπ' ἀλλήλων· ὁ μὲν πρῶτός ἐστιν  
 αὐτῶν Διονύσου κατὰ δὴ τι μάντευμα ἐπὶ κλησὺν  
 Σαώτου, δεύτερος δὲ Θεμίδων ὀνομαζόμενος· Πι-  
 θεὺς τοῦτον ἀνέθηκεν, ὡς λέγουσιν. Ἡλίου δὲ  
 Ἐλευθερίου καὶ σφόδρα εἰκότι λόγῳ δοκοῦσιν μοι  
 ποιῆσαι βωμόν, ἐκφυγόντες δουλείαν ἀπὸ Ξέρξου  
 8 τε καὶ Περσῶν. τὸ δὲ ἱερόν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος  
 τοῦ Θεαρίου κατασκευάσαι μὲν Πιτθέα ἔφασαι,  
 ἔστι δὲ ὧν οἶδα παλαιότατον. ἀρχαῖος μὲν οὖν  
 καὶ Φωκαεῦσι τοῖς ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ ναός ἐστιν Ἀθηνᾶς,  
 ὃν Ἀρπαγὸς ποτε ὁ Μῆδος ἐνέπρησεν, ἀρχαῖος δὲ  
 καὶ Σαμίσις Ἀπόλλωνος Πυθίου· πλὴν πολὺ γε  
 ὕστερον τοῦ παρὰ Τροιζηνίοις ἐποιήθησαν. ἀγαλ-  
 μα δέ ἐστι τὸ ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἀνάθημα Αὐλίσκου, τέχνη  
 δὲ Ἑρμῶνος Τροιζηνίου· τοῦ δὲ Ἑρμῶνος τούτου  
 7 καὶ τὰ τῶν Διοσκουρῶν ξόανά ἐστι. κείνται δὲ  
 ἐν στοᾷ τῆς ἀγορᾶς γυναῖκες λίθον καὶ αὐταὶ καὶ  
 οἱ παῖδες. εἰσὶ δὲ ἅς Ἀθηναῖοι Τροιζηνίοις γυναί-  
 κας καὶ τέκνα ἔδωκαν σώζειν, ἐκλιπεῖν σφισιν  
 ἀρέσαν τὴν πόλιν μηδὲ στρατῷ πεζῷ τὸν Μῆδον  
 ἐπιόντα ὑπομεῖναι. λέγονται δὲ οὐ πασῶν τῶν  
 γυναικῶν—οὐ γὰρ δὴ πολλαί τινες ἐκείναι—,  
 ὅποσαι δὲ ἀξιώματι προεῖχον, τούτων εἰκόνας  
 8 ἀναθεῖναι μόνων. τοῦ δὲ ἱεροῦ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος  
 ἐστὶν οἰκοδόμημα ἔμπροσθεν, Ὀρέστου καλού-  
 μενον σκηνὴ. πρὶν γὰρ ἐπὶ τῷ αἵματι καθα-  
 ρθῆναι τῆς μητρός, Τροιζηνίων οὐδεὶς πρότερον  
 418

unaware of. The stone in front of the temple, called the Sacred Stone, they say is that on which nine men of Troezen once purified Orestes from the stain of matricide. Not far from Artemis Lycea are altars close to one another. The first of them is to Dionysus, surnamed, in accordance with an oracle, Saotes (*Saviour*); the second is named the altar of the Themides (*Laws*), and was dedicated, they say, by Pittheus. They had every reason, it seems to me, for making an altar to Helius Eleutherius (*Sun, God of Freedom*), seeing that they escaped being enslaved by Xerxes and the Persians. The sanctuary of Thearian Apollo, they told me, was set up by Pittheus; it is the oldest I know of. Now the Phocaeans, too, in Ionia have an old temple of Athena, which was once burnt by Harpagus the Persian, and the Samians also have an old one of Pythian Apollo; these, however, were built much later than the sanctuary at Troezen. The modern image was dedicated by Auliscus, and made by Hermon of Troezen. This Hermon made also the wooden images of the Dioscuri. Under a portico in the market-place are set up women; both they and their children are of stone. They are the women and children whom the Athenians gave to the Troezenians to be kept safe, when they had resolved to evacuate Athens and not to await the attack of the Persians by land. They are said to have dedicated likenesses, not of all the women—for, as a matter of fact, the statues are not many—but only of those who were of high rank. In front of the sanctuary of Apollo is a building called the Booth of Orestes. For before he was cleansed for shedding his mother's blood, no

ἤθελεν αὐτὸν οἰκῶ δέξασθαι· καθίσαντες δὲ ἐν-  
ταῦθα ἐκάθαιρον καὶ εἰστίων, ἐς δ' ἀφῆγγισαν.  
καὶ νῦν ἔτι οἱ ἀπόγονοι τῶν καθηράντων ἐνταῦθα  
δειπνοῦσιν ἐν ἡμέραις ῥηταῖς. κατορυχθέντων δὲ  
ὀλίγον ἀπὸ τῆς σκηνῆς τῶν καθαρσίων φασὶν ἀπ'  
αὐτῶν ἀναφῦναι δάφνην, ἣ δὴ καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς ἔστιν,  
9 ἢ πρὸ τῆς σκηνῆς ταύτης. καθῆραι δὲ φασιν  
Ὅρέστην καθαρσίοις καὶ ἄλλοις καὶ ὕδατι τῷ  
ἀπὸ τῆς Ἴππου κρήνης. ἔστι γὰρ καὶ Τροιζη-  
νίοις Ἴππου καλουμένη κρήνη, καὶ ὁ λόγος ἐς  
αὐτὴν οὐ διαφόρως τῷ Βοιωτῶν ἔχει. Πηγᾶσιν  
γὰρ τῷ Ἴππῳ καὶ οὗτοι λέγουσι τὸ ὕδωρ ἀνεῖναι  
τὴν γῆν θιγόντι τοῦ ἐδάφους τῇ ὀπλῇ, Βελλερο-  
φόντην δὲ ἐλθεῖν ἐς Τροιζῆνα γυναῖκα αἰτήσοντα  
Αἴθραν παρὰ Πιθέως, πρὶν δὲ γῆμαι συμβῆναι  
οἱ φυγεῖν ἐκ Κορίνθου.

- 10 Καὶ Ἑρμῆς ἐνταυθά ἐστι Πολύγιος καλού-  
μενος. πρὸς τούτῳ τῷ ἀγάλματι τὸ ρόπαλον  
θεῖναι φασιν Ἑρακλέα· καὶ—ἦν γὰρ κοτίνου—  
τοῦτο μὲν ὅτῳ πιστὰ ἐνέφυ τῇ γῇ καὶ ἀνεβλά-  
στησεν αὐθις καὶ ἔστιν ὁ κότινος πεφυκὼς ἔτι,  
τὸν δὲ Ἑρακλέα λέγουσιν ἀνευρόντα τὸν πρὸς τῇ  
Σαρωνίδι κότινον ἀπὸ τούτου τεμεῖν ρόπαλον.  
ἔστι δὲ καὶ Διὸς ἱερὸν ἐπὶ κλησὶν Σωτήρος· ποιῆ-  
σαι δὲ αὐτὸ βασιλεύοντα Ἀέτιον τὸν Ἄνθρα  
λέγουσιν. ὕδωρ δὲ ὀνομάζουσι Χρυσορόαν· ἀνχ-  
μοῦ δὲ ἐπὶ ἔτη συμβάντος σφίσιν ἐννέα, ἐν οἷς  
οὐχ ἕν ὁ θεός, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἀναξηρανθῆναι φασιν  
ὕδατα, τὸν δὲ Χρυσορόαν τοῦτον καὶ τότε ὁμοίως  
διαμεῖναι ῥέοντα.

citizen of Troezen would receive him into his home ; so they lodged him here and gave him entertainment while they cleansed him, until they had finished the purification. Down to the present day the descendants of those who cleansed Orestes dine here on appointed days. A little way from the booth were buried, they say, the means of cleansing, and from them grew up a bay tree, which, indeed, still remains, being the one before this booth. Among the means of cleansing which they say they used to cleanse Orestes was water from Hippocrene (*Horse's Fount*) ; for the Troezenians too have a fountain called the Horse's, and the legend about it does not differ from the one which prevails in Boeotia. For they, too, say that the earth sent up the water when the horse Pegasus struck the ground with his hoof, and that Bellerophontes came to Troezen to ask Pittheus to give him Aethra to wife, but before the marriage took place he was banished from Corinth.

Here there is also a Hermes called Polygius. Against this image, they say, Heracles leaned his club. Now this club, which was of wild olive, taking root in the earth (if anyone cares to believe the story), grew up again and is still alive ; Heracles, they say, discovering the wild olive by the Saronic Sea, cut a club from it. There is also a sanctuary of Zeus surnamed Saviour, which, they say, was made by Aëtius, the son of Anthas, when he was king. To a water they give the name River of Gold. They say that when the land was afflicted with a drought for nine years, during which no rain fell, all the other waters dried up, but this River of Gold even then continued to flow as before.



- XXXII. Ἰππολύτῃ δὲ τῇ Θησέως τέμενός τε ἐπιφανέστατον ἀνεΐται καὶ ναὸς ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ ἀγαλμά ἐστιν ἀρχαῖον. ταῦτα μὲν Διομήδην λέγουσι ποιῆσαι καὶ προσέτι θῦσαι τῇ Ἰππολύτῃ πρῶτον Τροιζηνίοις δὲ ἱερεὺς μὲν ἐστὶν Ἰππολύτου τὸν χρόνον τοῦ βίου πάντα ἱερώμενος καὶ θυσίαι καθεστήκασιν ἐπέτειοι, δρῶσι δὲ καὶ ἄλλο τοιόνδε· ἐκάστη παρθένος πλόκαμον ἀποκείρεται οἱ πρὸ γάμου, κειραμένη δὲ ἀνέθηκεν ἐς τὸν ναὸν φέρουσα. ἀποθανεῖν δὲ αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐβέλουσι συρέντα ὑπὸ τῶν ἵππων οὐδὲ τὸν τάφον ἀποφαίνουσιν εἰδότες· τὸν δὲ ἐν οὐρανῷ καλούμενον ἡνίοχον, τοῦτον εἶναι νομίζουσιν ἐκείνον Ἰππολύτου τιμὴν παρὰ θεῶν ταύτην ἔχοντα.
- 2 τοῦτον δὲ ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου ναὸς ἐστὶν Ἀπόλλωνος Ἐπιβατηρίου, Διομήδους ἀνάθημα ἐκφυγόντος τὸν χειμῶνα ὃς τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν ἐπεγέμετο ἀπὸ Ἰλίου κομιζομένοις· καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα τῶν Πυθίων Διομήδην πρῶτον θείναι φασὶ τῇ Ἀπόλλωνι. ἐς δὲ τὴν Δαμίαν καὶ Αὐξησίαν—καὶ γὰρ Τροιζηνίοις μέτεστιν αὐτῶν—οὐ τὸν αὐτὸν λέγουσιν ὃν Ἐπιδαύριοι καὶ Αἰγινῆται λόγον, ἀλλὰ ἀφικέσθαι παρθένους ἐκ Κρήτης· στασιασάντων δὲ ὁμοίως τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει ἀπάντων καὶ ταύτας φασὶν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀντιστασιωτῶν καταλευσθῆναι, καὶ ἑορτὴν ἄγουσιν σφισι Λιθοβόλια ὀνομάζοντες.
- 3 κατὰ δὲ τὸ ἕτερον τοῦ περιβόλου μέρος στάδιόν ἐστιν Ἰππολύτου καλούμενον καὶ ναὸς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ Ἀφροδίτης Κατασκοπίας· αὐτόθεν γάρ, ὅποτε γυμνάζοιτο ὁ Ἰππόλυτος, ἀπέβλεπεν ἐς αὐτὸν ἐρώσα ἢ Φαίδρα. ἐνταῦθα ἔτι πεφύκει ἡ μυρσίνη, τὰ φύλλα ὡς καὶ πρότερον ἔγραψα ἔχουσα

XXXII. To Hippolytus, the son of Theseus, is devoted a very famous precinct, in which is a temple with an old image. Diomedes, they say, made these, and, moreover, was the first to sacrifice to Hippolytus. The Troezenians have a priest of Hippolytus, who holds his sacred office for life, and annual sacrifices have been established. They also observe the following custom. Every maiden before marriage cuts off a lock for Hippolytus, and, having cut it, she brings it to the temple and dedicates it. They will not have it that he was dragged to death by his horses, and, though they know his grave, they do not show it. But they believe that what is called the Charioteer in the sky is the Hippolytus of the legend, such being the honour he enjoys from the gods. Within this enclosure is a temple of Apollo Seafaring, an offering of Diomedes for having weathered the storm that came upon the Greeks as they were returning from Troy. They say that Diomedes was also the first to hold the Pythian games in honour of Apollo. Of Damia and Auxesia (for the Troezenians, too, share in their worship) they do not give the same account as the Epidaurians and Aeginetans, but say that they were maidens who came from Crete. A general insurrection having arisen in the city, these too, they say, were stoned to death by the opposite party; and they hold a festival in their honour that they call Stoning. In the other part of the enclosure is a race-course called that of Hippolytus, and above it a temple of Aphrodite Spy. For from here, whenever Hippolytus practised his exercises, Phaedra, who was in love with him, used to gaze upon him. Here there still grew the myrtle, with its leaves, as I have

- τετρυπημένα· καὶ ἡνίκα ἠπορεῖτο ἡ Φαῖδρα καὶ  
 ῥαστώνῃ τῇ ἔρωτι οὐδεμίαν εὕρισκεν, ἐς ταύτης  
 4 τὰ φύλλα ἐσιναμῶρει τῆς μυρσίνης. ἔστι δὲ καὶ  
 τάφος Φαίδρας, ἀπέχει δὲ οὐ πολὺ τοῦ Ἰππολύ-  
 του μνήματος· τὸ δὲ οὐ πόρρω κέχωσται τῆς  
 μυρσίνης. τοῦ δὲ Ἀσκληπιοῦ τὸ ἄγαλμα ἐποίησε  
 μὲν Τιμόθεος, Τροιζήνιοι δὲ οὐκ Ἀσκληπιὸν ἀλλὰ  
 εἰκόνα Ἰππολύτου φασὶν εἶναι. καὶ οἰκίαν ἰδὼν  
 οἶδα Ἰππολύτου· πρὸ δὲ αὐτῆς ἐστὶν Ἡράκλειος  
 5 καλουμένη κρήνη, τὸ ὕδωρ ὡς οἱ Τροιζήνιοι λέ-  
 γουσιν ἀνευρόντος Ἡράκλεους. ἐν δὲ τῇ ἀκρο-  
 πόλει τῆς Σθευιάδος καλουμένης ναὸς ἐστὶν  
 Ἀθηνᾶς, αὐτὸ δὲ εἰργάσατο τῆς θεοῦ τὸ ξόανον  
 Κάλλων Αἰγινήτης· μαθητὴς δὲ ὁ Κάλλων ἦν  
 Τεκταίου καὶ Ἀγγελίωνος, οἱ Δηλίοις ἐποίησαν  
 τὸ ἄγαλμα τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος· ὁ δὲ Ἀγγελίων καὶ  
 Τεκταῖος παρὰ Διποίνῳ καὶ Σκύλλιδι ἐδιδά-  
 6 χθησαν. κατιόντων δὲ αὐτόθεν Λυτηρίου Πανὸς  
 ἐστὶν ἱερόν· Τροιζηνίων γὰρ τοῖς τὰς ἀρχὰς  
 ἔχουσιν ἔδειξεν ὀνείρατα ἃ εἶχεν ἄκεσιν λοιμοῦ  
 πῖεσαντος τὴν Τροιζηνίαν, Ἀθηναίους δὲ μάλιστα.  
 διαβὰς δὲ καὶ ναὸν ἂν ἴδοις Ἰσίδος καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτὸν  
 Ἀφροδίτης Ἀκραίας· τὸν μὲν αἶτε ἐν μητροπόλει  
 τῇ Τροιζῇνι Ἀλικαρνασσεῖς ἐποίησαν, τὸ δὲ  
 7 ἄγαλμα τῆς Ἰσίδος ἀνέθηκε Τροιζηνίων δήμος.  
 Ἰοῦσι δὲ τὴν διὰ τῶν ὀρέων ἐς Ἐρμιόνην πηγὴν  
 τέ ἐστι τοῦ Ἐλλικοῦ ποταμοῦ, Ταυρίου δὲ τὸ  
 ἐξ ἀρχῆς καλουμένου, καὶ πέτρα Θεσέως ὀνο-  
 μαζομένη, μεταβαλοῦσα καὶ αὐτὴ τὸ ὄνομα ἀνελο-  
 μένου Θεσέως ὑπ' αὐτῇ κρηπίδας τὰς Αἰγέως  
 καὶ Ξίφος· πρότερον δὲ βωμὸς ἐκαλεῖτο Σθευίου

scribed above, pierced with holes. When Phaedra  
 as in despair and could find no relief for her  
 passion, she used to vent her spleen upon the leaves  
 of this myrtle. There is also the grave of Phaedra,  
 not far from the tomb of Hippolytus, which is a  
 short way near the myrtle. The image of Asclepius  
 was made by Timotheus, but the Troezenians say  
 that it is not Asclepius, but a likeness of Hippolytus.  
 I remember, too, seeing the house of Hippolytus;  
 before it is what is called the Fountain of Heracles,  
 or Heracles, say the Troezenians, discovered the  
 water. On the citadel is a temple of Athena, called  
 Parthenias. The wooden image itself of the goddess  
 was made by Callon, of Aegina. Callon was a pupil Early  
fifth  
cent.  
a.c.  
 of Tectaeus and Angelion, who made the image of Apol-  
 lo for the Delians. Angelion and Tectaeus were  
 trained in the school of Dipoenus and Seyllis. On  
 going down from here you come to a sanctuary of  
 Dionysus Lyterius (*Releasing*), so named because he  
 showed to the Troezenian magistrates dreams which  
 applied a cure for the epidemic that had afflicted  
 Troezenia, and the Athenians more than any other  
 people. Having crossed the sanctuary, you can see  
 the temple of Isis, and above it one of Aphrodite of the  
 eight. The temple of Isis was made by the Halim-  
 nassians in Troezen, because this is their mother-  
 city, but the image of Isis was dedicated by the  
 people of Troezen.

On the road that leads through the mountains  
 to Hermione is a spring of the river Hyllicus,  
 originally called Taurius (*Bull-like*), and a rock  
 called the Rock of Theseus; when Theseus took up  
 the boots and sword of Aegeus under it, it, too,  
 changed its name, for before it was called the altar



- Διός. τῆς δὲ πέτρας πλησίον Ἀφροδίτης ἐστὶν  
 ἱερὸν Νυμφίας, ποιήσαντος Θησέως ἡνίκα ἔσχε  
 8 γυναικα Ἑλένην. ἔστι δὲ ἔξω τείχους καὶ Πο-  
 σειδῶνος ἱερὸν Φυταλμίου· μνησίαντα γάρ σφισι  
 τὸν Ποσειδῶνα ποιεῖν φασιν ἄκαρπον τὴν χώραν  
 ἄλμης ἐς τὰ σπέρματα καὶ τῶν φυτῶν τὰς ρίζας  
 καθικνουμένης, ἐς δὲ θυσίαις τε εἷξας καὶ εὐχαῖς  
 οὐκέτι ἄλμην ἀνῆκεν ἐς τὴν γῆν. ὑπὲρ δὲ τοῦ  
 Ποσειδῶνος τὸν ναόν ἐστι Δημήτηρ Θεσμοφόρος.  
 9 Ἀλθήπου καθὰ λέγουσιν ἰδρυσάμενον. κατα-  
 βαίνουσι δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν πρὸς τῇ Κελενδέρει καλου-  
 μένῃ λιμένα χωρίον ἐστὶν δὲ Γενέθλιον ὀνομάζουσι,  
 τεχθῆναι Θησέα ἐνταῦθα λέγοντες. πρὸ δὲ τοῦ  
 χωρίου τούτου ναός ἐστιν Ἀρεως, Θησέως καὶ  
 ἐνταῦθα Ἀμαζόνας μάχῃ κρατήσαντος· αὐτὰι δ'  
 ἂν εἶησαν τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ πρὸς Θησέα καὶ  
 10 Ἀθηναίους ἀγωνισαμένων. ἐπὶ θάλασσαν δὲ τὴν  
 Ψιφαίαν πορευομένοις κότινος πέφυκεν ὀνομα-  
 ζόμενος ῥάχος στρεπτός. ῥάχους μὲν δὴ καλοῦσι  
 Τροιζήνιοι πᾶν ὅσον ἄκαρπον ἐλαίας, κότινον  
 καὶ φυλίαν καὶ ἔλαιον· στρεπτὸν δὲ ἐπονομί-  
 ζουσι τοῦτον, ὅτι ἐνσχεθεισῶν αὐτῷ τῶν ἡνιῶν  
 ἀνετράπη τοῦ Ἱππολύτου τὸ ἄρμα. τούτου δὲ  
 οὐ πολλὴ τῆς Σαρωνίας Ἀρτέμιδος ἀφέστηκε τὸ  
 ἱερὸν, καὶ τὰ ἐς αὐτὸ ἐμήνυσεν ὁ λόγος ἤδη μοι.  
 τοσούδε δὲ ἔτι δηλώσω· Σαρῶνια γὰρ δὴ κατὰ  
 ἔτος τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι ἐορτὴν ἄγουσι.

XXXIII. Νῆσοι δὲ εἰσι Τροιζηνίοις μία μὲν  
 πλησίον τῆς ἠπείρου, καὶ διαβῆναι ποσὶν ἐς  
 αὐτὴν ἐστὶν αὕτη Σφαιρία ὀνομαζομένη πρότερον

of Zeus Sthenius (*Strong*). Near the rock is a sanctuary of Aphrodite Nymphia (*Bridal*), made by Theseus when he took Helen to wife. Outside the wall there is also a sanctuary of Poseidon Nurturer (*Phyalnios*). For they say that, being wroth with them, Poseidon smote the land with barrenness, brine (*halme*) reaching the seeds and the roots of the plants (*phyla*),<sup>1</sup> until, appeased by sacrifices and prayers, he ceased to send up the brine upon the earth. Above the temple of Poseidon is Demeter Law-bringer (*Thesmophoros*), set up, they say, by Althepus. On going down to the harbour at what is called Celenderis, you come to a place called Birthplace (*Genethlion*), where Theseus is said to have been born. Before this place is a temple of Ares, for here also did Theseus conquer the Amazons in battle. These must have belonged to the army that strove in Attica against Theseus and the Athenians. As you make your way to the Psiphaean Sea you see a wild olive growing, which they call the Bent *Rhacos*. The Troezenians call *rhacos* every kind of barren olive—*cotinos*, *phylia*, or *elaios*—and this tree they call Bent because it was when the reins caught in it that the chariot of Hippolytus was upset. Not far from this stands the sanctuary of Saronian Artemis, and I have already given an account of it. I must add that every year they hold in honour of Artemis a festival called Saronia.

XXXIII. The Troezenians possess islands, one of which is near the mainland, and it is possible to wade across the channel. This was formerly called

<sup>1</sup> The epithet *phyalnios* means *nourishing*, but to judge from the story he gives, Pausanias must have connected it with the Greek words for *brine* and *plant*.

- Ἰερὰ δὲ αἰτίαν ἐκλήθη τοιαύτην. ἔστιν ἐν αὐτῇ Σφαίρου μνήμα· Πέλοπος δὲ ἡνίοχον εἶναι λέγουσι τὸν Σφαῖρον. τούτῳ κατὰ δὴ τι ἐξ Ἀθηνᾶς ὄνειρον κομίζουσα Αἴθρα χοὰς διέβαινεν ἐς τὴν νῆσον, διαβάσῃ δὲ ἐνταῦθα λέγεται Ποσειδῶνα μιχθῆναι. ἰδρύσατο μὲν διὰ τοῦτο Αἴθρα ναὸν ἐνταῦθα Ἀθηνᾶς Ἀπατουρίας καὶ Ἰερὰν ἀντὶ Σφαιρίας ὠνόμασε τὴν νῆσον· κατεστήσατο δὲ καὶ ταῖς Τροίξηνιων παρθένους ἀνατιθέναι πρὸ γάμου τὴν ζώνην τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ τῇ Ἀπατουρίᾳ.
- 2 Καλαύρειαν δὲ Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερὰν τὸ ἀρχαῖον εἶναι λέγουσιν, ὅτε περ ἦσαν καὶ οἱ Δεῖλφοι Ποσειδῶνος· λέγεται δὲ καὶ τοῦτο, ἀντιδύναται τὰ χωρία σφᾶς ἀλλήλοις. φασὶ δὲ ἔτι καὶ λόγιον μνημονεύουσιν·

Ἰσόν τοι Δῆλόν τε Καλαυρείαν τε νέμεσθαι  
Πυθῶ τ' ἡγαθέην καὶ Ταῖναρον ἡνεμόεσσαν.

- ἔστι δ' οὖν Ποσειδῶνος ἱερὸν ἐνταῦθα ἅγιον, ἱεράται δὲ αὐτῷ παρθένος, ἔστ' ἂν ἐς ὥραν προ-  
3 ἔλθῃ γάμου. τοῦ περιβόλου δὲ ἐντὸς καὶ τὸ Δημοσθένους μνήμῃ ἔστι. καὶ μοι τὸ δαιμόνιον δείξαι μάλιστα ἐπὶ τούτου δοκεῖ καὶ Ὅμηρον πρότερον ὥς εἴη βάσκανον, εἰ δὴ Ὅμηρον μὲν προδιεφθαρμένον τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐπὶ τοσούτῳ κακῷ κακὸν δεύτερον πενία πιέζουσα ἐπὶ πᾶσαν γῆν πτωχεύοντα ἤγε, Δημοσθένει δὲ φυγῆς τε συνέπεσεν ἐν γῆρᾳ λαβεῖν πείραν καὶ ὁ θάνατος ἐγένετο οὕτω βίαιος. εἴρηται μὲν οὖν περὶ αὐτοῦ

Sphaeria, but its name was changed to Sacred Island for the following reason. In it is the tomb of Sphaerus, who, they say, was charioteer to Pelops. In obedience forsooth to a dream from Athena, Aethra crossed over into the island with libations for Sphaerus. After she had crossed, Poseidon is said to have had intercourse with her here. So for this reason Aethra set up here a temple of Athena Apaturia,<sup>1</sup> and changed the name from Sphaeria to Sacred Island. She also established a custom for the Troezenian maidens of dedicating their girdles before wedlock to Athena Apaturia. Calaurea, they say, was sacred to Apollo of old, at the time when Delphi was sacred to Poseidon. Legend adds that the two gods exchanged the two places. They still say this, and quote an oracle:—

“Delos and Calaurea alike thou lovest to dwell in,  
Pytho, too, the holy, and Taenarum swept by the  
high winds.”

At any rate, there is a holy sanctuary of Poseidon here, and it is served by a maiden priestess until she reaches an age fit for marriage. Within the enclosure is also the tomb of Demosthenes. His fate, and that of Homer before him, have, in my opinion, showed most plainly how spiteful the deity is; for Homer, after losing his sight, was, in addition to this great affliction, cursed with a second—a poverty which drove him in beggary to every land; while to Demosthenes it befell to experience exile in his old age and to meet with such a violent end. Now, although concerning him,

<sup>1</sup> Apparently here derived from the Greek word for deceit.



καὶ ἄλλοις καὶ αὐτῷ Δημοσθένει πλείστα, ἣ μὴν  
 τῶν χρημάτων ἅ ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας ἤγαγεν Ἀρπαλος  
 4 μὴ μεταλαβεῖν αὐτόν· τὸ δὲ ὕστερον λεχθὲν  
 ἐπέξειμι ὁποῖον ἐγένετο. Ἀρπαλος μὲν ὥς ἐξ  
 Ἀθηνῶν ἀπέδρα διαβάς ναυσὶν εἰς Κρήτην, οὐ  
 πολὺ ὕστερον ὑπὸ τῶν θεραπευόντων ἀπέθανεν  
 οἰκετῶν· οἱ δὲ ὑπὸ ἀνδρὸς Μακεδόνης Πausανίου  
 δολοφονηθῆναι φασιν αὐτόν. τὸν δὲ οἱ τῶν  
 χρημάτων διοικητὴν φυγόντα εἰς Ῥόδον Φιλόξενος  
 Μακεδῶν συνέλαβεν, ὃς καὶ αὐτὸν παρὰ Ἀθη-  
 ναίων ἐξήτησεν Ἀρπαλον. τὸν δὲ παῖδα τοῦτον  
 ἔχων ἤλεγχεν εἰς ὃ πάντα ἐπύθετο, ὅσοι τῶν  
 Ἀρπάλου τι ἔτυχον εἰληφότες· μαθὼν δὲ εἰς  
 5 Ἀθήνας γράμματα ἐπέστελλεν. ἐν τούτοις τοῖς  
 γράμμασι τοὺς λαβόντας παρὰ Ἀρπάλου κατα-  
 ριθμῶν καὶ αὐτοὺς καὶ ὁπόσον αὐτῶν ἔλαβεν  
 ἕκαστος οὐδὲ ἐμνημόνευσεν ἀρχὴν Δημοσθένους.  
 Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τε εἰς τὰ μάλιστα ἀπεχθανομένον  
 καὶ αὐτὸς ἰδίᾳ προσκρούσας.

Δημοσθένει μὲν οὖν τιμαὶ καὶ ἐτέρῳθι τῆς  
 Ἑλλάδος καὶ παρὰ τῶν Καλαυρείας εἰσὶν οἰκη-  
 τόρων XXXIV. τῆς δὲ Τροιζηνίας γῆς ἐστὶν  
 ἰσθμὸς ἐπὶ πολὺ διέχων εἰς θάλασσαν, ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ  
 πόλισμα οὐ μέγα ἐπὶ θαλάσῃ Μέθανα ὥκισται.  
 Ἰσίδος δὲ ἐνταῦθα ἱερόν ἐστι καὶ ἄγαλμα ἐπὶ  
 τῆς ἀγορᾶς Ἑρμοῦ, τὸ δὲ ἕτερον Ἡρακλέους.  
 τοῦ δὲ πολίσματος τριάκοντά που στάδια ἀπέχει  
 θερμὰ λουτρά· φασὶ δὲ Ἀντιγόνου τοῦ Δημη-  
 τρίου Μακεδόνων βασιλεύοντος τότε πρῶτον τὸ  
 ὕδωρ φανῆναι, φανῆναι δὲ οὐχ ὕδωρ εὐθύς ἀλλὰ  
 πῦρ ἀναζέσαι πολὺ ἐκ τῆς γῆς, ἐπὶ δὲ τούτῳ

not only others, but Demosthenes himself, have again and again declared that assuredly he took no part of the money that Harpalus brought from Asia, &c. I must relate the circumstances of the statement made subsequently. Shortly after Harpalus fled away from Athens and crossed with a squadron to Crete, he was put to death by the servants who were attending him, though some assert that he was assassinated by Pausanias, a Macedonian. The steward of his money fled to Rhodes, and was arrested by a Macedonian, Philoxenus, who also had demanded Harpalus from the Athenians. Having his slave in his power, he proceeded to examine him, until he learned everything about such as had allowed themselves to accept a bribe from Harpalus. On obtaining this information he sent a dispatch to Athens, in which he gave a list of such as had taken a bribe from Harpalus, both their names and the sums each had received. Demosthenes, however, was never mentioned at all, although Alexander held him in bitter hatred, and he himself had a private quarrel with him.

So Demosthenes is honoured in many parts of Greece, and especially by the dwellers in Calauria. XXXIV. Stretching out far into the sea from Troezenia is a peninsula, on the coast of which has been founded a little town called Methana. Here there is a sanctuary of Isis, and on the market-place an image of Hermes, and also one of Heracles. Some thirty stades distant from the town are hot baths. They say that it was when Antigonus, son of Demetrius, was king of Macedon that the water first appeared, and that what appeared at first was not water, but fire that gushed in great

- μαρανθέντι ῥυῆναι τὸ ὕδωρ, ὃ δὴ καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς  
 ἄνευσι θερμόν τε καὶ δεινῶς ἀλμυρόν. λουσαμένων  
 δὲ ἐνταῦθα οὔτε ὕδωρ ἐστὶν ἐγγὺς ψυχρόν οὔτε  
 ἐσπεύοντα ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν ἀκινδύνως νήχεσθαι  
 2 θηρία γὰρ καὶ ἄλλα καὶ κύνας παρέχεται πλεί-  
 στους. ὃ δὲ ἐθαύμασα ἐν τοῖς Μεθάνοις μάλιστα,  
 γράψω καὶ τοῦτο. ἄνεμος ὁ Λίψ βλαστανούσαις  
 ταῖς ἀμπέλοις ἐμπίπτων ἐκ τοῦ Σαρωνικοῦ κόλ-  
 που τὴν βλάστην σφῶν ἀφαναίνει· κατιόντος οὖν  
 ἔτι τοῦ πνεύματος ἀλεκτρυόνα τὰ πτερὰ ἔχοντα  
 διὰ παντὸς λευκὰ διελόντες ἄνδρες δύο ἐναντίοι  
 περιθέουσι τὰς ἀμπέλους, ἥμισυ ἐκάτερος τοῦ  
 ἀλεκτρυόνος φέρων· ἀφικόμενοι δ' ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ  
 3 ὅθεν ὥρμήθησαν, κατορύσσουσιν ἐνταῦθα. τοῦτο  
 μὲν πρὸς τὸν Λίβα σφίσιν ἐστὶν εὐρημένον· τὰς  
 δὲ νηϊδας αἱ πρόκεινται τῆς χώρας ἀριθμὸν  
 ἐννέα οὖσας Πέλοπος μὲν καλοῦσι, τοῦ θεοῦ δὲ  
 ὕοντος μίαν ἐξ αὐτῶν οὐ φασιν ὕεσθαι. τοῦτο δὲ  
 εἰ τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν οὐκ οἶδα, ἔλεγον δὲ οἱ περὶ τὰ  
 Μέθανα, ἐπεὶ χάλαζάν γε ἤδη θυσίαις εἶδον καὶ  
 ἐπῳδαῖς ἀνθρώπους ἀποτρέποντας.
- 4 Τὰ μὲν δὴ Μέθανα ἰσθμὸς ἐστὶ τῆς Πελοπον-  
 νήσου· ἐντὸς δὲ τοῦ ἰσθμοῦ τῆς Τροιζηνίων  
 ὁμορός ἐστιν Ἑρμιόνη. οἰκιστὴν δὲ τῆς ἀρχαίας  
 πόλεως Ἑρμιονεῖς γενέσθαι φασὶν Ἑρμίονα Εὐρώ-  
 πος, τὸν δὲ Εὐρωπα—ῆν γὰρ δὴ Φωρωνέως—  
 Ἡροφάνης ὁ Τροιζήνιος ἐφασκεν εἶναι νόθον· οὐ  
 γὰρ δὴ ποτε ἐς Ἄργον τὸν Νιόβης θυγατρίδου  
 ὄντα Φωρωνέως τὴν ἐν Ἄργει περιελθεῖν ἂν  
 5 ἀρχὴν παρόντος Φωρωνεῖ γνησίου παιδός. ἐγὼ  
 δέ, εἰ καὶ γνήσιον ὄντα Εὐρωπα πρότερον τὸ  
 χρεῶν ἢ Φωρωνέα ἐπέλαβεν, εὖ οἶδα ὡς οὐκ

volume from the ground, and when this died down the water flowed; indeed, even at the present day it wells up hot and exceedingly salt. A bather here finds no cold water at hand, and if he dives into the sea his swim is full of danger. For wild creatures live in it, and it swarms with sharks. I will also relate what astonished me most in Methana. The wind called Lips,<sup>1</sup> striking the budding vines from the Saronic Gulf, blights their buds. So while the wind is still rushing on, two men cut in two a cock whose feathers are all white, and run round the vines in opposite directions, each carrying half of the cock. - When they meet at their starting place, they bury the pieces there. Such are the means they have devised against the Lips. The islets, nine in number, lying off the land are called the Isles of Pelops, and they say that when it rains one of them is not touched. If this be the case I do not know, though the people around Methana said that it was true, and I have seen before now men trying to keep off hail by sacrifices and spells.

Methana, then, is a peninsula of the Peloponnesus. Within it, bordering on the land of Troezen, is Hermione. The founder of the old city, the Hermionians say, was Hermion, the son of Euryps. Now Euryps, whose father was certainly Phoroneus, Herophanes of Troezen said was an illegitimate child. For surely the kingdom of Argos would never have devolved upon Argus, Niobe's son, the grandchild of Phoroneus, in the presence of a legitimate son. But even supposing that Euryps was a legitimate child who died before Phoroneus, I am quite sure that his son was not likely to stand

<sup>1</sup> A S.W. wind.



ἔμελλεν ὁ παῖς αὐτῷ Νιόβης παιδί ἴσα οἶσθαι  
Διός γε εἶναι δοκοῦντι. ἐπώκησαν δὲ καὶ Ἑρ-  
μιόνα ὕστερον Δωριεῖς οἱ ἐξ Ἑργαίου· πόλεμον  
δὲ οὐ δοκῶ γενέσθαι σφίσιν, ἐλέγετο γὰρ ἂν ὑπὸ  
Ἀργείων.

- 6 Ἔστι δὲ ὁδὸς ἐς Ἑρμιόνα ἐκ Τροιζήνης κατὰ  
τὴν πέτραν ἢ πρότερον μὲν ἐκαλεῖτο Σθενίου Διὸς  
βωμός, μετὰ δὲ Θησέα ἀνελόμενον τὰ γνωρίσματα  
ὀνομάζουσιν οἱ νῦν Θησέως αὐτήν. κατὰ ταύτην  
οὖν τὴν πέτραν ἰοῦσιν ὄρεινὴν ὁδόν, ἔστι μὲν  
Ἀπόλλωνος ἐπὶ κλησὶν Πλατανιστίου ναός, ἔστι  
δὲ Εἰλεοὶ χωρίον, ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ Δήμητρος καὶ  
Κόρης τῆς Δήμητρος ἱερά· τὰ δὲ πρὸς θάλασσαν  
ἐν ὄροις τῆς Ἑρμιονίδος ἱερὸν Δήμητρος ἔστιν
- 7 ἐπὶ κλησὶν Θερμασίας. σταδίους δὲ ὀγδοήκοντα  
ἀπέχει μάλιστα ἄκρα Σκυλλαίου ἀπὸ τῆς Νίσου  
καλουμένη θυγατρὸς. ὥς γὰρ δὴ τὴν Νίσαιαν ὁ  
Μίνως καὶ τὰ Μέγαρα εἶλεν ἐκείνης προδοῦσης,  
οὔτε γυναῖκα ἔξειν αὐτὴν ἔτι ἔφασκε καὶ προσέ-  
ταξε τοῖς Κρησὶν ἐκβάλλειν τῆς νεώς· ἀποθανού-  
σαν δὲ ἀπέρριψεν ἐς τὴν ἄκραν ταύτην ὁ κλύδων.  
τύφον δὲ οὐκ ἀποφαίνουσιν αὐτῆς, ἀλλὰ περιο-  
φθῆναι τὸν νεκρὸν φασὶ διαφορηθέντα ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκ
- 8 θαλάσσης ὀρνίθων. ἀπὸ δὲ Σκυλλαίου πλέοντι  
ὥς ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ἄκρα τέ ἐστιν ἑτέρα Βουκέφαλα  
καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἄκραν νῆσοι, πρώτη μὲν Ἀλιούσσα  
—παρέχεται δὲ αὕτη λιμένα ἐνορμίσασθαι ναυσὶν  
ἐπιτήδειον—, μετὰ δὲ Πιτυοῦσσα, τρίτη δὲ ἦν  
Ἀριστερὰς ὀνομάζουσι. ταύτας δὲ παραπλεύ-

fair chance against Niobe's child, whose father was supposed to be Zeus. Subsequently the Dorians from Argos settled, among other places, at Hermion, but I do not think there was war between the two peoples, or it would have been spoken of by the Argives.

There is a road from Troezen to Hermion by way of the rock which aforetime was called the altar of Zeus Sthenius (*Strong*); but afterwards Theseus<sup>1</sup> took up the tokens, and people now call it the Rock of Theseus. As you go, then, along a mountain road by way of this rock, you reach a temple of Apollo surnamed Platanistius (*God of the Plane-tree Grove*), and a place called Eilei, where are sanctuaries of Demeter and of her daughter Core (*Maid*). Seawards, on the borders of Hermionis, is a sanctuary of Demeter surnamed Thermasia (*Warmth*). Just about eighty stades away is a headland Scyllaeum, which is named after the daughter of Nisus. For when, owing to her treachery,<sup>2</sup> Minos had taken Nisaea and Megara, he said that now he would not have her to wife, and ordered his Cretans to throw her from the ship. She was drowned, and the waves cast up her body on this headland. They do not show a grave of her, but say that the sea birds were allowed to tear the corpse to pieces. As you sail from Scyllaeum in the direction of the city, you reach another headland, called Bucephala (*Ox-head*), and, after the headland, islands, the first of which is Haliussa (*Salt Island*). This provides a harbour where there is good anchorage. After it comes Pityussa (*Pine Island*), and the third they call Aristerae. On

<sup>1</sup> See Pausanias i. xxvii. § 8, and ii. xxxii. § 7.

<sup>2</sup> See Pausanias i. xix.

- σαντί ἐστὶν αὖθις ἄκρα Κωλυεργία ἀνέχουσα ἐκ τῆς ἡπείρου, μετὰ δὲ αὐτὴν νῆσος Τρίκρανα κυλουμένη καὶ ὅρος ἐς θάλασσαν ἀπὸ τῆς Πελοποννήσου προβεβλημένον Βούπορθμος. ἐν Βούπορθμῳ δὲ πεποιήται μὲν ἱερὸν Δήμητρος καὶ τῆς παιδός, πεποιήται δὲ Ἀθηνᾶς· ἐπὶ κλησὶς δὲ ἐστὶ
- 9 τῇ θεῷ Προμαχόρμα. πρόκειται δὲ Βουπόρθμου νῆσος Ἀπεροπία καλουμένη, τῆς δὲ Ἀπεροπίας ἀφέστηκεν οὐ πολὺ ἑτέρα νῆσος Ὑδρέα. μετὰ ταύτην αἰγιαλὸς τε παρήκει τῆς ἡπείρου μνησιδῆς καὶ ἄκτῃ μετὰ τὸν αἰγιαλὸν ἐπὶ Ποσειδῖον, ἐκ θαλάσσης μὲν ἀρχομένη τῆς πρὸς ἀνατολᾶς, προήκουσα δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν ἐσπέραν· ἔχει δὲ καὶ λιμένας ἐν αὐτῇ. μῆκος μὲν δὴ τῆς ἄκτῆς ἐστὶν ἐπτὰ πού σταδία, πλάτος δὲ ἢ πλατυτάτῃ στα-
- 10 δῖον τριῶν οὐ πλέον. ἐνταῦθα ἢ προτέρα πόλις τοῖς Ἑρμονεῦσιν ἦν. ἐστὶ δὲ σφισι καὶ νῦν ἐτι ἱερὰ αὐτόθι, Ποσειδῶνος μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς ἄκτῆς τῇ ἀρχῇ, προελθούσι δὲ ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἐς τὰ μετέωρα ναὸς Ἀθηνᾶς, παρὰ δὲ αὐτῷ σταδίου θεμέλια· ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ τοὺς Τυνδάρεω παῖδας ἀγωνίσασθαι λέγουσιν. ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ ἕτερον οὐ μέγα τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερὸν, ὃ δὲ ὄροφος κατερρύηκεν αὐτῷ. καὶ Ἥλιῳ ναὸς καὶ ἄλλος Χάρισιν, ὃ δὲ Σαράπιδι ὑψοδόμηται καὶ Ἰσιδι· καὶ περίβολοι μεγάλων λίθων λογάδων εἰσὶν, ἐντὸς δὲ αὐτῶν ἱερὰ δρῶσιν ἀπόρρητα Δήμητρι.
- 11 Τόσαυτα μὲν Ἑρμονεῦσιν ἐστὶν ἐνταῦθα· ἢ δὲ ἐφ' ἡμῶν πόλις ἀπέχει μὲν τῆς ἄκρας, ἐφ' ἣ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος τὸ ἱερὸν, τέσσαρας μάλιστα σταδίων, κειμένη δὲ ἐν ὁμαλῷ τὰ πρῶτα ἡρέμα ἐς πρῶ-  
αντες ἄνεισι, τὸ δὲ ἐστὶν ἤδη τοῦ Πρωινός·

sailing past these you come to another headland, Colyrgia, jutting out from the mainland, and after it to an island, called Tricrana (*Three Heads*), and a mountain, projecting into the sea from the Peloponnesus, called Buporthmus (*Oxford*). On Buporthmus has been built a sanctuary of Demeter and her daughter, as well as one of Athena, sur-named Promachorma (*Champion of the Anchorage*). Before Buporthmus lies an island called Aperopia, not far from which is another island, Hydrea. After it the mainland is skirted by a crescent-shaped beach; and after the beach there is a spit of land up to a sanctuary of Poseidon, beginning at the sea on the east and extending westwards.<sup>1</sup> It possesses harbours, and is some seven stades in length, and not more than three stades in breadth where it is broadest. Here the Hermionians had their former city. They still have sanctuaries here; one of Poseidon at the east end of the spit, and a temple of Athena farther inland; by the side of the latter are the foundations of a race-course, in which legend says the sons of Tyndareus contended. There is also another sanctuary of Athena, of no great size, the roof of which has fallen in. There is a temple to Helius (*Sun*), another to the Graces, and a third to Serapis and Isis. There are also circuits of large unhewn stones, within which they perform mystic ritual to Demeter.

Such are the possessions of the Hermionians in these parts. The modern city is just about four stades distant from the headland, upon which is the sanctuary of Poseidon, and it lies on a site which is level at first, gently rising up a slope, which

<sup>1</sup> i.e. the spit runs eastward into the sea from the west.



Πρῶνα γὰρ τὸ ὄρος τοῦτο ὀνομάζουσι. τεῖχος  
 μὲν δὴ περὶ πᾶσαν τὴν Ἑρμιόνα ἔστηκε· τὰ δὲ ἐς  
 συγγραφὴν καὶ ἄλλα παρείχετο καὶ ὧν αὐτὸς  
 ποιήσασθαι μάλιστα ἠξίωσα μνήμην. Ἀφρο-  
 δίτης ναὸς ἐστὶν ἐπὶ κλησὶν Ποντίας καὶ Λιμενίας  
 τῆς αὐτῆς, ἄγαλμα δὲ λευκοῦ λίθου μεγέθει τε  
 12 μέγα καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ τέχνῃ θεὰς ἄξιον. καὶ ναὸς  
 ἕτερός ἐστιν Ἀφροδίτης· αὕτη καὶ ἄλλας ἔχει  
 παρὰ Ἑρμιονέων τιμὰς, καὶ ταῖς παρθένοις καὶ ἡν  
 γυνὴ χηρεύουσα παρὰ ἄνδρα μέλλῃ φοιτᾶν, ἀπά-  
 σαις πρὸ γάμου θύειν καθέστηκεν ἐνταῦθα. Δή-  
 μητρος δὲ ἱερὰ πεποιήται Θερμασίας, τὸ μὲν ἐπὶ  
 τοῖς πρὸς τὴν Τροιζηνίαν ὄροις, ὡς ἐστὶν εἰρη-  
 μένον ἤδη μοι, τὸ δὲ καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει.  
 XXXV. πλησίον δὲ αὐτοῦ Διονύσου ναὸς Μελαν-  
 αῖγιδος· τούτῳ μουσικῆς ἀγῶνα κατὰ ἔτος ἑκα-  
 στον ἄγουσι, καὶ ἀμίλλης κολύμβου καὶ πλοίων  
 τιθέασιν ἄθλα· καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος ἐπὶ κλησὶν Ἰφίγε-  
 νείας ἐστὶν ἱερὸν καὶ Ποσειδῶν χαλκοῦς τὸν  
 ἕτερον πόδα ἔχων ἐπὶ δελφίνος. παρελθοῦσι δὲ  
 ἐς τὸ τῆς Ἑστίας, ἄγαλμα μὲν ἐστὶν οὐδέν, βωμὸς  
 2 δέ· καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ θύουσιν Ἑστία. Ἀπόλλωνος  
 δὲ εἰσι ναοὶ τρεῖς καὶ ἀγάλματα τρία· καὶ τῷ  
 μὲν οὐκ ἐστὶν ἐπὶ κλησις, τὸν δὲ Πυθαέα ὀνο-  
 μάζουσι, καὶ Ὅριον τὸν τρίτον. τὸ μὲν δὴ τοῦ  
 Πυθαέως ὄνομα μεμαθήκασιν παρὰ Ἀργείων· τού-  
 τοις γὰρ Ἑλλήνων πρώτοις ἀφικέσθαι Τελεσίλλῃ  
 φησι τὸν Πυθαέα ἐς τὴν χώραν Ἀπόλλωνος  
 παῖδα ὄντα· τὸν δὲ Ὅριον ἐφ' ὅτῳ καλοῦσιν,  
 σαφῶς μὲν οὐκ ἂν ἔχοιμι εἰπεῖν, τεκμαίρομαι δὲ  
 περὶ γῆς ὄρων πολέμῳ σφᾶς ἢ δίκη νικῆσαντας

presently merges into Pron, for so they name this mountain. A wall stands all round Hermion, a city which I found afforded much to write about, and among the things which I thought I myself must certainly mention are a temple of Aphrodite, surnamed both Pontia (*of the Deep Sea*) and Limenia (*of the Harbour*), and a white-marble image of huge size, and worth seeing for its artistic excellence. There is also another temple of Aphrodite. Among the honours paid her by the Hermionians is this custom: maidens, and widows about to remarry, all sacrifice to her before wedding. Sanctuaries have also been built of Demeter Thermasia (*Warmth*), one at the border towards Troezenia, as I have stated above, while there is another in Hermion itself. XXXV. Near the latter is a temple of Dionysus of the Black Goatskin. In his honour every year they hold a competition in music, and they offer prizes for swimming-races and boat-races. There is also a sanctuary of Artemis surnamed Iphigenia, and a bronze Poseidon with one foot upon a dolphin. Passing by this into the sanctuary of Hestia, we see no image, but only an altar, and they sacrifice to Hestia upon it. Of Apollo there are three temples and three images. One has no surname; the second they call Pythaeus, and the third Horius (*of the Borders*). The name Pythaeus they have learned from the Argives, for Telesilla<sup>1</sup> tells us that they were the first Greeks to whose country came Pythaeus, who was a son of Apollo. I cannot say for certain why they call the third Horius, but I conjecture that they won a victory, either in war or by arbitration, in a dispute concerning the borders

<sup>1</sup> See p. 353.

- 3 ἐπὶ τῇδε τιμᾷς Ἀπόλλωνι Ὀρίῳ νεῖμαι. τὸ δὲ ἱερὸν τῆς Τύχης νεώτατον μὲν λέγουσιν Ἑρμιονεῖς τῶν παρά σφισιν εἶναι, λίθου δὲ Παρίου κολοσσὸς ἔστηκεν. κρήνας δὲ τὴν μὲν σφόδρα ἔχουσιν ἀρχαίαν, ἐς δὲ αὐτὴν οὐ φανερώς τὸ ὕδωρ κίττεισιν, ἐπιλείποι δὲ οὐκ ἂν ποτε, οὐδ' εἰ πάντες καταβάντες ὑδρεύοντο ἐξ αὐτῆς· τὴν δὲ ἐφ' ἡμῶν πεποιήκασιν, ὄνομα δὲ ἔστιν τῷ χωρίῳ Λειμῶν, ὅθεν ρεῖ τὸ ὕδωρ ἐς αὐτήν.
- 4 Τὸ δὲ λόγου μάλιστα ἄξιον ἱερὸν Δήμητρος ἔστιν ἐπὶ τοῦ Πρωόνος. τοῦτο τὸ ἱερὸν Ἑρμιονεῖς μὲν Κλύμενον Φοριωνέως παῖδα καὶ ἀδελφὴν Κλυμένου Χθονίαν τοὺς ἰδρυσταμένους φασὶν εἶναι. Ἀργεῖοι δέ, ὅτε ἐς τὴν Ἀργολίδα ἦλθε Δημήτηρ, τότε Ἀθήραν μὲν λέγουσι καὶ Μύσιον ὡς ξενίαν παρασχοῖεν τῇ θεῷ, Κολόνταν δὲ οὔτε οἴκῳ δέξασθαι τὴν θεὸν οὔτε ἀπονεῖμαί τι ἄλλο ἐς τιμὴν ταῦτα δὲ οὐ κατὰ γνώμην Χθονίᾳ τῇ θυγατρὶ ποιεῖν αὐτόν. Κολόνταν μὲν οὖν φασιν ἀντὶ τούτων συγκαταπρησθῆναι τῇ οἰκίᾳ, Χθονίαν δὲ κομισθεῖσαν ἐς Ἑρμιόνα ὑπὸ Δήμητρος Ἑρμοιο-  
5 νεῦσι ποιῆσαι τὸ ἱερὸν. Χθονία δ' οὖν ἢ θεὸς τε αὕτη καλεῖται καὶ Χθόνια ἑορτὴν κατὰ ἔτος ἄγουσιν ὥρα θέρους, ἄγουσι δὲ οὕτως. ἡγούνται μὲν αὐτοὺς τῆς πομπῆς οἳ τε ἱερεῖς τῶν θεῶν καὶ ὅσοι τὰς ἐπετείους ἀρχὰς ἔχουσιν, ἔπονται δὲ καὶ γυναικες καὶ ἄνδρες. τοῖς δὲ καὶ παισὶν ἔτι οὖσι καθέστηκεν ἤδη τὴν θεὸν τιμᾶν τῇ πομπῇ· οὗτοι λευκὴν ἐσθῆτα καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς κεφαλαῖς ἔχουσι στεφάνους. πλέκονται δὲ οἱ στέφανοί σφισιν ἐκ τοῦ ἄνθους ὃ καλοῦσιν οἱ ταύτῃ κοσμοσάνδαλον,

(*horai*) of their land, and for this reason paid honours to Apollo Horius. The sanctuary of Fortune is said by the Hermionians to be the newest in their city; a colossus of Parian marble stands there. Of their wells, one is very old; nobody can see the water flowing into it, but it would never run dry, even if everybody descended and drew water from it. Another well they made in our own day, and the name of the place from which the water flows into it is Leimon (*Meadow*).

The object most worthy of mention is a sanctuary of Demeter on Pron. This sanctuary is said by the Hermionians to have been founded by Clymenus, son of Phoroneus, and Chthonia, sister of Clymenus. But the Argive account is that when Demeter came to Argolis, while Atheras and Mysius afforded hospitality to the goddess, Colontas neither received her into his home nor paid her any other mark of respect. His daughter Chthonia disapproved of this conduct. They say that Colontas was punished by being burnt up along with his house, while Chthonia was brought to Hermion by Demeter, and made the sanctuary for the Hermionians. At any rate, the goddess herself is called Chthonia, and Chthonia is the name of the festival they hold in the summer of every year. The manner of it is this. The procession is headed by the priests of the gods and by all those who hold the annual magistracies; these are followed by both men and women. It is now a custom that some who are still children should honour the goddess in the procession. These are dressed in white, and wear wreaths upon their heads. Their wreaths are woven of the flower called by the natives *cosmosandalon*,



- ὕακινθον ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν ὄντα καὶ μεγέθει καὶ χροῇ  
ἔπεστι δέ οἱ καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τῷ θρήνῳ γράμματα.
- 6 τοῖς δὲ τὴν πομπὴν πέμπουσιν ἔπονται τελείαν  
ἐξ ἀγέλης βοῦν ἄγοντες διειλημμένην δεσμοῖς τε  
καὶ ὑβρίζουσιν ἐτι ὑπὸ ἀγριότητος. ἐλάσαντες  
δὲ πρὸς τὸν ναὸν οἱ μὲν ἔσω φέρεσθαι τὴν βοῦν ἐς  
τὸ ἱερὸν ἀνῆκαν ἐκ τῶν δεσμῶν, ἕτεροι δὲ ἀναπε-  
πταμένους ἔχοντες τέως τὰς θύρας, ἐπειδὴν τὴν  
βοῦν ἴδωσιν ἐντὸς τοῦ ναοῦ, προσέθεσαν τὰς
- 7 θύρας. τέσσαρες δὲ ἔνδον ὑπολειπόμεναι γράες,  
αὗται τὴν βοῦν εἰσὶν αἱ κατεργαζόμεναι· δρεπάνῳ  
γὰρ ἥτις ἂν τύχῃ τὴν φάρυγγα ὑπέτεμε τῆς βοός.  
μετὰ δὲ αἱ θύραι τε ἠνοίχθησαν καὶ προσελαύ-  
νουσιν οἷς ἐπιτέτακται βοῦν δευτέραν καὶ τρίτην  
ἐπὶ ταύτῃ καὶ ἄλλην τετάρτην. κατεργάζονται  
τε δὴ πάσας κατὰ ταῦτα αἱ γράες καὶ τόδε ἄλλο  
πρόσκειται τῇ θυσίᾳ θαῦμα· ἐφ' ἣντινα γὰρ ἂν  
πέσῃ τῶν πλευρῶν ἢ πρώτῃ βοῦς, ἀνάγκη πεσεῖν
- 8 καὶ πάσας. θυσία μὲν δρᾶται τοῖς Ἑρμιονεῦσι  
τὸν εἰρημένον τρόπον· πρὸ δὲ τοῦ ναοῦ γυναικῶν  
ἱερασαμένων τῇ Δήμητρι εἰκόνες ἐστήκασιν οὐ  
πολλαί, καὶ παρελθόντι ἔσω θρόνοι τέ εἰσιν, ἐφ'  
ῶν αἱ γράες ἀναμένουσιν ἐσελαθῆναι καθ' ἐκάστην  
τῶν βοῶν, καὶ ἀγάλματα οὐκ ἄγαν ἀρχαῖα  
Ἀθηναῖα καὶ Δημήτηρ. αὐτὸ δὲ ὃ σέβουσιν ἐπὶ  
πλέον ἢ τᾶλλα, ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ εἶδον, οὐ μὲν οὐδὲ  
ἀνὴρ ἄλλος οὔτε ξένος οὔτε Ἑρμιονέων αὐτῶν  
μόνα δὲ ὁποῖόν τί ἐστιν αἱ γράες ἴστωσαν.
- 9 Ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλος ναός· εἰκόνες δὲ περὶ πάντα  
ἐστήκασιν αὐτόν. οὗτος ὁ ναός ἐστιν ἀπαντικρὺ  
τοῦ τῆς Χθονίας, καλεῖται δὲ Κλυμένου, καὶ τῷ

which, from its size and colour, seems to me to be an iris; it even has inscribed upon it the same letters of mourning.<sup>1</sup> Those who form the procession are followed by men leading from the herd a full-grown cow, fastened with ropes, and still untamed and frisky. Having driven the cow to the temple, some loose her from the ropes that she may rush into the sanctuary, others, who hitherto have been holding the doors open, when they see the cow within the temple, close to the doors. Four old women, left behind inside, are they who dispatch the cow. Whichever gets the chance cuts the throat of the cow with a sickle. Afterwards the doors are opened, and those who are appointed drive up a second cow, and a third after that, and yet a fourth. All are dispatched in the same way by the old women, and the sacrifice has yet another strange feature. On whichever of her sides the first cow falls, all the others must fall on the same. Such is the manner in which the sacrifice is performed by the Hermionians. Before the temple stand a few statues of the women who have served Demeter as her priestess, and on passing inside you see seats on which the old women wait for the cows to be driven in one by one, and images, of no great age, of Athena and Demeter. But the thing itself that they worship more than all else, I never saw, nor yet has any other man, whether stranger or Hermionian. The old women may keep their knowledge of its nature to themselves.

There is also another temple, all round which stand statues. This temple is right opposite that of Chthonia, and is called that of Clymenus, and they

<sup>1</sup> The letters AI, an exclamation of woe supposed to be inscribed on the flower.

- Κλυμένην θύουσιν ἐνταῦθα. Κλύμενον δὲ οὐκ  
 ἄνδρα Ἀργεῖον ἐλθεῖν ἔγωγε εἰς Ἑρμιόνα ἡγοῦμαι,  
 τοῦ θεοῦ δέ ἐστιν ἐπὶ κλησις, ὅντινα ἔχει λόγος  
 10 βασιλεία ὑπὸ γῆν εἶναι. παρὰ μὲν δὴ τοῦτον  
 ἐστὶν ἄλλος ναὸς καὶ ἄγαλμα Ἀρεως, τοῦ δὲ τῆς  
 Χθονίας ἐστὶν ἱεροῦ στοὰ κατὰ τὴν δεξιάν, Ἐχούς  
 ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων καλουμένη· φθεγξαμένῳ δὲ  
 ἀνδρὶ τὰ ὀλίγιστα εἰς τρεῖς ἀντιβοῆσαι πέφυκεν.  
 ὁπισθεν δὲ τοῦ ναοῦ τῆς Χθονίας χωρία ἐστὶν ἃ  
 καλοῦσιν Ἑρμιονεῖς τὸ μὲν Κλυμένου, τὸ δὲ  
 Πλούτωνος, τὸ τρίτον δὲ αὐτῶν λίμνην Ἀχερου-  
 σίαν. περιείργεται μὲν δὴ πάντα θριγκοῖς λίθων,  
 ἐν δὲ τῷ τοῦ Κλυμένου καὶ γῆς χάσμα· διὰ  
 τούτου δὲ Ἡρακλῆς ἀνήγε τοῦ Ἀιδου τὸν κύνα  
 11 κατὰ τὰ λεγόμενα ὑπὸ Ἑρμιονέων. πρὸς δὲ τῇ  
 πύλῃ, καθ' ἣν ὁδὸς εὐθεῖά ἐστιν ἄγουσα ἐπὶ  
 Μάσητα, Εἰλειθυίας ἐστὶν ἐντὸς τοῦ τείχους  
 ἱερὸν. ἄλλως μὲν δὴ κατὰ ἡμέραν ἐκάστην καὶ  
 θυσιάαι καὶ θυμιάμασι μεγάλως τὴν θεὸν ἱλά-  
 σκονται καὶ ἀναθήματα δίδοται πλεῖστα τῇ  
 Εἰλειθυίᾳ· τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα οὐδενὶ πλὴν εἰ μὴ ἄρα  
 ταῖς ἱερείαις ἐστὶν ἰδεῖν.

XXXVI. Κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐπὶ Μάσητα εὐθείαν  
 προελθούσιν ἑπτὰ πού σταδίους καὶ εἰς ἀριστερὰν  
 ἐκτραπέουσιν, εἰς Ἀλίκην ἐστὶν ὁδός. ἡ δὲ Ἀλίκη  
 τὰ μὲν ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἐστὶν ἔρημος, ὥκειτο δὲ καὶ  
 αὕτη ποτέ, καὶ Ἀλικῶν λόγος ἐν στήλαις ἐστὶ  
 ταῖς Ἐπιδαυρίων αἰ τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ τὰ ἱάματα  
 ἐγγεγραμμένα ἔχουσιν· ἄλλο δὲ σύγγραμμα οὐ-  
 δὲν οἶδα ἀξιοχρεῶν, ἔνθα ἡ πόλεως Ἀλίκης ἡ  
 ἀνδρῶν ἐστὶν Ἀλικῶν μνήμη. ἐστὶ δ' οὖν ὁδὸς  
 καὶ εἰς ταύτην, τοῦ τε Πρωτὸς μέση καὶ ὄρους

sacrifice to Clymenus here. I do not believe that Clymenus was an Argive who came to Hermion; "Clymenus" is the surname of the god, whoever legend says is king in the underworld. Beside this temple is another; it is of Ares, and has an image of the god; while to the right of the sanctuary of Chthonia is a portico, called by the natives the Portico of Echo. It is such that if a man speaks it reverberates at least three times. Behind the temple of Chthonia are three places which the Hermionians call that of Clymenus, that of Pluto, and the Acherusian Lake. All are surrounded by fences of stones, while in the place of Clymenus there is also a chasm in the earth. Through this, according to the legend of the Hermionians, Heracles brought up the Hound of Hell. At the gate through which there is a straight road leading to Mases, there is a sanctuary of Eileithyia within the wall. Every day, both with sacrifices and with incense, they magnificently propitiate the goddess, and, moreover, there is a vast number of votive gifts offered to Eileithyia. But the image no one may see, except, perhaps, the priestesses.

XXXVI. Proceeding about seven stades along the straight road to Mases, you reach, on turning to the left, a road to Halice. At the present day Halice is deserted, but once it, too, had inhabitants, and there is mention made of citizens of Halice on the Epidaurian slabs on which are inscribed the cures of Asclepius. I know, however, no other authentic document in which mention is made either of the city Halice or of its citizens. Well, to this city also there is a road, which lies midway between Pron



- έτέρου Θόρνακος καλουμένου τὸ ἀρχαῖον· ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Διὸς ἐς κόκκυγα τὸν ὄρνιθα ἀλλαγῆς λεγομένης ἐνταῦθα γενέσθαι μετονομασθῆναι τὸ ὄρος  
 2 φασίν. ἱερά δὲ καὶ ἐς τόδε ἐπὶ ἄκρων τῶν ὄρων, ἐπὶ μὲν τῷ Κοκκυγίῳ Διός, ἐν δὲ τῷ Πρωονί ἐστιν "Ηρας· καὶ τοῦ γε Κοκκυγίου πρὸς τοῖς πέρασι ναὸς ἐστι, θύραι δὲ οὐκ ἐφεστήκασιν οὐδὲ ὄροφον εἶχεν οὐδέ οἱ τι ἐνῆν ἄγαλμα· εἶναι δὲ ἐλέγετο ὁ ναὸς Ἀπόλλωνος. παρὰ δὲ αὐτὸν ὁδὸς ἐστὶν ἐπὶ Μάσητα τοῖς ἐκτραπέουσιν ἐκ τῆς εὐθείας. Μάσητι δὲ οὔσῃ πόλει τὸ ἀρχαῖον, καθὰ καὶ "Ομηρος ἐν Ἀργείων καταλόγῳ πεποίηκεν, ἐπινείω  
 3 καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐχρῶντο Ἑρμιονεῖς. ἀπὸ Μάσητος δὲ ὁδὸς ἐν δεξιᾷ ἐστὶν ἐπὶ ἄκραν καλουμένην Στρονθοῦντα. στάδιοι δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς ἄκρας ταύτης κατὰ τῶν ὄρων τὰς κορυφὰς πεντήκοντά εἰσι καὶ διακόσιοι ἐς Φιλανόριόν τε καλούμενον καὶ ἐπὶ Βολεούς· οἱ δὲ Βολεοὶ οὗτοι λίθων εἰσὶ σωραὶ λογάδων. χωρίον δὲ ἕτερον, ὃ Διδύμους ὀνομάζουσι, στάδια εἴκοσιν αὐτόθεν ἀφέστηκεν· ἐνταῦθα ἐστὶ μὲν ἱερὸν Ἀπόλλωνος, ἐστὶ δὲ Ποσειδῶνος, ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτοῖς Δῆμητρος, ἀγάλματα δὲ ὀρθὰ λίθου λευκοῦ.  
 4 Τὸ δὲ ἐντεῦθεν ἐστὶν Ἀργείων ἢ ποτε Ἀσιναῖα καλουμένη, καὶ Ἀσίνης ἐστὶν ἐρείπια ἐπὶ θαλάσῃ. Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως Νικάνδρου τοῦ Χαρίλλου τοῦ Πολυδέκτου τοῦ Εὐνόμου τοῦ Πρυτάνιδος τοῦ Εὐρυπῶντος ἐς τὴν Ἀργολίδα ἐσβαλόντων στρατιᾷ συνεσέβαλόν σφισιν οἱ Ἀσιναῖοι, καὶ ἐδήωσαν σὺν ἐκείνοις τῶν Ἀργείων τὴν γῆν. ὥς δὲ ὁ στόλος τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἀπῆλθεν οἴκαδε, στρατεύουσιν  
 446

and another mountain, called in old days Thornax; but they say that the name was changed because, according to legend, it was here that the transformation of Zeus into a cuckoo took place. Even to the present day there are sanctuaries on the tops of the mountains: on Mount Cuckoo one of Zeus, on Pron one of Hera. At the foot of Mount Cuckoo is a temple, but there are no doors standing, and I found it without a roof or an image inside. The temple was said to be Apollo's. By the side of it runs a road to Mases for those who have turned aside from the straight road. Mases was in old days a city, even as Homer<sup>1</sup> represents it in the catalogue of the Argives, but in my time the Hermionians were using it as a seaport. From Mases there is a road on the right to a headland called Struthus (*Sparrow Peak*). From this headland by way of the summits of the mountains the distance to the place called Philanorium and to the *Boleoi* is two hundred and fifty stades. These *Boleoi* are heaps of unhewn stones. Another place, called Twins, is twenty stades distant from here. There is here a sanctuary of Apollo, a sanctuary of Poseidon, and in addition one of Demeter. The images are of white marble, and are upright.

Next comes a district, belonging to the Argives, that once was called Asinaea, and by the sea are ruins of Asine. When the Lacedaemonians and their king Nicander, son of Charillus, son of Polydectes, son of Eunomus, son of Prytanis, son of Eurypon, invaded Argolis with an army, the Asinaeans joined in the invasion, and with them ravaged the land of the Argives. When the Lacedaemonian expedition departed home, the Argives

<sup>1</sup> *Iliad* ii. 562.

- ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀσίην οἱ Ἀργεῖοι καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτῶν  
 6 Ἐρατος. καὶ χρόνον μὲν τινα ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους  
 ἡμύναντο οἱ Ἀσιναῖοι καὶ ἀποκτείνουσιν ἄλλους  
 τε καὶ Λυσίστρατον ἐν τοῖς δοκιμωτάτοις ὄντα  
 Ἀργείων ἀλίσκομένον δὲ τοῦ τείχους οὗτοι μὲν  
 γυναῖκας ἐς τὰ πλοῖα ἐνθέμενοι καὶ παῖδας ἐκλεί-  
 πουσι τὴν αὐτῶν, Ἀργεῖοι δὲ ἐς ἔδαφος κατα-  
 βαλόντες τὴν Ἀσίην καὶ τὴν γῆν προσορισάμενοι  
 τῇ σφετέρᾳ Πυθαέως τε Ἀπόλλωνος ὑπελίποντο  
 τὸ ἱερὸν — καὶ νῦν ἔτι δῆλόν ἐστι — καὶ τὸν  
 Λυσίστρατον πρὸς αὐτῷ θάπτουσιν.  
 6 Ἀπέχει δὲ Ἀργείων τῆς πόλεως τεσσαράκοντα  
 καὶ οὐ πλείω στάδια ἢ κατὰ Λέρναν θάλασσα.  
 κατιόντων δὲ ἐς Λέρναν πρῶτον μὲν καθ' ὁδὸν  
 ἐστὶν ὁ Ἐρασίνοσ, ἐκδίδωσι δὲ ἐς τὸν Φρίξον, ὁ  
 Φρίξος δὲ ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν τὴν μεταξὺ Τημενίου  
 καὶ Λέρνης. ἀπὸ δὲ Ἐρασίνου τραπέουσιν ἐς  
 ἀριστερὰ σταδίους ὅσον ὀκτώ, Διοσκούρων ἱερὸν  
 ἐστὶν Ἀνάκτων· πεποιήται δὲ σφισι κατὰ ταῦτά  
 7 καὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει τὰ ξόανα. ἀναστρέψας δὲ ἐς  
 τὴν εὐθείαν τὸν τε Ἐρασίνον διαβήσῃ καὶ ἐπὶ  
 τὸν Χείμαρρον ποταμὸν ἀφίξῃ. πλησίον δὲ  
 αὐτοῦ περίβολός ἐστι λίθων, καὶ τὸν Πλούτωνα  
 ἀρπάσαντα ὡς λέγεται Κόρην τὴν Δήμητρος  
 καταβῆναι ταύτῃ φασὶν ἐς τὴν ὑπόγειον νομιζο-  
 μένην ἀρχήν. ἡ δὲ Λέρνα ἐστίν, ὡς καὶ τὰ  
 πρότερα ἔχει μοι τοῦ λόγου, πρὸς θαλάσσην,  
 καὶ τελετὴν Λερναίᾳ ἄγουσιν ἐνταῦθα Δήμητρι.  
 8 Ἔστι δὲ ἄλσος ἱερὸν ἀρχόμενον μὲν ἀπὸ ὄρους  
 ὃ καλοῦσι Ποντίνον, τὸ δὲ ὄρος ὃ Ποντίνος οὐκ  
 ἔᾶ τὸ ὕδωρ ἀπορρεῖν τὸ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ, ἀλλὰ ἐς  
 αὐτὸ καταδέχεται· ρεῖ δὲ καὶ ποταμὸς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ

under their king Eratus attacked Asine. For a time the Asinaeans defended themselves from their wall, and killed among others Lysistratus, one of the most notable men of Argos. But when the wall was lost, the citizens put their wives and children on board their vessels and abandoned their own country; the Argives, while levelling Asine to the ground and annexing its territory to their own, left the sanctuary of Apollo Pythaeus, which is still visible, and by it they buried Lysistratus.

Distant from Argos forty stades and no more is the sea at Lerna. On the way down to Lerna the first thing on the road is the Erasinus, which empties itself into the Phrixis, and the Phrixis into the sea between Temenium and Lerna. About eight stades to the left from the Erasinus is a sanctuary of the Lords Dioseuri (*Sons of Zeus*). Their wooden images have been made similar to those in the city. On returning to the straight road, you will cross the Erasinus and reach the river Cheimarrus (*Winter-torrent*). Near it is a circuit of stones, and they say that Pluto, after carrying off, according to the story, Core, the daughter of Demeter, descended here to his fabled kingdom underground. Lerna is, I have already stated, by the sea, and here they celebrate mysteries in honour of Lernaean Demeter.

There is a sacred grove beginning on the mountain they call Pontinus. Now Mount Pontinus does not let the rain-water flow away, but absorbs it into itself. From it flows a river, also called



Ποντίνος. καὶ ἐπὶ κορυφῇ τοῦ ὄρους ἱερὸν τε  
 Ἀθηνᾶς Σαΐτιδος, ἐρείπια ἔτι μόνα, καὶ θεμέ-  
 λια οἰκίας ἐστὶν Ἴππομέδοντος, ὃς Πολυνεΐκει  
 τῷ Οἰδίποδος τιμωρήσων ἦλθεν ἐς Θήβας.  
 XXXVII. ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ ὄρους τούτου τὸ ἄλσος  
 ἀρχόμενον πλατάνων τὸ πολὺ ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν  
 καθήκει. ὄροι δὲ αὐτοῦ τῇ μὲν ποταμὸς ὁ Ποντίνος,  
 τῇ δὲ ἑτέρος ποταμός· Ἀμνμώνη δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς  
 Δαναοῦ θυγατρὸς ὄνομα τῷ ποταμῷ. ἐντὸς δὲ  
 τοῦ ἄλσους ἀγάλματα ἔστι μὲν Δήμητρος Προσϋ-  
 μνης, ἔστι δὲ Διόνυσου, καὶ Δήμητρος καθήμενον  
 2 ἄγαλμα οὐ μέγα· ταῦτα μὲν λίθου πεποιημένα,  
 ἐτέρωθι δ' ἐν ναῷ Διόνυσος Σαώτης καθήμενον  
 ξόανον καὶ Ἀφροδίτης ἄγαλμα ἐπὶ θαλάσῃ  
 λίθου· ἀναθεῖναι δὲ αὐτὸ τὰς θυγατέρας λέγουσι  
 τὰς Δαναοῦ, Δαναὸν δὲ αὐτὸν τὸ ἱερὸν ἐπὶ Πον-  
 τίνῳ ποιῆσαι τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς. καταστήσασθαι δὲ  
 τῶν Λερναίων τὴν τελετὴν Φιλάμμωνά φασι. τὰ  
 μὲν οὖν λεγόμενα ἐπὶ τοῖς δρωμένοις δῆλὰ ἐστίν  
 3 οὐκ ὄντα ἀρχαῖα· ἃ δὲ ἤκουσα ἐπὶ τῇ καρδίᾳ  
 γεγράφθαι τῇ πεποιημένῃ τοῦ ὀρειχάλκου, οὐδὲ  
 ταῦτα ὄντα Φιλάμμωνος Ἀρριφῶν εὔρε, τὸ μὲν  
 ἀνέκαθεν Τρικωνιεύς τῶν ἐν Αἰτωλίᾳ, τὰ δὲ ἐφ'  
 ἡμῶν Λυκίων τοῖς μάλιστα ὁμοίως δόκιμος,  
 δεινὸς δὲ ἐξευρεῖν ἃ μὴ τις πρότερον εἶδε, καὶ δὴ  
 καὶ ταῦτα φωρύσας ἐπὶ τῷδε. τὰ ἔπη καὶ ὅσα  
 οὐ μετὰ μέτρον μεμιγμένα ἦν τοῖς ἔπεσι, τὰ  
 πάντα Δωριστὶ ἐπεποίητο· πρὶν δὲ Ἡρακλείδας  
 καταλθεῖν ἐς Πελοπόννησον, τὴν αὐτὴν ἠφίεσαν  
 Ἀθηναῖοις οἱ Ἀργεῖοι φωνήν· ἐπὶ δὲ Φιλάμμωνος  
 οὐδὲ τὸ ὄνομα τῶν Δωριέων ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν ἐς ἅπαντας  
 ἠκούετο Ἑλλήνας.

Pontinus. Upon the top of the mountain is a sanctuary of Athena Saitis, now merely a ruin; there are also the foundations of a house of Hippomedon, who went to Thebes to redress the wrongs of Polyneices, son of Oedipus. XXXVII. At this mountain begins the grove, which consists chiefly of plane trees, and reaches down to the sea. Its boundaries are, on the one side the river Pontinus, on the other side another river, called Amymone, after the daughter of Danaus. Within the grove are images of Demeter Prosymne and of Dionysus. Of Demeter there is a seated image of no great size. Both are of stone, but in another temple is a seated wooden image of Dionysus Saotes (*Saviour*), while by the sea is a stone image of Aphrodite. They say that the daughters of Danaus dedicated it, while Danaus himself made the sanctuary of Athena by the Pontinus. The mysteries of the Lernaean were established, they say, by Philammon. Now the words which accompany the ritual are evidently of no antiquity; and the inscription also, which I have heard is written on the heart made of orichalcum, was shown not to be Philammon's by Arriphon, an Aetolian of Triconium by descent, who now enjoys a reputation second to none among the Lycians; excellent at original research, he found the clue to this problem in the following way. The verses, and the prose interspersed among the verses, are all written in Doric. But before the return of the Heracleidae to the Peloponnesus the Argives spoke the same dialect as the Athenians, and in Philammon's day I do not suppose that even the name Dorians was familiar to all Greek ears.

- 4 Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἀπέφαιεν οὕτως ἔχοντα, τῆς δὲ Ἀμυμώνης πέφυκεν ἐπὶ τῇ πηγῇ πλατάνος· ὑπὸ ταύτῃ τὴν ὕδραν τραφῆναι τῇ πλατάνῳ φασίν. ἐγὼ δὲ τὸ θηρίον πείθομαι τοῦτο καὶ μεγέθει διενεγκεῖν ὑδρῶν ἄλλων καὶ τὸν ἰὸν οὕτω δὴ τι ἔχειν ἀνίατον ὥς τὸν Ἡρακλέα ἀπὸ τῆς χολῆς αὐτοῦ τὰς ἀκίδας φαρμακεῦσαι τῶν οἰστών· κεφαλὴν δὲ εἶχεν ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν μίαν καὶ οὐ πλείονας, Πείσανδρος δὲ ὁ Καμυρεὺς, ἵνα τὸ θηρίον τε δοκοίῃ φοβερώτερον καὶ αὐτῷ γίνηται ἢ ποίησις ἀξιοχρεῶς μᾶλλον, ἀντὶ τούτων τὰς κεφαλὰς
- 5 ἐποίησε τῇ ὕδρᾳ τὰς πολλὰς. εἶδον δὲ καὶ πηγὴν Ἀμφιαρίου καλουμένην καὶ τὴν Ἀλκυονίαν λίμνην, δι' ἧς φασίν Ἀργεῖοι Διόνυσον εἰς τὸν Ἄϊδην ἐλθεῖν Σεμέλῃν ἀνάγοντα, τὴν δὲ ταύτῃ κῆρυκος δειξαί οἱ Πόλυμνον. τῇ δὲ Ἀλκυονίδᾳ πέρας τοῦ βάθους οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδὲ τινα οἶδα ἀνθρώπων εἰς τὸ τέρμα αὐτῆς οὐδεμιᾷ μηχανῇ καθικέσθαι δυνήντα, ὅπου καὶ Νέρων σταδίων πολλῶν κάλους ποιησάμενος καὶ συνάψας ἀλλήλοις, ἀπαρτήσας δὲ καὶ μόλυβδον ἀπ' αὐτῶν καὶ εἰ δὴ τι χρήσιμον ἄλλο εἰς τὴν πείραν, οὐδὲ οὗτος
- 6 οὐδένα ἐξευρεῖν ἐδυνήθη ὅρον τοῦ βάθους. καὶ τόδε ἤκουσα ἄλλο· τὸ ὕδωρ τῆς λίμνης ὥς ἰδόντα εἰκάσαι γαληνόν ἐστι καὶ ἡρεμαῖον, παρεχόμενον δὲ ὄψιν τοιαύτην διανήχεσθαι τολμήσαντα πάντα τινα καθέλκειν πέφυκε καὶ εἰς βυθὸν ὑπολαβὼν ἀπήνεγκε. περίοδος δὲ τῆς λίμνης ἐστὶν οὐ πολλή, ἀλλὰ ὅσον τε σταδίου τρίτον· ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς χείλεσιν αὐτῆς πόα καὶ σχοῖνοι πεφύκασιν. τὰ δὲ εἰς αὐτὴν Διόνυσῳ δρώμενα ἐν νυκτὶ κατὰ ἔτος ἕκαστον οὐχ ὅσιον εἰς ἅπαντας ἦν μοι γράψαι.

All this was proved in the demonstration. At the source of the Amymone grows a plane tree, beneath which, they say, the hydra (water-snake) grew. I am ready to believe that this beast was superior in size to other water-snakes, and that its poison had something in it so deadly that Heracles treated the points of his arrows with its gall. It had, however, in my opinion, one head, and not several. It was Peisander<sup>1</sup> of Camirus who, in order that the beast might appear more frightful and his poetry might be more remarkable, represented the hydra with its many heads. I saw also what is called the Spring of Amphiaraus and the Aleyonian Lake, through which the Argives say Dionysus went down to Hell to bring up Semele, adding that the descent here was shown him by Polymnus. There is no limit to the depth of the Aleyonian Lake, and I know of nobody who by any contrivance has been able to reach the bottom of it; since not even Nero, who had ropes made several stades long and fastened them together, tying lead to them, and omitting nothing that might help his experiment, was able to discover any limit to its depth. This, too, I heard. The water of the lake is, to all appearance, calm and quiet; but, although it is such to look at, every swimmer who ventures to cross it is dragged down, sucked into the depths, and swept away. The circumference of the lake is not great, being about one-third of a stade. Upon its banks grow grass and rushes. The nocturnal rites performed every year in honour of Dionysus I must not divulge to the world at large.

<sup>1</sup> Peisander wrote a poem on the labours of Heracles. His date is uncertain, but perhaps he flourished about 645 B.C.



- XXXVIII. Ἐκ Λέρνης δὲ ἰοῦσιν ἐς Τημένιον—  
 τὸ δὲ Τημένιον ἔστιν Ἀργείων, ὠνομάσθη δὲ ἀπὸ  
 Τημένου τοῦ Ἀριστομήχου· καταλαβὼν γὰρ καὶ  
 ἐχυρωσάμενος τὸ χωρίον ἐπολέμει σὺν τοῖς Δω-  
 ριεῦσιν αὐτόθεν τὸν πρὸς Τισαμενὸν καὶ Ἀχαιοὺς  
 πόλεμον—ἐς τοῦτο οὖν τὸ Τημένιον ἰοῦσιν ὃ τε  
 Φρίξος ποταμὸς ἐκδίδωσιν ἐς θάλασσαν καὶ  
 Ποσειδῶνος ἱερὸν ἐν Τημενίῳ πεποιήται καὶ  
 Ἀφροδίτης ἕτερον καὶ μνήμᾳ ἔστι Τημένου τιμὰς  
 2 ἔχον παρὰ Δωριέων τῶν ἐν Ἀργεῖ. Τημενίου δὲ  
 ἀπέχει Ναυπλία πεντήκοντα ἑμοὶ δοκεῖν σταδίου,  
 τὰ μὲν ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἔρημος, οἰκιστὴς δὲ ἐγένετο αὐτῆς  
 Ναυπλῖος Ποσειδῶνος λεγόμενος καὶ Ἀμυμώνης  
 εἶναι. λείπεται δὲ καὶ τειχῶν ἔτι ἐρείπια, καὶ  
 Ποσειδῶνος ἱερὸν καὶ λιμένες εἰσὶν ἐν Ναυπλία  
 καὶ πηγὴ Κάναθος καλουμένη· ἐνταῦθα τὴν  
 Ἥραν φασὶν Ἀργεῖοι κατὰ ἔτος λουμένην παρ-  
 3 θένον γίνεσθαι. οὗτος μὲν δὴ σφισιν ἐκ τελετῆς,  
 ἣν ἄγουσι τῇ Ἥρᾳ, λόγος τῶν ἀπορρήτων ἑστίν·  
 τὰ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν Ναυπλία λεγόμενα ἐς τοῦ  
 ὄνου, ὡς ἐπιφαγὼν ἀμπέλου κλήμα ἀφθονώτερον  
 ἐς τὸ μέλλον ἀπέφηνε τὸν καρπὸν—καὶ ὄνος  
 σφίσιν ἐν πέτρᾳ πεποιημένος διὰ τοῦτο ἔστιν  
 ἅτε ἀμπέλων διδάξας τομὴν—, παρήμῃ οὐκ  
 ἀξιόλογα ἡγούμενος.  
 4 Ἔστι δὲ ἐκ Λέρνης καὶ ἑτέρα παρ' αὐτὴν ὁδὸς  
 τὴν θάλασσαν ἐπὶ χωρίον ὃ Γενέσιον ὀνομάζουσι·  
 πρὸς θαλάσσην δὲ τοῦ Γενεσίου Ποσειδῶνος ἱερὸν  
 ἔστιν οὐ μέγα. τούτου δ' ἔχεται χωρίον ἄλλο  
 Ἀπόβαθμοι γῆς δὲ ἐνταῦθα πρῶτον τῆς Ἀρ-  
 γολίδος Δαναὸν σὺν ταῖς παισὶν ἀποβῆναι λέγου-  
 σιν. ἐντεῦθεν διελθοῦσιν Ἀνιγραῖα καλούμενα

XXXVIII. Temenium is in Argive territory, and was named after Temenus, the son of Aristonachus. For, having seized and strengthened the position, he waged therefrom with the Dorians the war against Tisamenus and the Achaeans. On the way to Temenium from Lerna the river Phrixus empties itself into the sea, and in Temenium is built a sanctuary of Poseidon, as well as one of Aphrodite; there is also the tomb of Temenus, which is worshipped by the Dorians in Argos. Fifty stades, I conjecture, from Temenium is Nauplia, which at the present day is uninhabited; its founder was Nauplius, reputed to be a son of Poseidon and Amymone. Of the walls, too, ruins still remain; and in Nauplia are a sanctuary of Poseidon, harbours, and a spring called Canathus. Here, say the Argives, Hera bathes every year and recovers her maidenhood. This is one of the sayings told as a holy secret at the mysteries which they celebrate in honour of Hera. The story told by the people in Nauplia about the ass, how by nibbling down the shoots of a vine he caused a more plenteous crop of grapes in the future, and how for this reason they have carved an ass on a rock, because he taught the pruning of vines—all this I pass over as trivial.

From Lerna there is also another road, which skirts the sea and leads to a place called Genesium. By the sea is a small sanctuary of Poseidon Genesius. Next to this is another place, called Apobathmi (*Steps*). The story is that this is the first place in Argolis where Danaus landed with his daughters. From here we pass through what is called Anigraea,

ὁδὸν καὶ στενὴν καὶ ἄλλως δύσβατον, ἔστιν ἐν  
 ἀριστερᾷ μὲν καθήκουσα ἐπὶ θάλασσαν καὶ  
 5 δένδρα — ἐλαίας μάλιστα — ἀγαθὴν τρέφειν γῆ.  
 ἰόντι δὲ ἄνω πρὸς τὴν ἡπειρον ἀπ' αὐτῆς χωρίον  
 ἔστιν, ἐνθα δὴ ἐμαχέσαντο ὑπὲρ τῆς γῆς ταύτης  
 λογάδες Ἀργείων τριακόσιοι πρὸς ἄνδρας Λακε-  
 δαιμονίων ἀριθμὸν τε ἴσους καὶ ἐπιλέκτους ὁμοίως,  
 ἀποθανόντων δὲ ἀπάντων πλὴν ἑνὸς Σπαρτιάτου  
 καὶ δυοῖν Ἀργείων, τοῖς μὲν ἀποθανοῦσιν ἐχώ-  
 σθησαν ἐνταῦθα οἱ τάφοι, τὴν χώραν δὲ οἱ Λακε-  
 δαιμόνιοι γενομένου πανδημεὶ σφισιν ἀγῶνος  
 πρὸς Ἀργείους κρατήσαντες βεβαίως αὐτοὶ τε  
 παραντίκα ἐκαρποῦντο καὶ ὕστερον Αἰγινήταις  
 ἔδοσαν ἐκπεσοῦσιν ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων ἐκ τῆς νήσου.  
 τὰ δὲ ἐπ' ἐμοῦ τὴν Θυρεάτιν ἐνέμοντο Ἀργεῖοι·  
 6 φασὶ δὲ ἀνασώσασθαι δίκη νικήσαντες. ἀπὸ δὲ  
 τῶν πολυανδρίων ἰόντι Ἀθήνη τέ ἐστιν, ἣν Αἰγι-  
 νῆταί ποτε ἔκκησαν, καὶ ἑτέρα κώμη Νηρίς, τρίτη  
 δὲ Εὐα μεγίστη τῶν κωμῶν καὶ ἱερὸν τοῦ Πολε-  
 μοκράτους ἔστιν ἐν ταύτῃ. ὁ δὲ Πολεμοκράτης  
 ἐστὶ καὶ οὗτος Μαχάονος υἱός, ἀδελφὸς δὲ Ἀλε-  
 ξάνορος, καὶ ἰᾶται τοὺς ταύτῃ καὶ τιμάς παρὰ τῶν  
 7 προσοίκων ἔχει. ἀνατείνει δὲ ὑπὲρ τὰς κώμας  
 ὄρος Πάρνων, καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων ἐπ' αὐτοῦ πρὸς  
 Ἀργεῖους ὄροι καὶ Τεγεάτας εἰσὶν· ἐστήκασι δὲ  
 ἐπὶ τοῖς ὄροις Ἑρμαῖ λίθου, καὶ τοῦ χωρίου τὸ  
 ὄνομα ἔστιν ἀπ' αὐτῶν. ποταμὸς δὲ καλούμενος  
 Τάναος—εἰς γὰρ δὴ οὗτος ἐκ τοῦ Πάρνωνος  
 κατεισσι—ρέων διὰ τῆς Ἀργείας ἐκδίδωσιν ἐς τὸν  
 Θυρεάτην κόλπον.

along a narrow and difficult road, until we reach a tract on the left which stretches down to the sea; it is fertile in trees, especially the olive. As you go up inland from this is a place where three hundred picked Argives fought for this land with an equal number of specially chosen Lacedaemonian warriors. All were killed except one Spartan and two Argives, and here were raised the graves for the dead. But the Lacedaemonians, having fought against the Argives with all their forces, won a decisive victory; at first they themselves enjoyed the fruits of the land, but afterwards they assigned it to the Aeginetans, when they were expelled from their island by the Athenians. In my time Thyreatis was inhabited by the Argives, who say that they recovered it by the award of an arbitration. As you go from these common graves you come to Athene, where Aeginetans once made their home, another village Neris, and a third Eua, the largest of the villages, in which there is a sanctuary of Polemocrates. This Polemocrates is one of the sons of Machaon, and the brother of Alexanor; he cures the people of the district, and receives honours from the neighbours. Above the villages extends Mount Parnon, on which the Lacedaemonian border meets the borders of the Argives and Tegeatae. On the borders stand stone figures of Hermes, from which the name of the place is derived. A river called Tanaus, which is the only one descending from Mount Parnon, flows through the Argive territory and empties itself into the Gulf of Thyrea.

548 B.C.

431 B.C.

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